

EARLY INDONESIAN COMMERCE
AND
THE ORIGINS OF ŚRIVIJAYA

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27.62.

The origins of the famous maritime empire of Srivijaya in south-eastern Sumatra, a name first recorded in 671, belong to the history of early Indonesian commerce. In the third century A.D. Ko-ying 訶人 塔, situated on that coast and the chief trading kingdom in western Indonesia, was not on the shipping route between India and China, but in the fifth century, when southern China depended on overseas trade for luxury imports, voyages from Indonesia to China had become habitual. By about A.D. 500 Sumatran pine resin and benzoin were known to southern Chinese writers as Po-ssu 波斯 resins, not as Laufer thought because they came from a South East Asian country transcribed as Po-ssu but because they were regarded as 'Persian-type' substitutes for frankincense and myrrh and part of the 'Persian' trade in western Asian produce, which came via western Indonesia to China. The evidence suggests that Indonesian ships, operating from south-eastern Sumatra, had obtained a major share in carrying this merchandise and that, in the fifth and sixth centuries when the first tributary missions came from Indonesian kingdoms to China, the leading commercial kingdom on this coast was Kan-t'o-li 干陀利 .

Thus Srivijaya came to the fore on the coast whose inhabitants had pioneered Sino-Indonesian trade. To protect

the commercial interests which it inherited from the past Śrīvijaya was compelled to forestall the first signs of competition from ports on the Straits of Malacca. It did so before the end of the seventh century by dominating the Straits with its fleet. One of the main themes of the subsequent 500 years of Śrīvijayan history is the attempt to compel, with diminishing success, foreign merchants and seamen to conform to a system of maritime communications which had been created by a trading situation older than Śrīvijaya itself.

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CHAPTER ONE

SOME PROBLEMS OF SRIVIJAYAN HISTORY

This study is offered as a contribution to the early history of western Indonesia. It is an attempt to describe the economic background to the rise of the south-eastern Sumatran empire of Srivijaya in the second half of the seventh century A.D. This empire played an important part in medieval Asian trade during its career of more than five hundred years, and, after its resurrection by historians in modern times, has become famous in Indonesian history and especially among Indonesians, who honour it as a great naval power and the earliest empire in their national history.

Not the least interesting feature of Srivijaya is the suddenness of its appearance and expansion. A Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, I Tsing, was the first to leave a record of it when he described his voyage in 671 from Canton to Palembang, the residence of the Srivijayan ruler at that time (1). Within the twenty-four years when I Tsing was overseas the kingdom must have become powerful. Drawing on his knowledge of Indonesia acquired before he

(1) Chavannes, Mémoire, 119.

returned to China in 695, the pilgrim states that Kedah on the western coast of the southern Malay Peninsula was a dependency of Śrīvijaya (1). By 775 its power was such that

'le roi seigneur de Çrīvijaya, seul roi suprême de tous les rois de la terre entière (2)',

was able to erect some religious buildings near Ligor on the isthmus of the Malay Peninsula, a meritorious act which has led historians to infer that the ruler now exercised authority in that area. Thus, with a port on the Straits of Malacca and influence further north on the Peninsula, Śrīvijaya within a century of I Tsing's first reference to

(1) Mūlasarvāstivāda-ekasatakarmān, Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 24, no. 1453, 477c. On his outward voyage in 671-2 I Tsing gives no hint that Kedah, though used by Śrīvijayan ships, was dependent on Śrīvijaya. In the Mūla ... he describes the voyage from Tāmrāliptī thus: 從斯兩月汎舟東南到緬茶國此屬佛逝船到之時當正二月.
'From here (Tāmrāliptī) one sails south-eastwards for two months and reaches Chieh-ch'a (Kedah). This place belongs to Fo-shih (Śrīvijaya). The time when the ship arrives is the first or second month'. Takakusu translates the passage differently: 'sailing from here two months in the south-east direction we come to Ka-cha. By this time a ship from Bhoja (the rendering of Fo-shih in 1896) will have arrived there. This is generally in the first or second month of the year'; Record, xxxiv. Takakusu may have read the passage as: 此屬佛逝船到之時當正二月 = "this 'belonging to Fo-shih' ship arriving time should be the first or second month". But if I Tsing had wished to mention a 'Fo-shih ship', surely he would have used some expression such as 此屬佛逝船到之時 and not 此佛逝船到之時. My amended translation has a bearing on the chronology of the early Śrīvijayan expansion and I return to it on page 498, where I translate the whole of the passage in question. For the identification of Chieh-ch'a with Kedah, see Wheatley, Golden Khersonese, 46-47, where this conventional identification is discussed and accepted.

(2) Coedès' translation from the Sanskrit original, 'Le royaume de Çrīvijaya', BEFEO, 18, 1918, 6, 31.

it had become a much more extensive empire than there is reason to suppose had ever previously existed in Indonesia.

The rapid expansion of Śrīvijaya could hardly have been the result of a casual process. It is more likely that there were special circumstances favouring the rise of a maritime empire of these dimensions. It is not unreasonable to suspect that there was an economic background in South East Asia and perhaps elsewhere in Asia which over the centuries had been preparing the way for the eventual triumph of Śrīvijaya. The purpose of the present study is to explore that background.

Two reasons for this kind of study have recommended themselves to me. The first is that, in spite of the fact that the first century in Śrīvijayan history is the most amply documented one and is the only century for which Śrīvijayan inscriptions are available, the historian has been able to establish little more than an impression of the power of the kingdom at that time; the motives and policies of its rulers remain a matter for conjecture. The second reason is that until one knows more of the way Śrīvijaya traded at the outset of its career one lacks a satisfactory background for interpreting later and generally meagre evidence of its commerce and for measuring the changes in its activities and fortunes brought about by the passage of time. Our ignorance of what Śrīvijaya once

had been is a handicap in assessing in more than general terms its unquestionably important impact on Indonesia. No study of the evolution of any empire can be complete when it is unknown how it originally evolved. Here perhaps is the chief justification of an attempt to re-create the past from which Śrīvijaya emerged.

For the first century of Śrīvijayan history the student has at his disposal several important Old-Malay inscriptions from southern Sumatra and especially from Palembang and Bangka island. They were issued in the years 683 - 686. In addition there are the works of I Tsing. Finally there is a short account of the kingdom in the Hsin T'ang shu, compiled in the middle of the eleventh century, and a few references in the early eleventh century Ts'ê fu yüan kuei encyclopaedia to embassies to China between 702 and 742 (1).

Within their narrow limits these sources provide a remarkably consistent picture of early Śrīvijaya. The records of I Tsing and especially some of the technical expressions in the inscriptions indicate that the ruler was

(1) The reader is referred to Coedès, 'Le royaume de Çrīvijaya', Ferrand, 'L'empire Sumatranais de Çrīvijaya', Nilakanta Sastri, History of Sri Vijaya, and de Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia, II, 1-46. In the last three chapters I shall return to the sources for the first century of Śrīvijaya.

influenced by Buddhism, probably Mahāyāna. Again, Srīvijaya clearly possessed ships; in 672 I Tsing sailed from Srīvijaya to India in a ship belonging to the ruler (1), while the Kēdukan Bukit inscription from Palembang in 683 refers to a voyage undertaken, according to Professor Coedès, by the ruler himself (2). Moreover, in these years exciting political developments were happening. I Tsing notes that Malayu, in the Jambi region on the south-east coast of Sumatra, 'was now Srīvijaya'. Whatever this mysterious statement means, it certainly refers to something which happened between 672, when I Tsing sailed from Malayu to Kedah and India, and 692, when he had completed the works in which his notes appear (3). But a much more definite hint that these were disturbed times is conveyed by the inscriptions. The undated Tēlaga Batu

(1) Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu fa kao sêng chuan, Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 51, no. 2066, 7c-8a. The ruler helped him on his way from Srīvijaya to Malayu. He returned to the king's ship at Kedah: (at Srīvijaya) 王曾支持送往末羅瑜國(今改為室利佛逝也)復停兩月轉向羯荼至十二月舉帆載車王船漸向東天竺。 See Chavannes, Mémoire, 119

(2) The most recent discussion of this inscription, with its weather-beaten last syllables, is in de Casparis, Prasasti, II, 12-13. The intention of this journey is still unknown. The inscription may in fact refer to these journeys.

(3) The statement is in the passage quoted in note (1) above. It also appears in Nan hai chi kwei nei fa chuan, Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 54, no. 2125; Takakusu, Record, 10. This passage is a note listing Indonesian countries; the list begins with 'Barus' in northern Sumatra. The text is:
 末羅遊洲即今戶利佛逝國 For the accepted identification of Malayu with Jambi see Rouffaer, 'Was Malaka emporium voor 1400 A.D. genaamd Malajoer?', Bijd., 77, 1921, 11-19.

inscription of Palembang seems to be an exceptionally lengthy version of an oath, accompanied by drinking 'imprecation water', which the ruler's subjects were required to take to ensure their obedience (1). An abbreviated form of the oath is contained in the undated Karang Brahi inscription found near a river in the middle of southern Sumatra and also in the Kota Kapur inscription of 686 erected on the island of Bangka (2). The Tělaga Batu oath sets forth a long list of potential or perhaps real enemies of the Śrīvijayan ruler, ranging from 'sons of kings' to washermen and slaves. Naval captains and merchants were among those regarded as possible traitors. Evidently the ruler was at that time concerned with the problem of keeping under control a disturbed realm, possibly including recently conquered territories (3). There is also, in the Kota Kapur inscription of 686, a reference to an expedition about to begin against bhūmi Jāva, which had not submitted to Śrīvijaya. It is Dr. de Casparis' opinion that this campaign, like the magical oath, was part of the ruler's effort to maintain a newly won

(1) See de Casparis Prasasti, II, 15-46, for a detailed study of the Tělaga Batu inscription.

(2) These inscriptions have been studied by several scholars. See Coedès, 'Les inscriptions de Çrīvijaya', BEFEO, 30, 1930, 29-80.

(3) I follow Dr. de Casparis' understanding of the background to these inscriptions; Prasasti, II, 6-7, 9 note 51, and especially 31-32.

empire (1).

Finally, there are two pieces of evidence which make it abundantly clear that, in spite of the political difficulties reflected in the inscriptions, by the second half of the eighth century Śrīvijaya had succeeded in becoming a great empire. The Hsin T'ang shu states that 'Śrīvijaya is a double kingdom and the two parts have separate administrations'. The 'western kingdom' was called Lang-p'o-lu-ssü (2). Lang-p'o-lu-ssü is usually understood to be one of the transcriptions of 'Barus' in the northern half of Sumatra (3). The date of the achievement of the 'double kingdom' is unknown, but it is unlikely to have been after 742, which was the year of the last recorded Śrīvijayan embassy to China before the beginning of the tenth century and therefore the last normal opportunity before then for political intelligence to reach the Chinese court from Śrīvijaya. The other piece of evidence has already been mentioned. It is the Ligor inscription found on the isthmus of the Malay Peninsula

(1) Privately communicated to me.

(2) HTS, 222下, 5a: 以二國惣西曰郎邊露斯.

(3) In chapter ¹² ~~12~~ I consider the significance of the toponym 'Barus' which, in my opinion, does not represent the modern port of Barus on the north-western coast of Sumatra.

and containing a date corresponding to 775. In the same area, and also further north on the isthmus, have been found archaeological remains for which has been coined the term 'the art of Srivijaya' (1).

But this summary of miscellaneous evidence contains notable gaps. I shall content myself with calling attention to those gaps which have interested me. The chief one, of course, is an absence of information about the impulses which brought Srivijaya to the fore. Scholars have drawn on Krom's sketch of the reasons why Palembang, a harbour state in south-eastern Sumatra, should have come to control the other harbours on that coast and also on the Straits of Malacca (2). Krom emphasized the geographical advantages enjoyed by these ports as places for resting and revictualling, available for ships engaged in the growing trade between India and China, and the competition which must have existed between harbours with similar natural advantages. In his opinion the quest for undisputed sea power in the area inevitably led to the

(1) Coedès, 'Les collections archéologiques du Musée National de Bangkok', 25.

(2) Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis, 1931, 110-114, 120. Krom amplified considerably Professor Coedès' hints in 1918 in his pioneer study of Srivijaya, 'Le royaume de Srivijaya', 25. Professor Coedès in turn quoted Krom in Les états hindouisés, 221. Professor Sastri did likewise; History of Sri Vijaya, 37. Ferrand's important study of Srivijaya in 1922 threw no new light on the economic aspects of the subject.

establishment of a single dominion. He mentioned in general terms Śrīvijaya's products but so casually that it is difficult not to suspect that the picture of the Sumatran ports as transit centres for Chinese and Indian goods was foremost in his mind when he reconstructed the basis of Śrīvijaya's economic power (1). In 1938 he defined the situation only a little more specifically by adding that products from 'other isolated parts of the Archipelago' were shipped to China and India from these half-way stages on the Sumatran coast (2).

Krom's sketch is, I have come to recognise, reliable as far as it goes. Nevertheless, it remains a statement of belief which accounts for the rise of Śrīvijaya only in general terms. In particular it evades several questions. It does not disclose the contents of the trade appearing in western Indonesian waters and using these harbours. To what extent, for example, was the transit trade in foreign goods more important in the seventh century than Indonesian exports, and what had been the position in the earlier centuries? And where were the major foreign markets on which early Śrīvijaya thrived? Were they in India, western

(1) The manner in which this picture has influenced non-historians writing about South East Asia is illustrated in Sokol, 'Communication and Production in Indonesian History', and Robequain, Malaya, Indonesia ..., 1954, 67.

(2) Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indië, I, 149.

Asia, or China ? Is it possible to be more precise about the identity of the ships which carried the cargoes and in particular the extent to which Indonesian ships played a part in the growth of the harbours ? Finally, why was Palembang qualified to become the base from which Śrīvijaya expanded ? Krom contented himself with stipulating as necessary qualifications protection against its hinterland, a 'Hinduised' society, and a safe river-mouth anchorage. One geographer, however, has been surprised that Palembang, some way south of the Straits and without a particularly rich hinterland, should have become the major entrepôt in the region (1).

A similarly vague definition of the original commercial power of Śrīvijaya is provided by Van Leur, the most prominent writer in modern times to concentrate on the economic history of Indonesia. Van Leur was content to interpret the origins of Śrīvijaya in terms of the situation which obtained in the northern Javanese ports of the 17th and 18th centuries, when traders from different parts of Asia operated under the shadow of the ruler and his nobles. This aristocratic community amassed its wealth from personal trade, levies on transit trade, war and plunder (2). But

(1) Sion, 'Sur l'ethnographie de l'Indochine et de l'Insulinde', 390-2.

(2) Indonesian trade and society, 105-6. The essays in this volume are abbreviated translations of research accomplished in the 1930ies. Van Leur's Śrīvijayan evidence was in the form of quotations from much later Chinese sources.

Van Leur's views are as much a statement of belief as Krom's. Neither Krom nor Van Leur take one much further than Professor Coedès' inspired statement in his pioneer study of Srīvijaya in 1918:

'S'il n'a laissé qu'un nombre insignifiant de monuments archéologiques et épigraphiques, c'est apparemment que ses rois étaient plus occupés à surveiller le commerce des Detroits qu' à construire des temples ou à faire graver leurs panégyriques sur la pierre (1).'

In addition to these economic questions there is another matter on which the records of the first century of Srīvijayan history have so far provided inconclusive answers. Where in Indonesia were Srīvijaya's most important seventh century neighbours, rivals, and victims? In the first half of that century, before records about Srīvijaya begin, several Indonesian kingdoms were sending tribute to China (2). Where were they? Were they trading centres whose independence was later extinguished by Srīvijaya? Can we see in any of them Srīvijaya's predecessor as the main commercial kingdom of the region? Scholars have tended to be fascinated by the jig-saw puzzle challenge of the Chinese evidence of Indonesian toponyms, but in spite of numerous and ingenious studies it is still impossible to draw a map of western Indonesia on which are plotted the kingdoms of the seventh

(1) 'Le royaume de Srīvijaya', 25.

(2) They are discussed in chapters thirteen and fourteen.

century. Dr. de Casparis has wryly described the embarrassment of the university teacher in Indonesia when he has to explain to his students that Shê-p'o 閩 海, frequently mentioned in Chinese sources, may have been in Java, Sumatra, or the Malay Peninsula (1).

The vagueness of the economic and political background to the rise of Srīvijaya is also a handicap in studies of later periods in the history of the empire, and here, I suggest, is the chief justification for an examination of its origins. I came to realise the extent of the handicap when I once attempted to investigate Srīvijayan history at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century. At that time Srīvijaya, which was sending frequent trading missions to China, was in conflict with the Javanese and Tamils. Both groups of enemies claim to have raided its capital in 992 and about 1025 respectively. What were the reasons for this tension? To what extent may the economic pretensions of Srīvijaya have led to warfare? Unfortunately, I could find no convincing statement of Srīvijayan commercial activities in those years, nor did I have at my disposal a description of the kind of trading kingdom it once had been. In these circumstances I felt that I could not usefully consider whether the belligerency evidently

(1) Historians of South-east Asia, edited by D.G.E. Hall, 154.

provoked by Śrīvijaya was to some extent the result of an old trading policy which was becoming an anachronism, irritating to foreigners, or of a new and more ambitious policy which Śrīvijaya was devising to meet changed conditions of trade.

It was when I realised how unsubstantial was our knowledge of Śrīvijayan commerce in about 1000 that I began to take greater interest in the first century of Śrīvijayan history and became aware of the gaps in the evidence to which I have drawn attention. I then went back even further in time, but only to discover that not merely was there no agreement about the location of the first kingdoms presumed to be Indonesian but that there were also sharp differences of opinion about the handling of the earliest Indonesian foreign trade. The tradition has grown up that foreign rather than Indonesian shippers and merchants usually played the significant rôle. Though in recent years there has been more readiness to believe that Indonesian ships visited India in ancient times as well as Indian ships visiting Indonesia, the manner in which trade was conducted in the centuries immediately preceding the rise of Śrīvijaya has remained a mystery. This was my introduction to the famous controversy of the Po-ssü 波斯 ships, traders, and products, a problem to which much of this study will be devoted. Were the Po-ssü, as Hirth thought, Persian middlemen operating in South East Asia before the seventh century, for Po-ssü was the Chinese transcription of Sassanid Persia

from the fifth century onwards ? Or was Laufer correct when he argued that the term then and later sometimes referred to a South East Asian and probably Indonesian people (1) ? The Po-ssu problem seemed to me to be a major obstacle to the understanding of pre-seventh century Indonesian trade and therefore to the background to the rise of Srīvijaya. Thus it was that in the end I decided to make it the basis of a study of the early commerce of the region.

There has not been much research into Sumatran proto-history (2), and Srīvijayan studies have tended to look forward from the time of I Tsing's visit in 671 rather than backwards.

The first and indispensable phase of Srīvijayan studies was that of actually identifying this empire in references to it contained in several Asian literatures in order to supply a simple cadre historique. The first stages of the process of discovery were by means of Arabic and Chinese sources, a reflection of the earliest established activities of European orientalist, and it was only as late as 1918

- (1) I summarise this controversy in chapter ~~xxxx~~ ix
- (2) In addition to a few archaeological reports, I am aware of only three studies: J. Przyluski, 'Indian colonisation in Sumatra before the seventh century', JGIS, I, 2, 1934, 92-101; Sir Roland Braddell, 'Malayadvipa: a study of early Indianisation', MJTG, 9, 1956, 1-20; R. von Heine-Geldern, 'Le pays de P'i-K'ien, le roi au grand cou et le Singa Mangaradja', BEFEO, 49, 2, 1959, 361-404. Among the archaeological literature attention is drawn to A.N.J. Th. & Th. van der Hoop's Megalithic remains in South Sumatra, Zutphen, 1932, which describes affinities between these remains and the early metal culture of Tongking.

that Professor Coedès was able to bring into play Indonesian sources and to show that the name of the empire was Śrīvijaya (1). Arabist scholars were the first to become aware of it when Renaudot in 1718 translated an Arab text of 851 and brought to light an empire known as 'Zapage' (2). Langlès' translation of the same text in 1811 was published and discussed by Reinaud in 1845 (3). But later in the 19th century the range of source material was greatly widened as Chinese writings began to be tapped. Julien in 1861, through a study of Chinese transcriptions of Sanskrit words, reconstructed I Tsing's Shih-li-fo-shih 尸利佛逝 as Çrībhodja (4). In 1876 Groeneveldt identified San-fo-ch'i 三佛齊, a Sung and Ming toponym, with a port on the Palembang river and suggested that it was the

(1) 'Le royaume de Çrīvijaya'. The early interest of Arabists and Sinologues in Śrīvijaya was merely a consequence of its maritime importance, acknowledged long before its real name was known.

(2) Anciennes relations, 75-8. His text was the 'Ahbār as-Sin wa l-Hind', translated by Sauvaget in 1948.

(3) Relations des voyages. Reinaud also translated from Abū Zayd Hasan's work written about 916. Reinaud's notes on 'Zabedj' may be regarded as the début of Śrīvijaya in modern scholarship, for he called attention to the important fact of this vast 'Javanese' empire based on Java and Sumatra, one of whose islands was called 'Zabedj'; lxxiii-iv.

(4) Méthode, 103, no. 299. He found the name in I Tsing's Nan hai chi kuei nei fa chuan, later to be translated by Takakusu. Çrībhodja was subsequently rendered as Śrīboja or Çrīboja.

'Sarbazā' mentioned by Arabs in the ninth century (1). In 1883-1886 Beal, whose interest was Sino-Indian Buddhist relations, was the first to demonstrate the long span of what was later to be known as 'Śrīvijayan' history when he extended the equation of toponyms. He accepted Yule's view that Marco Polo's 'Malaiur' was Palembang, observed that I Tsing had said that 'Mo-lo-yu was the same as Shih-li-fo-shih', and suggested that Shih-li-fo-shih was the same as San-fo-ch'i, 'Sarbazā', and Palembang (2). Pelliot reviewed the evidence in 1904 and accepted the conclusions of his predecessors, though he was unable to establish the location of Shih-li-fo-shih in relation to Malayu and Palembang before the beginning of the eighth century. His work remains to this day the basic study of the foreign nomenclature for Śrīvijaya (3).

In 1918 Professor Coedès made the decisive contribution when he examined the Śrīvijayan inscription of Ligor

(1) Notes on the Malay Archipelago, 76, 'Sarbazā' was in fact first mentioned by Abū Zayd Hasan in the early tenth century translated by Reinaud; 93. It was described as one of the possessions of the Mahārāja of 'Zabadj'.

(2) 'Some remarks respecting a place called Shi-li-fo-tsai', 251-3. I do not intend to involve myself in the question why the Sung Chinese changed the transcription from Shih-li-fo-shih to San-fo-ch'i. The name 'Śrīvijaya' survives the transcription Shih-li-fo-shih, and San-fo-ch'i was on the same south-eastern coast of Sumatra as both Śrīvijaya and Shih-li-fo-shih.

(3) 'Deux itinéraires', 348.

and established that the T'ang transcription Shih-li-fo-shih was 'Śrīvijaya' and not 'Śrībhoja' (1). Calling attention to Indian inscriptions of the 11th century, also referring to Śrīvijaya, he was able to provide the first sustained account of the history of this empire, extending from the seventh to the 13th century.

Henceforth scholars shared two impressions. Śrīvijaya began as a kingdom in the second half of the seventh century but its history was intelligible only from the end of that century after certain political changes had taken place which gave it hegemony in Southern Sumatra. The second impression was that by about 700 the headquarters of the empire was at Palembang, though there has been no agreement about its earlier relationship with Malayu-Jambi, a subject bedevilled by I Tsing's mysterious statement that Malayu was 'now' Śrīvijaya. A few attempts have been made to

(1) 'Le royaume de Śrīvijaya'. The first note on the Ligor inscription was by Finot in 1910, soon after it had been recovered. Two other Śrīvijayan inscriptions had been found in 1892 and 1904, and the Kota Kapur one, discovered in 1892, was studied by Henrik Kern and Brandes, two distinguished Dutch historians of early Indonesia. Until Coedès' article, however, it was thought that 'Śrīvijaya' was the name of a king. One of Coedès' reasons for equating Shih-li-fo-shih with Śrīvijaya was that Fo-Shih was the Chinese name for the later Cham capital of Vijaya on the coast of Annam, an equation which was not in doubt. A survey of the early literature on the Old-Malay inscriptions is contained in Coedès, 'Les inscriptions Malaises de Śrīvijaya', BEFEO, 30 1930, 29-80.

upset the view that Palembang was the original headquarters and to look for it in the Malay Peninsula, but this form of heterodoxy has never found favour with the veterans, and indeed in 1936 Professor Coedès felt moved to comment on 'the strangest vicissitudes of the history of Srīvijaya in these last few years' and to call for a halt to the tendency to look for its original seat anywhere except at Palembang(1). His advice was not immediately heeded, but today there is, outside Thailand, little inclination to break with traditional thinking on this subject.

Since 1918 there have been further studies of the Srīvijayan inscriptions of the second half of the seventh century (2), but the chief gains in our knowledge of early Srīvijaya have been a result of research into central

(1) 'A propos d'une nouvelle théorie'. I glance at heretic views, recently reinforced by a Thai scholar, in chapter 13 ~~above~~. I am on the side of the veterans. Professor Coedès had, however, called attention to the way in which scholars, including himself, lost sight of his originally cautious attitude in 1918 concerning Palembang as the permanent site of the Srīvijayan capital; 'On the origin of the Sailendras', 63 note 4. Pelliot and Professor Sastri are among those who believe that the capital in the Sung period was more likely to have been in Jambi than in Palembang; 'Les grands voyages maritimes chinois au début de XVe siècle', TP, 30, 1933, 376-7; History of Sri Vijaya, 90-1. Professor Wheatley has recently seen the force of this view; 'Geographical notes on some commodities', JVERAS, 32, 2, 1959, 11-12.

(2) References to studies of these inscriptions are made in Coedès, 'Les inscriptions Malaises de Çrīvijaya', BEFEO, 30, 1930, 29-80, and de Casparis, Prasasti, II, 1, note 1.

Javanese history in the eighth and ninth century. The reason for this was the need to explain the political relationship between the islands of Java and Sumatra, which at different times were ruled by the Sailendra dynasty. The Sailendra dynasty is mentioned on the reverse and undated side of the Ligor inscription, a surprising circumstance which has provoked an immense amount of study. This dynasty is also mentioned in the Kalasan inscription of Central Java, issued in 778, and in other inscriptions from that area during the next forty years. The Nālandā inscription of Bihar province, however, which was issued about 860, described the ruler of Suvarnadvīpa, or Sumatra, as a descendant of the Sailendras in a manner which makes it clear that the Javanese Sailendras were meant. It is natural that scholars should have investigated this problem(1). Today we know more of the nature of the Sailendra link between the two islands. A member of this dynasty, expelled from Java by rival dynasty about 856, established himself shortly afterwards in unknown circumstances in Sumatra (2).

(1) The first major reaction to Professor Coedès' study of 1918 was Krom's inaugural lecture in which he proposed a Sumatran period of Javanese history. Ten years later Stutterheim proposed a Javanese period in Sumatran history.
 (2) De Casparis, Prasasti, II, 258-260. It is also possible, though by no means proved, that there was some form of alliance, perhaps by marriage, between the Javanese Sailendras and the Śrīvijayan ruling family in the second half of the eighth century, as a result of which the Sailendra face on the Ligor inscription was engraved. The latest discussion of this face is by Professor Coedès, 'L'inscription de la stèle de Ligor: état présent de son interprétation', Oriens Extremus, 6, I, 1959, 42-48.

Nevertheless, the gains from this research, valuable though they are, have not increased our knowledge of the origins of Srīvijaya. The most recent contribution of importance to the first years of Srīvijayan history is Dr. de Casparis' study of certain inscriptions of the later part of the seventh century, which has thrown a vivid light on the religious practices of the ruler and the restless condition of the young empire (1). But there remains a need for further enquiry into the background to its rise, even though the earliest Srīvijayan and indeed Sumatran inscription so far discovered is not earlier than of 683.

What, then, are the documents available for such a study? It is true that there are several undated inscriptions from Java and Borneo, usually attributed to the fifth century A.D., but they do not take this study very far. Faute de mieux I have had to rely on foreign documents.

The paucity of Indonesian literary records before the seventh century is unfortunate, and especially so is their complete absence as far as Sumatra is concerned. This island figures prominently in my study. It should be borne in mind, however, that as far as Sumatra is concerned the only certain explanation for the absence of epigraphic material is at present a technical one; not enough digging

(1) Prasasti, II, 1-46.

has been undertaken. The expense of bringing labourers from Java to assist archaeologists is postponing the day when many riddles may be solved by the spade. Eight years ago a survey of southern Sumatra gave a hint of what might be achieved by large-scale field work (1). The results of future archaeological research in Sumatra and elsewhere may provide a check on the correctness of some of my conclusions and especially of my understanding of the location of the coast which had a major share of the foreign trade before the rise of Srivijaya. It is unlikely that inscriptions will be found which deal explicitly with commercial matters; the earliest ones so far discovered are unhelpful in this respect. On the other hand, the sites and dating of new inscriptions, their religious details, and above all the names of kingdoms mentioned in them could confirm or upset my conclusions.

In default of inscriptions I have relied chiefly on Chinese sources. The Chinese connexion with the Archipelago before the seventh century was still not very intimate, and I suspect that additional information from their literature will come to light by chance discoveries made by students primarily interested in the history of southern China. I have unearthed nothing startlingly new. On the other hand, I have tried to widen the range of reference by admitting

(1) The report of the expedition to southern Sumatra is contained in Amerta, 3, 1955, Jakarta, 1-40.

to the study of Indonesian proto-history Chinese information from the third century A.D. and also other types of information, chiefly botanical and pharmacological, which, in my opinion, constitute source material about Indonesia.

Inevitably I have consulted the well-thumbed chapters on the 'barbarians' in the Chinese imperial histories from the fifth century onwards, and I have noted a few passages which seem to have special significance for my subject. I have also made use of several fragments from geographical works now lost. They have been attributed to the third century A.D. and are preserved in later encyclopaedias and especially in the T'ai p'ing yü lan, compiled in the late tenth century (1). To the best of my knowledge the information in some of these fragments has not so far been studied from the point of view of early Indonesian history, though it is more illuminating than anything available in early Indian or Greek and Roman literature, the conventional sources for Indonesian proto-history. These third century fragments are also important because, studied in conjunction with Chinese records of the following centuries, they indicate that there was no significant change in the location of the important Indonesian trading centres known to the Chinese from the third to the seventh century. From this long span

(1) I have used the reprint of the Han fên lou 涵芬樓 facsimile of a Sung print, Chung hua shu chü, Peking, 1960.

of records I have tried to reconstruct a framework of historical geography as the setting for the economic developments I discuss. I do not imply, of course, that cultural progress was not achieved elsewhere in the region; it is merely that the Chinese heard chiefly of trading centres and that the location of these centres did not greatly change.

But it has to be remembered that my third century sources are only fragments from lost books. To some extent it is possible to assess their truthfulness in the light of what is known about the nature and extent of the Chinese interest in South East Asia at that time, but some doubt must always remain concerning their authenticity. The need always to justify the use of fragments from lost books has to be emphasised even more in connexion with some fragments I use from books, no longer available, probably written in the fifth or early sixth century. They are Kuo I-Kung 郭義恭's Kuang chih 廣志, Ku Wei 顧微's Kuang chou chi 廣州記, and Hsü Piao 徐表's Nan chou chi 南州記. The fragments, which deal with plants and other natural products, are quoted in a materia medica, usually attributed to Li Hsün 李珣 of the eighth century. Unfortunately, Li Hsün's work is also lost, and it is possible that this materia medica was written by some one who lived not earlier than the tenth century. Its fragments, containing the quotations from the fifth or sixth century

texts, are quoted in the Ch'ung hsiu chêng ho ching shih
chêng lei pei yung pên ts'ao 重脩政和經史證類備用本草
 a revision of T'ang Shên-wei 唐慎微's materia medica
 of 1116 undertaken in 1249 (1).

I am conscious of, and do not want to disguise, the vulnerability of a historical reconstruction based on texts which are today only available in this unsatisfactory form. It means that nothing which they say can be taken for granted (2). A sound instinct may have led my predecessors to ignore them or use them with extreme caution. Yet these fragments purport to deal with a period in time for which there is practically no other form of documentation at present available for Indonesian proto-history with the exception of a few inscriptions, some vague and undatable Indian references to the region, an occasional reference in Mediterranean works, a few scraps of archaeological evidence, and the slender chapters in the Chinese imperial histories. If these fragments are acceptable evidence, they throw useful light on early Indonesian commerce. Three texts are involved, and, apparently independently, they reflect an identical trading situation. If errors have crept in, all of them have been affected. But my chief plea on their behalf is that their information makes sense in terms of two

(1) Jên min wei shêng ch'u pan shê, Peking, 1957.

(2) In chapter six I discuss what I call the 'vintage texts' of Kuo I-kung, Ku Wei, and Hsü Piao.

contexts which I have sought to elucidate.

The first of these contexts is a pharmacological one. I shall deal with some tree resins mentioned in the fragments. Their medical functions have been analysed in the Chinese pên ts'ao 本草 or materia medica, and can be compared with the functions attributed to certain resins in the materia medica of ancient India and Europe. In this way the botanical identification of the resins mentioned in the fragments can be reasonably well established. They were, in particular, frankincense and a variety of myrrhs. I hope to show that there are good reasons for believing that they were known in southern China before the seventh century A.D. and that references to them in my fragments are by no means surprising. A pharmacological analysis also seems to show that, in the wake of the original maritime trade which brought frankincense and myrrhs to southern China, substitutes appeared for them in the form of two Indonesian resins; pine resin and benjamin gum. The substitute resins are supplied by vegetation which flourishes only in certain parts of Indonesia, and especially in Sumatra. In Sumatra too, though also in Borneo, are found the crystals of tree camphor, perhaps the most famous of all western Indonesian natural products. Because the records about camphor are reasonably precise and well dated, the history of the early camphor trade provides a valuable cross-check on the inferences I shall make about the

resins mentioned in the fragments (1). The pharmacological context^{also} introduces questions of botanical geography, and in this way one begins to think in terms of Indonesian sources of production and the extent to which the latter may have coincided with centres of international trade.

Though the subsequent commercial importance of these resins and of camphor has been recognised, in the western mind they have never had the romantic associations of cloves and nutmegs from eastern Indonesia. Every school boy has heard of the fabulous spice islands, but I suspect that the jungle of western Indonesia and especially of Sumatra originally played a more important rôle in stimulating foreign interest in the Archipelago. Sumatran produce was to a large extent the basis of the earliest Indonesian exports to China.

The other context I have invoked is the movement of trans-Asian trade before the seventh century A.D., which, in my opinion, is the essential background for the study of early Indonesian commerce as well as the background which

(1) The reader is referred to Van Steenis' maps on leaf seven of the Atlas van Tropisch Nederland (Uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Nederlandsch aardrijkskundig), The Hague, 1938. It will be seen that pine trees are found today only in the extreme north of Sumatra. The Styracaceae family, a member of which produces benjamin gum, is represented in most parts of Sumatra, Borneo, and the Malay Peninsula but only in the extreme west of Java. The Dryobalanops family, which includes the camphor tree, grows in a number of areas in Sumatra, the southern Malay Peninsula, and Borneo, but not in Java.

makes sense of the fragments preserved from the Kuang chih, the Kuang chou chi, and the Nan chou chi. Owing to an absence of adequate indigenous evidence the student of early Indonesia inevitably takes the risk of trespassing into unfamiliar fields of study far away from that country in order to find a reflection of Indonesian activities in foreign literatures. I have had to look for synchronisms of events happening in different parts of Asia before the seventh century in order to explain the expansion in Indonesian trade with China in the fifth and sixth centuries. Especially significant for me are the circumstances affecting communications between the markets of western Asia and China. By 'western Asia' I mean the Arabian Peninsula, Persia and also modern West Pakistan, for West Pakistan was under Sassanid influence in this period. The trade between western and eastern Asia was of great antiquity, and it provides the perspective for studying how western Indonesia emerged as an important centre of international commerce.

By means of these two contexts I have tried to interpret the information contained in the fragments of the fifth or early sixth century. If I sometimes seem to accomplish this too confidently it is because I do not wish to burden the narrative with frequent reservations.

The chief conclusion I have reached from a study of early Indonesia based on foreign sources, a conclusion which perhaps justifies my trespassing into a variety of specialised

fields of research, is that two distinct periods can be distinguished before the seventh century. In the first of the periods, extending into the third century, western Indonesia was not yet trading with China. In the second period, already visible by the early fifth century, Sino-Indonesian trade was under way.

I hope that this chronological framework may be helpful in subsequent studies of early Indonesia. The need for such a framework becomes clear when one reads the somewhat featureless accounts of pre-seventh century Indonesian history such as are exemplified in Krom's Hindo²-Javaansche geschiedenis (1). Krom's difficulty in writing this section of his book was that he lacked established and significant dates and themes around which to organise his narrative. All he could do was to list data which he believed to belong to these centuries. Thus he mentioned the few Sanskrit inscriptions from Borneo and Java and a miscellany of archaeological remains, also chiefly from the two islands. These details he supplemented with a catalogue of foreign notices, regarded by him with a varying degree of conviction as possible references to the region. He even eked out his narrative by noting the Indian-like names of the tribes of the Sembiring Bataks of northern Sumatra as a possible illustration of early Indian influence there. For his purpose was

(1) Second edition, 1931, 54-103.

primarily to provide some form of explanation for the situation which revealed itself in the fuller evidence of the seventh century. This situation was conceived as one in which Indian culture had already made a considerable impact. The earlier centuries were therefore the time when Indonesians were absorbing Indian culture. Yet there is hardly any evidence of what the Indians did after they arrived or even when they first arrived. Because few landmarks by way of actual happenings were available to Krom, he had to fall back on a largely hypothetical statement of the development of Indian influence, supported by vague references to an expanding trade, to make this part of his history comprehensible.

By reducing these centuries to two phases of Indonesian foreign trade, possibly corresponding to periods of political and cultural development, I hope that a number of items in Krom's catalogue of evidence such as the Sanskrit inscriptions may become more meaningful, especially when they are brought into relationship with other evidence I shall suggest, which was not at Krom's disposal. I have also tried to show that some Indonesians, far from always being the passive recipients of foreign influences, had the wit to turn changing circumstances elsewhere in Asia to their advantage by means of their seamanship and commercial acumen.

I wish to end this introductory chapter by acknowledging help I have received. To Berthold Laufer's pioneer work in

1919 I am greatly indebted (1). His study of Asian products reaching China and his systematic botanical identifications have been invaluable; though I have parted company with him on matters relating to Indonesia, his perception of the commercial practice of substituting one kind of product for another first suggested to me the possibility of undertaking the present study. Dr. Wang Gungwu's 'Nanhai trade' has the merit of interpreting Chinese notices about South East Asia in terms of the ever-changing background in China itself, an approach which has been insufficiently invoked by South East Asian historians (2). Dr. Wang's work is an indispensable handbook for anyone interested in early South East Asian trade. Professor Paul Wheatley's meticulously documented account of the historical geography of the Malay Peninsula up to A.D. 1500 has provided me with a firm basis of topographical identifications as a point d'appui for the study of western Indonesian historical geography (3). A reliable statement of the centres of settlement on the Peninsula, sometimes mentioned by the Chinese as departure points for ships bound for Indonesia, is an aid which others working before me lacked. I have exploited it. Finally,

(1) Sino-Iranica.

(2) 'The Nanhai trade', JMBRAS, 31, 2, 1959, 1-135.

(3) The Golden Khersonese, Kuala Lumpur, 1961. Before this work was published I availed myself of Professor Wheatley's The historical geography of the Malay Peninsula before A.D. 1500, a Ph.D. thesis presented to the University of London, 1957.

I mention with respect the towering figure of Paul Pelliot, whose scattered foot-notes on early Chinese texts can be neglected by students of early South East Asian history only at their peril (1). I have been conscious of and have tried to benefit from the contributions of many scholars, but for my kind of subject the debt to Pelliot is the greatest.

To Professor Hall, my former supervisor, I am grateful for continuous discussion and encouragement. I am grateful to Professor Basham for taking over the supervision of this thesis and for the benefit of his experience of the problems of medieval Asian research. Dr. de Casparis has made available an unrivalled knowledge of early Indonesian history. I have been advised on botanical matters by Dr. Howes, of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, who allowed me to handle specimens of the resins I shall be describing. Others who have helped me will be mentioned in the following chapters. But above all I have to thank Dr. Katherine Whitaker for giving up much of her time on my Chinese texts and preventing me from making elementary errors of translation. Her lack of professional interest in Indonesian history has guaranteed her freedom from bias in textual interpretation.

(1) It is a matter of great regret that I have been unable to consult Pelliot's notes on 'Persie' in the still unpublished second volume of his Notes on Marco Polo. I made two unsuccessful attempts to obtain a preview of this article. Its impending publication is the Damocles' sword hanging over my study.

The study falls into three parts. The next three chapters are concerned to establish the probability that as late as the third century A.D. the foreign trade of western Indonesia did not extent beyond India and Ceylon. At that time the Chinese neither traded with western Indonesia nor were very interested in the region, and I shall not linger long on a subject which belongs more properly to those familiar with Indian sources. The next part of the study, comprising six chapters, deals with the problem of the Po-ssu trade in the fifth and sixth centuries. This problem is the heart of the matter, and I remain convinced that until it is resolved no satisfactory understanding of these centuries of Indonesian history can be reached. I shall try to identify the chief factors responsible for an expansion in Asian maritime trade, factors which coincide in time with the first appearance of Indonesia on the trade route between the Indian Ocean and southern China. I shall then seek to assess the effects of this trade on western Indonesia by examining the resins which were travelling to China by sea. I conclude this part of the study with what I believe is a fair and likely description of the rôle of the Indonesians in the Po-ssu trade during the fifth and sixth centuries. In the last four chapters I shall consider the impact of the trade on the different coasts in the region in order to sketch the development before the seventh century of what I have come to regard as the favoured

trading coast. By way of conclusion I shall interpret the rise of Śrīvijaya in the seventh century against the commercial background of earlier times in order to define its heritage from the past and to enquire how far this heritage was likely to stand Śrīvijaya in good stead in the future.

CHAPTER TWOEARLY ASIAN TRADE ROUTES AND SOUTH EAST ASIA

When the first account of Srīvijaya was published by Professor Coedès in 1918 scholars were prompt to agree that the power and prosperity of this empire were derived from its mastery of the Straits of Malacca, a famous ocean thoroughfare in the history of trade. One recalls the vision of Raffles, who saw in Singapore at the southern entrance to the Straits a harbour superlatively placed astride the international shipping lines and also capable of attracting to itself the 'country trade' of South East Asia. Perhaps no one has described in more ringing language than Tomé Pires the advantages of a port commanding the Straits:

'Whoever is lord of Malacca has his hand on the throat of Venice. As far as from Malacca, and from Malacca to China, and from China to the Moluccas, and from the Moluccas to Java, and from Java to Malacca and Sumatra, (all) is in our power (1).'

But there may be a danger of being dazzled and misled by the later prestige of the Straits and of imagining that as soon as traders in ancient times succeeded in reaching these calm waters they were able before long to complete the maritime route between India and China. The evidence reviewed in this chapter will make it clear that the voyage

(1) Suma Oriental, 2, 287. Pires arrived in Malacca in 1512, less than two years after the Portuguese conquest.

across the Bay of Bengal to Indonesia through the Straits and the voyage from Indonesia to China were two distinct feats of navigation, achieved at different times. The former preceded the latter by several centuries and, even when the all sea route had come into being, the journey from the Bay of Bengal to China still normally took the form of two separate voyages. The customary itinerary is shown by I Tsing in the seventh century, who describes the journey from Tāmraliptī to Kedah and Malayu and then only to China (1). Ships were then making their way to Sumatran harbours lying some distance south of the Straits rather than by the shortest sailing route to China which passes the neighbourhood of modern Singapore. The circumstance that cargoes reached Sumatran harbours for eventual shipment to China does not contradict the fact that for ships the Straits led immediately to Sumatra and not to China.

Although the stages of this itinerary are well known, historians may have given insufficient attention to the relatively late development of the voyage from Indonesia to China in comparison with the voyage from the Indian Ocean through the Straits to Indonesia (2). Yet, because it was

(1) Mūlasarvāstivāda-ekaśatakarman, 477c; Takakusu, Record, xxxiv. I translate this passage on page 498.

(2) I suspect that Ferrand's influence is why little attention has been given to this point. Ferrand believed that a 'Roman' embassy travelled to China via Indonesia in A.D. 166; 'Le K'ouen-louen', JA, Juil-Août, 1919, 19-20. He was even prepared to believe that the return journey of a Chinese mission from India at the beginning of the first century A.D. was through the Straits; ibid, 60. I shall suggest below that it is most unlikely that the itineraries were as Ferrand imagined them to be.

the voyage from Indonesia to China which alone made possible the creation of entrepôt centres in Indonesia, the history of early Indonesian commerce is unintelligible unless one remembers the different origin in time of the two sections of the all sea route. The subsequent pioneering of the voyage from Indonesia to China was, I believe, the major event in early Indonesian commerce. When did it happen? How much later was it than the opening of the Straits to traffic from the Indian Ocean?

There can be little doubt that the Straits, providing access to Indonesia from India, were used for this purpose in the first centuries of the Christian era, but unfortunately there are no means of knowing when this first happened (1). Indians would have been in the best position to give the

(1) There is no reliable evidence that the Sunda Straits were ever used in early times. Ferrand quoted a statement by Chou Ch'ü in 1178 that ships from the Indian Ocean used this route to China; 'Le K'ouen-louen', JA, Juil-Août, 1919, 41-2 and note 1 on 42. Yet the text merely says that these ships, and also ships from Java and the countries to the east, always made their way to China by way of the territories of Srivijaya; 無不由其境; LWTT, 2, 22. The territories in question are not indicated. Ferrand guessed that pilgrims in the fifth century travelled through the Sunda Straits; ibid, 50. One reason for his belief in the early use of the Sunda Straits was because he thought that the ancient toponym 'Barus' referred to a port on the north-west coast of Sumatra, and this led him to make heavy weather of a straightforward Chinese itinerary of about A.D. 800; ibid, 57 note 3. I return to this itinerary in chapter 12. By Pires' time the Sunda Straits were used, though pilots considered that the route down the west coast of Sumatra was 'not very clean'; Suma, 1, 162. The Sunda Straits would have come into their own when Moslem shippers were competing with Portuguese for the Java trade in the 16th century.

information, but their literary genius expressed itself in less humdrum ways. The evidence of the ^{epics} ~~epics~~ and the Buddhist canon does not take one very far. The Jātaka tales describe dangerous voyages to Suvannabhūmi, 'the Gold Country', which Lévi prudently suggested was no more than the countries to the east of the Bay of Bengal (1). The Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa in the Rāmāyana refers to Suvarṇadvīpa, which in later centuries certainly means Sumatra (2). The Tamil narrative poem Pattinappālai, probably composed in the early centuries A.D., describes a flourishing trade between southern India and Kūlagam, usually identified with Kedah (3). But from the historian's point of view the usefulness of these sources is compromised by the fact that he does not know when the present versions of the texts were written, how ancient was the information about foreign countries originally made available by sailors, or how far, if at all, the writers of these texts had any idea of the significance of the geographical terms they incorporated. Only further textual criticism can throw light on these problems. Even of the Pattinappālai, one of the earliest Tamil poems, all that may be said of it is that 'it cannot be placed much later than the end of the second century A.D. or the beginning of the third century' (4). Of

(1) 'Ptolémée, Le Niddesa et la Brhatkathā', 29.

(2) Chapter 40 of the Rāmāyana.

(3) Discussed by Nilakanta Sastri in JGIS, V, 2, 1938, 128-130.

(4) Nilakanta Sastri, 'The Tamil land', 26.

all the ancient Indian texts I have most confidence in the information contained in the geographical list in the Mahāvīdya, a commentary of the Aṭṭhavaṅga. This list contains a number of Far Eastern place names thought by Lévi to reflect a state of knowledge available in the second and third centuries A.D. (1). One of the places it mentions is Yavadiya, or 'Java'. We do not know when the Mahāvīdya's toponyms were first known in Indian ports. Nevertheless, if Lévi's conclusion is correct, it gives us a terminus ante quem for these toponyms.

Perhaps a Greek text provides the earliest certain reference to traffic across the Bay of Bengal, though it cannot be inferred from it beyond doubt that ships were then also sailing into the Straits of Malacca. The reference is supplied by the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, probably a compilation of material acquired throughout the second half of the first century A.D. (2). It is the well known passage which refers to ships sailing from ports on the south-east coast of India.

'... those (ships) which make the voyage to Chryse and to the Ganges, they are called colandia and are very large (3).'

(1) 'Ptolémée, Le Niddesa et la Brhatkathā', 51.

(2) The literature on the dating of the Periplus is summarised in Wheatley, 'The Malay Peninsula as known to the West before A.D. 1000', 8, note 1.

(3) Schoff's translation, 46. Some have wondered whether the colandia were South East Asian ships, for Chinese sources refer to K'un-lun-tan (Ships); Stein, 'Le Lin-yi', 64-7; Christie, 'An obscure passage from the Periplus'.

Chryse is usually understood to mean South East Asia and perhaps the Malay Peninsula. But the author of the Periplus also describes the flourishing overland silk route from China through Bactria to Barygaza in western India and by way of the Ganges (1), and one suspects that, in comparison with the overland route, there was still very little commerce between China and India via any route through South East Asia in the first century A.D. There is certainly no Mediterranean evidence concerning the use of the Straits of Malacca at that time, though this does not of course mean that Indians were not occasionally sailing to the Straits.

The Chinese, like the Greeks and Romans, were capable of writing matter-of-fact accounts of foreign parts. Moreover they were much closer to South East Asia. Yet the usefulness of their accounts also has its limit, and I shall suggest later in this chapter why the earliest Chinese records about Indonesia are so disappointingly uninformative. There is, however, a well known passage in the Ch'ien Han shu to which significance has been attached by some historians. It purports to describe a mission sent by Nan Wu Ti (141 - 87 B.C.) to Huang-chih 黄支 (2). I find it difficult to conclude

(1) Schoff's translation, 48.

(2) CHS, 28, 下 37a-38a. The most recent translation is in Wang Gungwu, 'Nanhai trade', 19-20. The passage may be a later interpretation.

from this passage that the Straits were open to foreign shipping as early as this time and even less that voyages were then already being made from southern China to the Straits. The value of the evidence is vitiated by the uncertainty of the location of Huang-chih. Ferrand reconstructed the name as Kāñcī, inland from the Coromandel coast (1), but there is no certain evidence in southern Indian records that Kāñcī was a toponym at so early a date (2). But even if Huang-chih was Kāñcī, there is still no reason for believing that the Chinese envoys crossed the Bay of Bengal from the Straits of Malacca or that they had first sailed to the Straits across the South China Sea. The

(1) 'Le K'ouen-louen', JA, Juil-Août, 45-50. He relied on a communication from Henri Maspero that Huang-chih would have been pronounced as yuân-tsi, a phonetic equivalence which Duyvendak thought was imperfect; Africa, 11.

(2) Kāñcī appears in Pallava inscriptions attributed to the fourth century A.D. In A.D. 2 the ruler of Huang-chih sent a living rhinoceros to Wang Mang, the Chinese usurper, and this fact has led writers to identify Huang-chih with Abyssinia, Atjeh in northern Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula. The literature on the subject has been summarised by Wheatley, JMBRAS, 30, 1, 1957, 80-81. I regard as fragile any argument based on the rhinoceros. My colleague, Dr. J.R. Marr, knows of no early references to the rhinoceros in southern Indian literature. The Chinese associated this animal with northern India; HHS, 188, 16b. I am attracted to Bagchi's view that Huang-chih meant Gaṅga in the sense of the valley of the Ganges; A comprehensive history of India, ed. Nilakanta Sastri, Bombay, 1957, vol. 2, 772. A voyage up the Burma coast is more likely to have been within the competence of Indian Ocean sailors in the first century B.C. Northern India was known by repute to the Chinese of the Earlier Han period and might have been the object of a mission.

evidence in fact points to the opposite conclusion. The list of places en route from southern China to Huang-chih, presumably the envoys' itinerary though it is not specifically described as such, includes Fu-kan-tu-lu 夫甘都盧, the port for Huang-chih. But Fu-kan-tu-lu was reached after a short journey by land.

步行可十餘日有夫甘都盧國
 由夫甘都盧國舟行可二月餘有黃支國

'Travelling on foot for over ten days (from Shen-li reached after a voyage of over twenty days), there is the kingdom of Fu-kan-tu-lu. From Fu-kan-tu-lu, going by boat for over two months, there is the kingdom of Huang-chih. (1)'

Professor Wheatley has concluded that the land journey was over the Peninsula. This is a reasonable construction of the itinerary, which makes it impossible to believe that Wu Ti's envoys visited the Straits (2).

Equally unsatisfactory is the evidence in the same passage of the Ch'ien Han shu about a mission sent to Huang-chih by the Chinese usurper Wang Mang in A.D. 1 - 5. The envoys are said to have returned via P'i-tsung 皮宗. Ferrand thought that the name could have been a transcription of the Malay word pisang, or 'banana', and therefore a reference to an islet in the southern end of the Straits

(1) As translated by Wang Gungwu, 'Nanhai trade', 19.
 (2) Golden Khersonese, 10-11.

mentioned in a Ming dynasty sailing direction (1). P'i-tsung may have meant pisang and have been in the Malay-speaking world, but it is extraordinary if one of many small islands known to be in South East Asia in Ming times was chosen to plot the envoy's return journey (2). The passage is certainly not incontrovertible evidence that the journey was from the Straits across the South China Sea (3).

The earliest Chinese references are therefore no more helpful than the Indian or Mediterranean ones for fixing the time when the Straits were first used by foreign ships. It must remain a matter of opinion whether Han Wu Ti's mission inaugurated a continuous maritime trade between India and China (4), though as evidence of trade between Indonesia and

(1) 'Le K'ouen-louen', JA, Juil-Août, 1919, 46-7, 60. Ferrand quoted from the Hsi yang Ch'ao kung tien lu, written by Huang Shêng-ts'êng in 1520.

(2) Professor Wheatley thinks that it is not unlikely that P'i-tsung was a kingdom in the Malay Peninsula or a neighbouring island; Golden Khersonese, 11-12. I do not agree with him that Wang Mang's envoys' journey was wholly by sea. P'i-tsung could have been astride the Peninsula. One wonders whether P'i-tsung was in an area inhabited by Malay-speaking Orang Laut on the Tenasserim coast.

(3) Lamster thought that P'i-tsung was near the Karimata Strait south of the equator in western Indonesia, whence the voyage was made to China during the south-west monsoon; 'Handelsreizen in Oost-Indie', 991-98. But he also believed that the rhinoceros evidence in connexion with Huang-chih meant that the latter was in Atjeh in northern Sumatra. As an example of what I regard as an exaggerated view of the significance of the Huang-chih evidence I quote Duyvendak's misleading comment that the 'description of the organisation of the trade in the first century B.C. ... might apply partly as late as the Ming dynasty'; Africa, 9.

(4) If Wu Ti's enterprise was followed by frequent missions from the barbarian countries mentioned in this passage, as the CHS states, it is curious that there is no evidence of them with the exception of a mission from Huang-chih in A.D. 2; CHS, 12, 4b.

China the Huang-chih episode is completely worthless. Nevertheless, one may imagine that in the first and second century A.D. Indian ships were occasionally sailing down the Straits to Indonesia; possibly from southern India as well as from the Ganges and down the coast of Burma.

But when one considers the voyage from Indonesia to China there are grounds for believing that it began much later than the voyage from India to Indonesia, implied in the evidence of the Periplus and the Mahānidēsa commentary. The first certain evidence for the voyage from Indonesia to China is in fact not earlier than the fifth century A.D. Moreover it is possible to indicate a time later than the second century A.D. when merchants reaching western Indonesia from India were still unlikely to have found their way to China by any all-sea route. The evidence points to some date between the third century and the fifth century when the voyage across the South China Sea was first undertaken by merchant ships.

I wish first to mention briefly the sailing situation as it had developed by the early fifth century. It is reflected in the records of two pilgrims, Fa Hsien and Gunavarman. The former returned from Ceylon to China in 414 and travelled by sea all the way; the latter, a prince from Kashmir, a few years later travelled to China from the Indian Ocean by the same means. Fa Hsien sailed in May from Yeh-p'o-t'i 耶婆提 in Indonesia to China. Yeh-p'o-t'i has always been taken to mean Yavadvīpa, though not necessarily the island

known today as 'Java'; this is not the only time a 'Java-like' toponym in foreign records has caused confusion in early Indonesian studies (1). It has been argued that Fa Hsien's sailing directions make it possible that the harbour he called Yeh-p'o-t'i, perhaps in the sense that it was in the Yeh-p'o-t'i region, may not have been very far south of the equator, for his ship sailed 'north-east' at a time when the south-western monsoon was blowing in the South China Sea. If he had sailed from the island of Java, his ship would first have travelled with the south-eastern monsoon behind it until it reached the neighbourhood of the equator (2). Fa Hsien's illuminating evidence, however, is the anxious conversation of the merchants on board who, after more than a month at sea, endured about 40 days of stormy weather.

(1) For the Arabs the 'Java-like' toponym of Zabāg meant Sumatra rather than the island of Java.

(2) Giles' translation, second impression, 1956, 78. This point has been stressed by Mr. Grimes, a professional meteorologist who studied Giles' translation of Fa Hsien's records; 'The journey of Fa-hsien', 78. According to Mr. Grimes Fa Hsien must have sailed from a harbour north of the equator to have had the south-western wind behind him at the beginning of the monsoon period. He admitted, however, that the voyage could also have taken place from somewhere between the Bangka Straits and Singapore, presumably from a harbour in south-eastern Sumatra. It is possible, however, that mistakes in Fa Hsien's directions have crept into the text.

商人議言常行時正(正)可五十日便到
廣州今已過期乃日將無俾耶

'The ordinary time for the voyage to Canton (from Yeh-p'o-t'i) is about fifty days. We have now exceeded that limit by many days; must we not have gone out of our course? (1)'

There is no hint in Fa Hsien's account that the ship intended to break its journey at an intermediate port, and it is clear from the comments of the unhappy merchants that a non-stop voyage was habitual. They had hoped to reach Canton in about 50 days, a sailing time which may be compared with Tomé Pires' voyage to Canton from Malacca in June to August, 1517, which took at least 45 days (2).

Gunavarman's evidence is equally helpful. He sailed from Shê-p'o 闍婆, the best known Chinese transcription of 'Java' (3). The Liu Sung emperor Wên Tî (424 - 453) had ordered a ship to fetch Gunavarman, but before it arrived the monk, 'having no fear of voyaging', boarded a merchant ship

(1) Kao sêng Fa Hsien chuan, Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 51, no. 2085, 866a-b. Giles' translation is on page 79. Provisions had been taken on board for fifty days.

(2) Suma Oriental, 1, xxx. Arabs in the ninth century estimated that the voyage from Pulau Tioman, off the south-eastern coast of the Peninsula, to Canton took 60 days; Sauvaget, Relation, 9. In 992 envoys from Java reached Ningpo in 60 days; SS, 489, 17a.

(3) Chavannes' translation of this passage is in TP, V, 1904, 198-9. The text is in Kao sêng chuan, No. 3. Taishō Tripitaka, volume 50, no. 2059, 240c:

跋摩以聖化宜廣不憚遊方先已隨商人竺
難提船欲向一小國會值便風遂至廣州

with the intention of making for 'a small kingdom'. The wind, however, was found to be favourable and the ship sailed non-stop for China. The 'small kingdom' may have been Champa on the Annam coast or instead some harbour in western Indonesia, but the original intention of the captain is immaterial; he was clearly capable of sailing direct to China provided the wind was favourable, and it is hardly likely that he had never done so before. Cūṇavarman's evidence is therefore consistent with Fa Hsien's; in both cases ships made an unbroken voyage across the South China Sea. Nor should it be forgotten that the Liu Sung emperor was prepared to send a ship to Shê-p'o, though the crew who would have manned it are unknown. The same emperor also sent envoys to three Indonesian kingdoms in 449 to confer titles on the rulers (1). Thus there is some evidence that in the first half of the fifth century the voyage between Indonesia and China was being undertaken regularly.

Can one discover the time when this important development began? The date of the first voyage is certainly unknown, but it is possible to indicate a relatively late period when it had not yet taken place. This was in the first half of the third century A.D., and this period can therefore be regarded

(1) Sung shu, 97, 8a. The kingdoms were Ho-lo-tan 訶囉曇, Pan-huang 盤黃, and P'an-ta 盤達. I shall return to them in chapters ~~ten~~ and eleven.

as a terminus post quem for searching for the reasons which later brought the voyage into being for merchant ships some time between then and the early fifth century. Within these 150 years the conditions of Indonesian commerce must have changed out of all recognition.

The Chinese evidence which supplies this terminus post quem also provides, though only casually, the first certain, if fleeting, glimpse of western Indonesia. The glimpse is sufficiently clear to enable one to test the authenticity of any reference to early contacts between China and the Indian Ocean which has been construed to mean that Indonesia was in maritime communication with China before the third century A.D. The chief western Indonesian kingdom known to the Chinese in the first half of the third century was Ko-ying 可人 焉, or Chia-ying 加 焉, but it must be emphasised that the Chinese did not know of it because its ruler sent tribute or because its trading ships visited China. They knew of it only because they had more knowledge of Funan, a kingdom on the lower reaches of the Mekong river in the southern part of modern Vietnam, known until recently as Cochin-China. As a consequence of Chinese interest in Funan they were able indirectly to learn something about other parts of South East Asia, presumably from traders in Funan.

I analyse what is known about Ko-ying in the following chapter. In the rest of this chapter I shall consider briefly why the Chinese were interested in South East Asia at

all during the first half of the third century A.D. In my opinion the Chinese were at that time scarcely aware of the natural wealth of the region and probably knew nothing of the wealth of Indonesia, with the exception of the clove in the eastern Archipelago. I am concerned to avoid misunderstanding on this point. Chinese foreign trading interests were originally further afield, and I believe that it is only when their traditional commercial priorities are recognised that one begins to approach the subject of early Indonesian commerce in the correct perspective. The earliest Chinese interest in South East Asia, apart from their province of Tongking, was on account of a trade route which passed through Funan and across the Malay Peninsula, but not through western Indonesia, and led to the Indian Ocean. Communication with more distant parts of Asia and not the resources of nearby South East Asia was the reason for their earliest connexion with parts of South East Asia. The natural wealth of Indonesia was no more the occasion for the earliest Indonesian trade with China, beginning as I have suggested some time between the third century and about A.D. 400, than was the natural wealth of Funan for the trade between Funan and China in the third century A.D. The relationship between China and Funan in the third century is therefore a preview, as it were, of the factors which later brought western Indonesia into contact with China, and for this reason it is helpful to say something of Funan.

Funan was the name given by the Chinese to the kingdom in the lower Mekong valley, and it is to them that we owe much of our information about it (1). Its dynastic traditions reach back perhaps to the first century A.D. As a consequence of Khmer pressure from the north Funan began to disintegrate in the second half of the sixth century and finally collapsed in the seventh century. Little is known of the extent of its influence on the mainland, but there can be no doubt of its commercial importance in the first centuries of the Christian era. In addition to miscellaneous details in Chinese texts about its links with India, its ships, and its embassies to China, the Chinese description of its maritime possessions and archaeological discoveries from Oc-Eo in the trans-Bassac region of Cochinchina reveal that it lay astride and eventually controlled much of the earliest international trade route through South East Asia. Especially noteworthy is the fact that at the beginning of the third century A.D. a Funanese ruler conquered the northern part of the Malay Peninsula and brought under his control Tun-sun 頓遜, a small but prosperous entrepôt at the head of the Peninsula which formed a trading link between Persia, northern India, Funan, and the Chinese province of

(1) Pelliot's compilation of the Chinese sources on Funan is still the basic study of this kingdom; 'Le Fou-nan', BEFEO, III, 1903, 248-303.

Tongking (1). The Oc-Eo discoveries in Cochin-China confirm the cosmopolitan nature of Funan's foreign contacts, though the archaeological evidence does not indicate when Oc-Eo was at the height of its prosperity (2). In addition to the products of local industries, there are objects from India, western Asia, and the Mediterranean, and a few from China. From the Mediterranean came a gold bracelet of the reign of Antoninus Pius and a medal with a date corresponding to A.D. 152. The Iranian remains include a glass disc with a bust recalling an effigy on a Sassanid coin. Of special interest is the script on some rings which reminded Professor Filliozat of the script on documents from central Asia belonging to a period earlier than the fifth or sixth century, and suggested a northern rather than a southern Indian

(1) The description of Tun-sun is in LS, 54, 7a, and on pages 74-76 I give my reasons for attributing this passage to third century information. For a reconstruction of the Funanese dependencies see Wheatley, Golden Khersonese, Figure 46. The ruler who conquered Tun-sun also conquered Ch'ü-tu-k'un 屈都[?] 𠵼 ; LS, 54, 9a. Tien-sun 典子[?] in this part of the LS is a variant of Tun-sun which I discuss later in this chapter. Professor Stein has suggested that Ch'ü-tu-k'un was Ptolemy's Cattigara and situated near Cap St. Jacques in the Saigon region; 'Le Lin-yi', 108-23. If Professor Stein is correct, the commercial importance of Funan would be even more enhanced.

(2) The publication of Malleret's L'archéologie du delta du Mékong, vol. III, is still awaited. In it he will deal with the international aspects of the sites he excavated. In the meantime one can consult Malleret, 'The buried town of Oc-Eo' ABIA, 15, 1940-7, 11-lvi, and Coedès, 'Fouilles en Cochinchine', AA, 10, 1947, 193-9.

derivation (1). One suspects that Funan often saw the same kind of merchants as were using the trade route through the oasis cities of Turkestan in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Funan and its dependencies were beyond all doubt in communication with India and western Asia, and this must have been why the Wu government of southern China (222 - 280) sent Chu Ying 朱應 and K'ang T'ai 康泰 as envoys to Funan. Their records are the basis of our earliest knowledge about the kingdom. Though there are no surviving texts which specifically state the envoys' brief, I am convinced that the Wu government was interested in the trade which passed through Funan rather than in Funan itself. I have already stressed the importance of the early Chinese commercial priorities as the proper background to a study of early Indonesian trade not only in the third century but even later, and it is necessary for me to indicate why I have been led to this conclusion.

The Chinese became interested in South East Asia long after they had been in contact with the non-Chinese world of central and western Asia (2). The centre of their civilisa-

(1) Reported by Professor Coedès in 'Fouilles en Cochinchine', 196. But in 1949 Professor Filliozat stated that the Oc-Eo Brāhmī script was slightly later than that of Virapatnam on the Coromandel coast and could even be as late as about the eighth century; 'Les échanges', 23-4.

(2) I do not pretend to bring forward new material on China's early relations with central and western Asia. Among the works I have consulted are: Hirth, China and the Roman Orient; Shiratori, 'Chinese ideas reflected in the Ta-ch'in accounts'; Wang Gungwu, 'The Nanhai trade'; Ch'ên Chu-t'ung, Liang Han ho hsi yü têng ti ti ching chi wên hua chiao liu; Chang Wei-hua, Lun Han Wu Ti.

tion was in northern China, and the South East Asian 'barbarians' were not originally their neighbours, but only the neighbours, and perhaps kinsmen, of the 'not yet Chinese' inhabitants of the territories on and south of the Yangtse (1). This was the situation even when the northern Chinese dynasties of Ch'in and Han began to acquire influence and eventually political control in the Tongking area from the end of the third century B.C., for their hold there was never so strong that they were able to extend their power further south than Tongking. On the contrary, the Chinese only began to consolidate their position south of the Yangtse in later centuries when they had to move their capital and migrated south in many thousands to escape invading nomads in the north. In Tongking itself, to which a taste for luxurious articles had led the emperors to leapfrog over the still unassimilated inhabitants of southern China, the government had to cope with frequent revolts from the Vietnamese and the Chams, the southern neighbours of the Vietnamese. The continued Chinese occupation of the region depended to a large extent on an increasingly sinicised Sino-Viet ruling class, who provided personnel for the local administration. In the sixth century a Vietnamese official in the Tongking government, described in local

(1) Professor Stein's 'Le Lin-yi' contains a number of comments on the way the early Chinese seemed to regard the population of southern and coastal China and of northern Indo-China as a single ethnic unit.

tradition as the descendant in the seventh generation of a Chinese refugee to Tongking, attempted to establish himself as an independent ruler (1).

It is true that the Han emperors were interested in the sea produce, ivory, and aromatic woods from their Tongking territories and possibly in the famous gharu wood of the Chams (2). But it is difficult to believe that access to South East Asia, represented by the Chinese conquest of Tongking, led to an extensive trade in the produce of other parts of South East Asia. There is little in the records of the third century to suggest that the Chinese realised that the region contained great natural wealth. There are only a few casual references to the vegetation of the countries on or close to the Funanese-dominated trade route through South East Asia. Tun-sun on the Malay Peninsula had a market for fragrant flowers, but there is no suggestion that the flowers were exported to China (3). Tu-k'un 都昆, a dependency of Funan, produced the mysterious huo-hsiang 霍香, but there is

(1) Durand, 'La dynastie des Lý antérieurs d'après le Việt diên u linh tập', BEFEO, 44, 2, 1954, 437-8.

(2) On the products of Tongking see Wang Gungwu, 'The Nanhai trade', 25. The third century Nan chou i wu chih mentions Cham gharuwood; TPYL, 982, 4349B. This work is discussed on pages 88-85. It is an important source for Ko-ying.

(3) TPYL, 981, 4344a, quoting K'ang T'ai's Fu nan chuan. The passage in fact states that these flowers were used by the local population for religious purposes:

屯通國入恒以香花事天神

no evidence that the Chinese traded in it (1). Nor is there any evidence that the Chinese were by now trading in Indonesian produce, with one possible exception. This was the clove, if one can believe that the chi-shê perfume 奚佳舌香 was an early name for ting hsiang 丁香, or clove (2). K'ang T'ai heard of the chi-shê perfume from the Ma-wu islands 馬五洲, to the east of Funan, which are a possible early reference to the famous spice islands of the eastern Archipelago (3). If cloves reached China in the third century, the trade was probably through Funan (4).

The meagre description of South East Asian produce in the Chinese texts of the third century implies that the Wu government was interested in an entirely different type of

(1) Ibid, 982, 4348a, quoting K'ang T'ai's Wu shih wai kuo chuan. The text is simply: 都其在夫南山有翟者

I avoid the problem of the

identity of huo-hsiang, which Laufer thought might have been 'malabathron'; JA, 12, Juil-Août, 1918, 5 - 49.

(2) Chang Yü-hsi 常胤錫, author of the 1057 materia medica,

notes that, according to the Ch'i min yao shu 齊民要術, people considered that chi-shê looked like nails and that therefore they called it ting tzü perfume: 奚佳舌香俗人以其似丁子故呼為丁子香

PTKM, 34, 1364a. The Ch'i min yao shu was written in the beginning of the Eastern Wei period (534 - 549); Wang Yü-hu, Chung kuo nung hsieh shu lu, Shanghai, 1957, 31.

(3) TPYL, 787, 3485a. Ma- is omitted from the name which is given in its full form in LS, 54, 8a. Ma-wu is located in terms of Chu-po 言者之篇, which I shall later identify with north-eastern Borneo. Chu-po helps to fix the position of Ko-ying and I return to it on pages 88-90.

(4) On pages 89-90 I note instances of Funan's trade with the eastern Archipelago.

produce to be found in the port of Funan and therefore available for re-shipment to southern China. This produce comprised luxury goods from western Asia and the Middle East. The Wu government needed them as re-exports from Funan because it was deprived of the conventional access to the markets of western Asia when the partition of post-Han China in the early third century left the Wei dynasty in control of the approaches to the overland trade route through Turkestan.

The earliest form of foreign trade known by the Chinese of the Yellow river basin had been with western Asia, and the value they attached to it set the tone of their foreign trade during most of the period covered by the present study. The origins of this trade may reach back at least as early as the middle of the sixth century B.C., when the Achaemenid empire of the Persians was established, and it is likely that Han Wu Ti's (141 - 87 B.C.) conquests merely increased the scale of a trade of great antiquity (1). Nevertheless, as a result of Li Kuang-li's victories in Ferghana at the end of the second century B.C., this trade increased in importance for the princes of northern China. Hsiung-nu influence in western Turkestan in the first half of the first century A.D. must have damaged it, but there was a revival later in that century after Pan Ch'ao's victories and again in the first half of the second century after Pan Yung's victories in

(1) Maspéro, 'Influences occidentales en Chine avant les Han', 51.

Turkestan. It was towards the beginning of the Later Han dominion in central Asia that the name and reputation of Ta-ch'in 大秦 began to reach northern China, probably between A.D. 91 and A.D. 97 (1). Though the derivation of this toponym remains a mystery, there is general agreement that it represented the Roman provinces in the Middle East and also, no doubt, other Middle Eastern countries with which Roman citizens from the eastern Mediterranean traded (2). Ta-ch'in superseded Li-kan 黎軒 (which with its variants probably means Alexandria) from the end of the second century B.C. as the main focus of Chinese interest in 'the western regions', for, in the words of the Hou Han shu,

凡外國諸珍異皆出焉

'The precious and rare objects of all foreign countries come from (Ta-ch'in) (3).'

The wealth and rare luxury produce of the western regions, invested by Taoists with magical associations, are likely to have made a considerable impression on educated Chinese during the early centuries of the Christian era. In comparison, South East Asia would have seemed a barbarous and poor region. Two examples can be given of the prestige of western Asia not only in northern China but in Asian trading circles in general. Both are of the early third century A.D., one from northern

(1) Shiratori, 'Geography of the western regions', 96.

(2) A fairly recent affirmation of this view is by Professor Demiéville in a review of Professor Stein's 'Le Lin-yi'; TP, 40, 1951, 357. It was 'the Roman world'.

(3) HHS, 188, 14a. This statement follows a long list of Ta-ch'in products.

China and the other from southern Chinese sources. Wei Wên

Ti (220 - 226) is supposed to have said:

夫珍玩所生皆中國及西域他方
物比不如也

'The places of origin of precious things are always China and the western regions; the products of other countries cannot be compared with them (1).'

K'ang T'ai picked up similar sentiments during his visit to Funan, for in his writings there appears the following passage:

外國稱天下有三衆中國為人衆大秦為
寶衆月氏為馬衆也

'There is a saying in foreign countries that there are three abundances: the abundance of men in China, the abundance of precious things in Ta-ch'in, and the abundance of horses among the Yüeh-chih (2).'

Some of the 'precious things' from western Asia were tree resins (3). There were also textiles, coral, pearls, and amber, and one suspects that the Han Chinese attached considerable value to manufactured goods and especially to a variety of glass-ware in the form of imitation jewellery and ornaments of coloured glass from the factories of Alexandria, Tyre, and Sidon. Han Wu Ti is said to have sent envoys by

(1) TPYL, 820, 3649a, apparently quoting the Wei lüeh of the first half of the third century A.D. I follow Pelliot who believed that the position of this text between two passages from the Wei lüeh meant that it could only refer to this emperor; Marco Polo, I, 449.

(2) Chang Shou-chieh's eighth century commentary in the Shih chi, 123, 4b. Pelliot could not decide whether the saying originated in India, but it was not a Chinese one; 'La théorie des quatre fils du Ciel', 121-3.

(3) See pages 191-195 for some evidence for the early Chinese trade in western Asian resins.

sea to buy glass-ware (1). The prestige of Mediterranean gems was such that an imitation industry may have been established by the first half of the first century A.D. near Virapatnam on the Coromandel coast (2). According to one version of the Wu li 吳 歷, the first Funanese mission to China in A.D. 225 brought glass-ware (3).

The northern Chinese interest in Ta-ch'in produce is reflected in their accounts of central and western Asia, written on the basis of information gathered when Chinese influence was strong in Turkestan. Probably using Pan Yung's report to the emperor in A.D. 125 or a little before, Fan Yeh, compiler of the chapter in the Hou Han shu on the western countries, notes that the north-west coast of India was in communication with Ta-ch'in, whose precious things were to be found there (4). In Parthia, also in communication

(1) TPYL, 808, 3591a, quoting from the geographical monograph of the CHS. This may be a reference to the mission to Huang-chih.

(2) R.E.M. Wheeler and others, 'Arikamedu. An Indo-Roman trading station on the east coast of India', Ancient India, 2, 1946, 17, 101.

(3) Pelliot, 'Le Fou-nan', 283. The discoveries at Begram in Afghanistan have yielded considerable quantities of glassware, with a terminal date for production of perhaps about A.D. 250. These remains have been interpreted as the dues collected in transit trade between the eastern Mediterranean and the Far East. On Begram see R. Ghirshman, 'Bégram: recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchins', Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, vol. 79, Cairo, 1946. The Begram findings are summarised by Sir Mortimer Wheeler in 'Archaeology and the transmission of ideas'; Antiquity, 26, 1952, 180-192.

(4) HHS, 188, 16b. The part deals with India:

西與大秦通有大秦珍物

with Ta-ch'in, were to be found the precious things from the region west of the ocean beyond Parthia (1). The Wei lüeh states that Ta-ch'in needed Chinese silk and therefore frequently traded by sea with Parthia and other countries (2). This sea trade was also mentioned in the Hou Han shu, which stressed the profits to be made from it (3).

The references to shipping routes in the western Indian Ocean, not much later than similar information contained in the Periplus, probably describe the maritime communications which interested the Han emperors when they controlled Turkestan. Lying between north-western India and the Red Sea, these routes were an additional means of bringing the riches of Ta-ch'in to China by means of the overland route through central Asia. Han Wu Ti's mission to Huang-chih, if it ever took place, is an even earlier example of the way the Chinese originally regarded the sea as a link between themselves and western Asia, for it is noteworthy that the mission was sent to buy 'bright pearls, glass, rare stones, and strange things 明珠辟流離佳奇石異物 (4). Wang Mang's

(1) HHS, 188, 12b; 自北南乘海乃通大通其土物海西珍奇異物焉

(2) SKCWei chih, 30, 33a; 又常利得中國絲綢以為胡綬故數
海安息言者向交市於海中

(3) HHS, 188, 14a; 海安息天竺交市於海中利有十倍

(4) CHS, 28^a, 37b. Dr. Wang Gungwu suggests that the merchants of the pearl ports of Hsü wu and Ho p'u in southern China encouraged the despatch of this mission because they wanted to supplement their own supplies with foreign specimens; 'Nanhai trade', 21.

motives for trading with Huang-chih would have been more urgent than Wu Ti's, for Wang Mang had no influence on the overland route, temporarily lost to the Hsiung-nu.

As a result of disturbances in central Asia during the second half of the second century A.D. the function of the maritime route was extended from the western Indian Ocean to the Far East, though it is impossible to decide what was the volume of the trade. All one can do is to note some details of tributary missions to China. With the exception of the Huang-chih mission in A.D. 2, these missions had come overland until as late as the second century A.D. Han Wu Ti's successes in Ferghana about 100 B.C. stimulated them (1). In A.D. 87 and 101 Parthia sent missions (2), and several missions were sent from northern India between A.D. 89 and 105 (3). But in 159 and 161 missions from northern India arrived by sea because of the severing of communications in the western regions (4). And in 166 Ta-ch'in itself despatched by sea its

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- (1) CHS, 96, 2a: 自武帝將軍伐大宛之後西域震懼多遣使來貢獻
- (2) HHS, 188, 12a-b.
- (3) Ibid, 16b, in the passage on 天竺 .
- (4) HHS, 188, 16b:

和帝時數遣使貢獻後西域反畔乃絕
至桓帝延熹二年四年步隨從日南徼外
來獻

only mission in Han times. It purported to come from An-tun 安敦 of Ta-ch'in, but Fan Yeh (389 - 445), compiler of this part of the Hou Han shu, suspected its authenticity for the significant reason that the envoys brought no jewels with them (1). Valuable gifts were needed to prove to a Chinese historian that the mission in fact came from the Ta-ch'in ruler (2).

The first tributary missions to travel by sea therefore came not from nearby South East Asia but from much further away. The sea continued to be useful for the same reason in the early third century, when the Wu government was depending on maritime trade for western luxuries much more seriously than any Han government had done. In 226 a Ta-ch'in merchant visited the Wu capital on the lower Yangtse and was cross-examined by the emperor Sun Ch'üan, who sent an official to accompany him on the return journey (3). Lū Tai 呂岱, the Wu governor of Tongking, seems to have played a specially important rôle in advertising the southern Chinese interest in maritime trade, for soon after 226 he sent an envoy 'to the

(1) HHS, 188, 14a-b. The mission came via the Annam coast.

並無珍異疑傳者過焉

(2) Hirth suggested that the 'envoys' were enterprising Roman subjects, embarrassed by the Parthian war, who came to trade direct with China, probably on foreign ships, and offered 'tribute' in the form of tropical goods bought on the way; China and the Roman Orient, 173-178.

(3) LS, 54, 22a-b. The Chinese official died on the journey.

south' (1). Between 226 and 231 tribute was sent from Funan and the Chams, and the emperor congratulated Lū Tai on his 'meritorious performance', presumably in stimulating these missions (2).

With the arrival of these Funanese and Cham envoys missions were at last beginning to come from South East Asia, nearly 70 years after the first mission from northern India came by sea along the coast of Funan and Lin-yi. By now, however, Funan was sufficiently important to justify a visit by the Wu envoys, Chu Ying and K'ang T'ai, between 245 and 250 or perhaps about twenty years earlier (3). The reason for the

(1) SKCWu, 15, 9a.

(2) Ibid, 9a: 既得外扶南林邑堂明諸王各遣使奉貢
權嘉其功

This passage is in Lū

Tai's Biography.

(3) Since Pelliot's study in 1903 it has generally been accepted that this mission went between about 245 and 250; 'Le Fou-nan', 303. Pelliot maintained this view in his posthumously published Notes on Marco Polo, I, 448. Later, however, two attempts have been made to argue that the mission was in fact sent by Lū Tai shortly after 226 and in the early years of the Wu dynasty, presumably when it first realised its dependence on maritime trade; Hsiang Ta, T'ang tai Ch'ang an yū hsi yū wên ming, 566-8; Sugomoto, Tōnan Ajia shi kenkyū, (English translation), 706. I do not propose to enter into a discussion of this problem, and I am content to regard K'ang T'ai's evidence as information available in the first half of the third century. Nor do I want to speculate on his identity beyond noting, with Pelliot, that his surname suggests that his ancestors came from Sogdiana and that it would not be surprising if, like the Buddhist K'ang Sêng-hui's father, one of K'ang T'ai's ancestors had come by sea to Tongking as a trader; Pelliot, 'La théorie des quatre fils', 123-4. Certainly an envoy with this background would have made an excellent commercial observer.

visit can hardly have been because the Chinese suddenly discovered that the local products of Funan were very valuable. The pattern of Chinese foreign trade up to that time makes it certain that these envoys went to Funan to investigate, from a convenient observation post within South East Asia, the way in which the western Asian trade through the region was being handled. An additional motive may have been to help the Wu ruler decide whether to protect this increasingly important trade by conquests down the coast of Annam to Funan (1).

K'ang T'ai's fragments contain more than details about Funan. They record, for example, information about Ta-ch'in (2) and the river system of northern India (3). But perhaps the most significant insight into where his real interests lay is provided by his description of exactly the same shipping route which is contained in the Hou Han shu, the route between north-western India and Ta-ch'in. Though he only visited distant Funan in Cambodia, like Pan Yung and the other Han agents he wanted to record information about the route which actually led

(1) Dr. Wang Gungwu's suggestion; 'Nanhai trade', 33.

(2) For example TPYL, 696, 3105b, on the corded trouser belts worn by the Ta-ch'in people 袴袴縵縵 ; 767, 3403b, on the crystal tiles 水精為瓦 in Ta-ch'in; 816, 3628b, on the woven gold thread 金縵縵成 of both Ta-ch'in and northern India; 971, 4306a, on dates and other fruits of Ta-ch'in etc.

(3) Shui ching chu, I, 16b-17a. On his ignorance of the relationship between the Indus and Ganges river systems see Petech, Northern India, 24.

to the Roman Orient. For of Chia-na-t'iao he writes:

從加那言周洲西南入大灣可七八百里乃
到枝尾黎大江口度江逕西行極大秦也

'South-west of Chia-na-t'iao one enters a great bay. It is about 700 or 800 li (?away). Then one reaches the great estuary of the Chih-hu-li river. One crosses the river and continues west and (in the end) arrives at Ta-ch'in (1).'

This passage must have been an excerpt of an account of a voyage towards and beyond Chia-na-t'iao and thence to Ta-ch'in from an undisclosed centre south of Chia-na-t'iao. Another of his fragments gives additional information about the same voyage.

從加那言周州乘大舶張七帆時風一月
餘日乃入秦大秦國也

'From Chia-na-t'iao chou one boards a great merchant ship. Seven sails are unfurled. With the seasonal wind (with the monsoon behind one) one enters Ta-ch'in in a month and some days (2).'

The sailing time mentioned by K'ang T'ai may legitimately be compared with Pliny's estimate of the length of the voyage from Ocelis near Aden to Muziris on the Malabar coast, which was 40 days with the monsoon (3). Unfortunately no records exist of the Mediterranean writers' estimate of the return journey, but it has been suggested that from Muziris to

(1) Shui ching chu, 1, 43b.

(2) TPYL, 771, 3419a. The text gives 加 instead of 那. Ta-ch'in. I have translated it as -na. The TPYL text gives 秦大秦 instead of 大秦 Ta-ch'in.

(3) Natural History, VI, xxvi, 104 (Loeb Classical Library, translation by H. Rackham).

Alexandria took about the same time as the outward journey (1). Chia-na-t'iao could hardly have been anywhere else than on the west coast of India. That this was in fact its location is indicated by a further statement of K'ang T'ai which seems to be a description of part of western Asia as far east as northern India:

康秦曰安息月支天竺至伽那言周洲
皆仰此鹽

'K'ang T'ai says: An-hsi (Parthia-Persia), Yüeh-chih, (and) T'ien-chü (northern India) as far as Chia-na-t'iao all depend on this salt (2).'

The salt in question came from the Indus (3).

Chia-na-t'iao must have been fairly close to one of the estuaries of the Indus (4), and K'ang T'ai's plotting of its position on the western Indian Ocean sailing routes is a vivid reflection of the kind of commercial intelligence with which

(1) Warmington, Commerce, 51.

(2) Shui ching chu, 1, 11b-12a.

(3) TPYL, 59, 284b, quotes Wan Chên's Nan chou i wu chih as follows:

天竺有恒水一焉 新陸水水特甘香
下有魚土也 Wan Chên, a contemporary of K'ang T'ai, also confuses the Ganges and the Indus but makes it clear that the latter contained 'genuine salt'.

(4) Pelliot did not commit himself about Chia-na-t'iao's location; 'Textes chinois', 251-2. Professor Petech wonders whether the name can be reconstructed as Ganadvipa, possibly in South East Asia; Northern India, 53. I ask whether the name is connected with Ptolemy's 'harbour of Kanthi', which would correspond to the Prakrit Kantha and the harbour in the Gulf of Cutch known today as Kanthaka. I owe this suggestion to Mr. B.N. Mukherjee. The transcription is not perfect, but one cannot expect K'ang T'ai's informants always to have exactly rendered foreign place names.

the southern Chinese were at that time concerned. The same orientation of interests is revealed in the evidence about Tun-sun, at the northern end of the Malay Peninsula.

The following description of Tun-sun appears in the Liang shu (1).

其南界三千餘里有頓遜國在海嶼上地方千里
城去海十里有五王並羈屬扶南頓遜之東界
通交州西界接天竺安愈徼外諸國往還交
市所以然者頓遜回入海中千餘里漲海
無崖岸船舶未曾得逕過也其市東西交會日有
萬餘人珍物寶貨無所不有

'More than 3,000 li from the southern frontier of Funan is the kingdom of Tun-sun, which is situated on a steep headland. The land is 1,000 li in extent; the city is 10 li from the sea. There are five kings who all acknowledge themselves vassals of Funan. The eastern frontier of Tun-sun is in communication with Chiao chou (Tongking) the western with T'ien-chū (northern India), and An-hsi (Parthia). All the countries beyond the frontier come and go in pursuit of trade, because Tun-sun curves round and projects into the sea for more than 1,000 li. The Chang hai (South China Sea) is of great extent and ocean-going junks have not yet crossed it direct. At this mart east and west meet together, so that daily there are innumerable people there.

(1) LS, 54, 7a.

Precious goods and rare merchandise - there is nothing which is not there (1).'

This passage seems to me to epitomize the reasons why the Chinese were interested in South East Asia in the first half of the third century A.D. The Funanese dependency of Tun-sun was an essential trading link between the western Indian Ocean and southern China. Before, however, I note the implications of the evidence about Tun-sun for the history of early Indonesian commerce it is necessary to dispose of a difficulty. The Liang shu is the history of the southern Chinese dynasty which ruled from 502 to 556. Is it proper to regard this passage as a description of Tun-sun in the first half of the third century ?

(1) Here I reproduce Professor Wheatley's translation in Golden Khersonese, 16. He places Tun-sun at the head of the Malay Peninsula; *ibid*, Fig. 46. I have, however, altered his translation of 山奇 in the first sentence. He followed Dr. Waley's advice in amending 山奇 to read 待奇 or 'ocean stepping stone'. With respect I feel that the amendment is unnecessary. Three other examples of the use of 山奇 or 'steep headlands' occur in third century accounts of maritime South East Asia, and this suggests to me that the term was conventionally used in connexion with Tun-sun. These other examples are contained in TPYL, 787, 3485a, where K'ang T'ai describes P'u-lo-chung 蒲羅中; in TPYL, 988, 4372a, where Wan Chên describes the shipping hazards in the South China Sea; in TPYL, 790, 3501a, in a passage about Chū-chih 句利佳. In TPYL 788, 3489a, the compiler of this encyclopaedia, quoting from the Nan shih on Tun-sun in a passage identical with parts of the Liang shu passage quoted by me above, explains that 山奇 means 'crooked cliffs 曲山'. The description of Tun-sun does not suffer by the removal of the vivid expression 'ocean stepping stone'. Tun-sun clearly filled that rôle.

K'ang T'ai certainly knew of Tun-sun (1), and this place was also known to his contemporary Wan Chên[^], the author of the Nan chou i wu chih (2). Moreover the Liang shu's account of Funan refers on several occasions to K'ang T'ai's visit and observations, and it is not difficult to believe that the account of Tun-sun, included in the account of Funan, was based on K'ang T'ai's works, for K'ang T'ai was particularly interested in sea itineraries.

(1) TPYL, 981, 4344a, where K'ang T'ai, the author of the Fu nan chuan, describes the fragrant flowers of Tun-sun 屯日 子孫.
 (2) TPYL, 788, 3489a, where Wan Chên describes the conquest of Tien-sun 田孫 by Fan Man 范曼 of Funan. The same event is referred to in the LS, 54, 9a, where Tun-sun appears as Tien-sun 田孫. Here is an instance of the way the passage on Funan in the Liang shu incorporates information/sources, perhaps in this case from the Nan chou i wu chih. The NCIWC is consistent in its transcriptions of Tun-sun. In TPYL, 790, 3501a, in a passage ^{about} ~~from~~ Chü-chih 句利, the NCIWC gives Tien-yu 田游, where I assume that -yu 游 is a scribal error for -sun 孫. In TPYL, 982, 4348a, the NCIWC seems to give Ch'ü-sun 黈孫, though this part of the passage is in small characters as though the compiler of the TPYL added it himself; ch'ü 黈 must be a scribal error for tien 田. Professor Wheatley accepts the identification of Tun-sun with Tien-sun, which seems to me to be certain on two grounds. In the first place, the entrepôt of Tun-sun was on the Chang hai (the South China Sea), and Fan Man had to cross the Chang hai to attack Tien-sun. In the second place, the TPYL, 788, 3489a, quotes the 'T'ang shu' that Tun-sun 屯日 子孫 produced huo-hsiang, while the NCIWC, in TPYL, 982, 4348a, states that Ch'ü-sun 黈孫 (in error for Tien-sun 田孫) produced huo-hsiang. Professor Wheatley's discussion of the problem is in Golden Khersonese, 15-19.

from
earlier

One will be able to judge at the end of the present study whether Tun-sun, far away from the Straits of Malacca, would have been so important an entrepôt in the sixth century. In the meantime I shall note three considerations which make it impossible for me to believe that information about Tun-sun appearing in the Liang shu refers to any time than the first half of the third century. In the first place, the Liang shu has separate passages on two kingdoms on the Malay Peninsula. P'an-p'an 盤安 盤安, reasonably satisfactorily located on the isthmus of the Peninsula (1), began to send embassies to China in the fifth century (2), while Lang-ya-hsiu 狼牙脩, even more satisfactorily located in or near the Patani region further south on the east coast of the Peninsula (3), began to send embassies in the sixth century (4). If Tun-sun still existed as a well known place name in the sixth century, why did not the Liang shu supply a separate passage about it as it did for P'an-p'an? I suspect that the reason was that its territories had been incorporated by one of its neighbours and that it had lost its identity as Tun-sun. In the second place, I note that Tun-sun was said to trade with An-hsi. But An-hsi

(1) Wheatley, Golden Khersonese, 50.

(2) LS, 54, 15b-16a. P'an-p'an seems to have been the base for a coup d'état in Funan at the beginning of the fifth century; LS, 54, 10a, in connexion with the arrival of the second Kaundinya 小高 陳女 to Funan.

(3) Wheatley, Golden Khersonese, 252 - 267.

(4) LS, 54, 18a-19a.

was no longer the name for Persia during the period of the Liang dynasty, and the Liang shu has a section on Persia under the heading of Po-ssü 波斯 (1). In the third century, however, before either the northern or southern Chinese had occasion to alter their name for Persia, An-hsi, the name for pre-Sassanid Persia, was still current. It seems clear to me that ^{the} Liang shu was in fact incorporating older information in its account of Tun-sun (2). My final reason for believing that this was the case is that, according to the Liang shu, Tun-sun was an important trading centre because the Chang hai, the South China Sea, was not crossed by ships. This statement would be an obvious inaccuracy if it refers to the situation in the sixth century, for we have seen in this chapter that early in the fifth century, a hundred years before the accession of the Liang dynasty, Fa Hsien and Gunavarman were sailing from Indonesia to China by a route which involved no stops on the way.

For these reasons I am satisfied that the evidence about Tun-sun refers to the third century, and I am inclined to attribute it to K'ang T'ai, the Chinese expert on trading routes

(1) LS, 54, 44a-b.

(2) Another incorporation from earlier sources is indicated by a comparison of LS, 54, 21b, with HHS, 188, 16b. The former states: 其西與大秦安通交布海中物大秦珍物

The latter states: 西與大秦通有大秦珍物

India and Ta-ch'in and was probably based on a common source.

who transcribed Tun-sun with the characters which appear in the Liang shu passage.

The evidence about Tun-sun, familiar to students of South East Asian history, has a close bearing on the conditions of Indonesian commerce in the third century. Three important Chinese observations can be disentangled. The first is that the Peninsula, on which Tun-sun was situated, was a long one:

'... Tun-sun curves round and projects into the sea for more than 1,000 li.'

This sentence reads like a description of the Malay Peninsula in which the statement that Tun-sun 'curves round' indicates the south-eastern tilt. The Liang shu says that Tun-sun had 'five kings', and it is reasonable to interpret the account of the Tun-sun entrepôt as a reference to only one of the kingdoms. The name therefore has a double meaning: it means the leading kingdom and also the Peninsula to which the kingdom gave its name.

The second and significant Chinese statement about Tun-sun is as follows:

'The Chang hai (South China sea) is of great extent and ocean-going junks have not yet crossed it direct (1).'

For me this passage means that in the first half of the third century ships did not sail across the South China Sea from the Indo-Chinese Peninsula to ports on the southern part of the Malay Peninsula or in western Indonesia; if they had wanted to visit these ports, they would have made their way down the east coast of the Peninsula from the Gulf of Siam, probably via Tun-sun (2). But this would have been a circuitous journey, and the third Chinese observation about Tun-sun is therefore by no means unexpected:

(1) Under 3⁵/₂ the K'ang hsi tzü tien defines the Chang hai as the 'southern ocean' 南海. Professor Wheatley considers that in the third century A.D. the expression referred only to that part of the South China Sea separating the Indo-Chinese mainland from the Malay Peninsula or, in other words, the Gulf of Siam; Golden Khersonese, 15, note 2. Provided that he understands the whole of the east coast of the Peninsula to be on the shores of the Gulf of Siam I have no objection to his translation of the expression Chang hai. I have, however, used the term 'South China Sea' instead of 'Gulf of Siam' in the passage about Tun-sun translated above because the Gulf of Siam seems to suggest merely the waters enclosed by the northern Malay Peninsula and the eastern coast of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula as far south as Cochin-China, LS, 54, 8a, makes it plain that the Chang hai could refer to the ocean east of Funan = southern Vietnam. 'South China Sea' indicates the area further south to the equator across which ships subsequently sailed from western Indonesia.

(2) This is also Professor Wheatley's understanding of the situation; Golden Khersonese, 288. He does not commit himself on the subject of whether the sea-route, avoiding the journey over the Peninsula, was being used at that time.

'The eastern frontier of Tun-sun is in communication with Chiao chou (Tongking), the western with T'ien chu (northern India), and An-hsi (Parthia) (1)'

One objection may be raised against my view that this evidence implies that in the first half of the third century foreign traders preferred to cross the Peninsula rather than sail up and down the east coast of the Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca. Attention can be called to a passage in the Liang shu concerning the voyage of a Funanese prince in that period.

吳時扶南王范旃遣親人蘇物使其國
從扶南發投物利口循海大灣中正西
北入歷灣邊粵國可一年餘到天竺
江口

'In the time of the Wu (dynasty) the king of Funan, Fan-chan, sent one of his relations, Su-wu, on an embassy to this kingdom (India). From Funan, going to the port of Chū-li, he (then) followed the sea into a large bay. Directly to the north-west he entered and passed through the bay, on the shores of which were several kingdoms. In rather more than a year he reached the mouth of the river of India (2).'

Su-wu's itinerary could have been down the coast of the

(1) Nor is it surprising that the ancient P'ong Tūk site at the head of the Peninsula should have yielded a Ptolemaic lamp; Coedès, 'The excavations of P'ong Tūk', JSS, 21, 1927, 195-209; C. Picard, 'La lampe alexandrine de P'ong Tūk', AA, 18, 1955, 137-149. The oldest Mon inscription so far discovered has come from this region; the script suggests that it is not older than about A.D. 600; Coedès, 'À propos de deux fragments d'inscription récemment découverts à Pra Pathom', Acad. inscript. belles lettres, Paris, 21 Mars, 1952, 146-150.

(2) LS, 54, 22b, Golden Khersonese, 24.

Peninsula and into the Straits, represented by the expression 'great bay'. Chū-li was a little way south of the Tun-sun entrepôt and probably somewhere on the isthmus of the Peninsula (1). The passage seems to mean, however, that the ship entered the large bay soon after leaving Chū-li and took a north-western course (2). I suspect that Chū-li, like the Tun-sun entrepôt, had harbours on both the east and west coast and that it was from the west coast port that Su-wu went in a north-western direction to India (3). The 'large bay' was probably the Gulf of Martaban and the 'several kingdoms' were early Mon settlements. The envoy's trading ship must have visited them, which would explain why the journey to the Ganges took 'rather more than a year'.

(1) See Golden Khersonese, 23-25 for a discussion and location of Chū-li, known in the Nan chou i wu chih as Chū-chih 句利. The NCIWC states that Chū-chih was 800 li south of Tien-yū 典游 (an error for Tien-sun 典子) with a headland jutting into the Chang hai (South China Sea); TPYL, 790, 3501a. According to the Liang shu, 54, 9a Chiu-chih 九稚 was one of the conquests of Fan-man at the beginning of the third century. The TPYL, 788, 3491b, quotes the Sui shu to the effect that Chū-li 拘利 was one of four kingdoms situated southwards beyond the great bay of Chin-lin 金隣, and the passage contains a note to the effect that one rendering of this name is Chiu ya 九稚.

(2) In the Shui ching chu, 1, 43b, K'ang T'ai is quoted as saying that 'on leaving the port of Chū-li, one enters a large bay. Going directly north-westwards, in rather more than a year one reaches the mouth of the river of India:

發拘利口入大灣中正西北入可一年餘得天竺江口'
This is another example of the way the compiler of the Liang shu drew on third century sources for his account of Funan.

(3) This was Professor Wheatley's conclusion; Golden Khersonese, 25.

The information about Tun-sun makes it clear why it was a busy centre. It lay on the conventional maritime trade route, which took a short overland cut across the neck of the Peninsula. Tun-sun's function was similar to that of Fu-kan-tu-lu, mentioned in connexion with Han Wu Ti's mission to Huang-chih. But the long Peninsula, which was Tun-sun's advantage, was a positive hindrance to the use of the Straits of Malacca by merchants with cargoes bound for southern China. It is therefore not surprising that there is no evidence in the records of the third century that any ships sailed from western Indonesia to China or that any Indonesian kingdom sent tribute to the Wu empire. Tun-sun, which had probably owed its original importance to Indians sailing down the Bay of Bengal from the Ganges, was still the customary base for trading enterprises further east. Swift movement of cargoes could hardly have been a consideration in these early times, and the traders would have been content to lay up their merchandise in the Tun-sun warehouses against the arrival of ships from Funan. K'ang T'ai knew of a man from Tan-yang who had traded from place to place and eventually turned up in Funan (1), and this would have been the leisuredly pattern of trading at that time.

(1) Shui ching chu, 1, 30a:

有潭楊國人家翔梨嘗從其本國到天
竺展車專流至扶南

In the present chapter I have noted that there were two major Asian trade routes in the first half of the third century A.D. The route with the longer history led to northern China through Turkestan from Roman Syria or from the Red Sea via north-western India. The Wu government, faute de mieux, had to rely on the other route which was from north-western India, overland to the Ganges or to southern India and Ceylon, to ports on the northern part of the Malay Peninsula (1). In this system of international commerce the Straits had only minor importance, and their relative isolation is the background to be borne in mind when we now consider the evidence about Ko-ying and its trade.

(1) The maritime trade routes of South East Asia in this period are shown on map 2 at the end of the study.

CHAPTER THREEA GLIMPSE OF WESTERN INDONESIA IN THE THIRD CENTURY A.D.

Ko-ying is not mentioned in the Chinese imperial histories, but K'ang T'ai is not our only source of information about this kingdom. It is also mentioned in a few fragments from the lost Nan chou i wu chih 南州異物志, 'A record of strange things in the southern regions' by Wan Chên 萬震. Wan Chên was a Wu prefect of Tan yang, close to the modern Nanking, and he served the same dynasty (222 - 280) as K'ang T'ai served (1). Unfortunately nothing has been discovered about him since Pelliot in 1903 showed that he lived in Wu times (2). Wan Chên's official post and authorship of the Nan chou i wu chih are mentioned in the bibliographical chapter of the Sui shu and also in the similar chapters of the two T'ang histories (3). Chang Shou-chieh's eighth century commentary to the Shih chi

(1) Wan Chen called Ko-ying 可引 嶺 by this name. K'ang T'ai's transcription was Chia-ying 加嶺. Since Wan Chên supplies slightly more information than K'ang T'ai, I have adopted his transcription. I have no guesses concerning the word from which Ko-ying was derived.

(2) 'Le Fou-nan', 266, note 3, and 281, note 9. In 'Deux itinéraires', 277-8, published in 1904, Pelliot emphasised the third century vintage of the information, for Chavannes had noted that Ko-ying was mentioned in the sixth century Lo yang chia lan chi.

(3) Sui shu, 33, 22a. CTS, Chih 志 no. 26, 29b; HTS, 58, 18b.

refers to 'Wan Chên's Nan chou chih' (1). The earliest quotation from the Nan chou i wu chih so far brought to light is in P'ei Sung-chih's commentary to the San Kuo chi, written in 429, where there is a quotation from the 'I wu chih' which describes a volcano in Ssü-t'iao 斯言 (2). Ssü-t'iao is an important toponym in this chapter. Wan Chên's interest in it is established by a quotation in the T'ai p'ing yü lan from 'Wan Chên's Nan fang i wu chih 南方異物志 (3), which makes it reasonably safe to attribute to Wan Chên any text dealing with information about Ssü-t'iao and having the title of Nan chou i wu chih or a closely similar one. Thus the Ch'i min yao shu, written in the beginning of the 534 - 549 period, probably quotes Wan Chen on the mo-ch'u tree 摩厨 of Ssü-t'iao, though the source is only described as the Nan chou i wu chih (4). The T'ai p'ing yü lan cites both 'Wan Chên's Nan chou i wu chih' and 'Wan Chên's Nan fang i wu chih' and often quotes from the Nan chou i wu chih without giving the author's name (5).

Professor Hsiang Ta has surmised that Wan Chên was prefect of Tan yang between the beginning of the 222 - 228

(1) Shih chi, 123, 4b.

(2) SKCWei, 4 1b.

(3) TPYL, 787, 3485b.

(4) CWYS, 10, 104.

(5) TPYL, 59, 284b; 787, 3485b. The TPYL quotes the NCIWC on Niao-hu 鳥滄干; 787, 3480a. Li Hsien (651-684)'s commentary to the HHS, 116, 7b, gives part of the information and attributes it to 'Wan Chên's NCIWC'.

period and 234, holding office between two other prefects whose names and dates are known (1). This was a time when the Wu government was pursuing an active overseas policy, and it is evident that Wan Chên knew something of foreign countries. He knew of the great vessels of the foreigners who sailed the seas south of China, and Pelliot considered that he supplies the oldest surviving description of these ships (2). He was capable of writing about a country 7,000 li or more north of India with city walls and palaces similar to those of Ta-ch'in (3). Yet the title of his work suggests that his chief interest was southern China and the adjacent world of South East Asia. K'ang T'ai also knew something about South East Asia, but it cannot be shown that Wan Chên borrowed from K'ang T'ai. Their place name transcriptions are certainly different (4). We shall see in this chapter that Wan Chên describes primitive people in South East Asia, and it is not surprising that he also wrote of the Li barbarians near Canton (5).

(1) T'ang tai Ch'ang an, 568.

(2) TPYL, 769, 3412a; 771, 3419a; 988, 4372a. Pelliot, 'Textes chinois', 255.

(3) Shih chi, 123, 4b; 在天竺北可七千里地高大梁而遠國一城郭宮殿文飾大率同同

(4) K'ang T'ai: Tun-sun 屯孫, Chü-li 拘利, Chu-po 諸波, Chia-ying 加影. Wan Chên: Tien-sun 天孫, Chü-chih 拘池, Tu-po 杜波 (Fa yüan chu lin, Ssu pu ts'ung K'an collection, no. 103, Shanghai, 1936, 49, 585b), Ko-ying 可影

(5) TPYL, 990, 4381b.

Perhaps his information about distant lands was derived from officials and foreign visitors who came to Chien yeh, the Wu capital near his prefecture. Buddhists were also coming there in this period (1). And if Professor Hsiang Ta's surmise about the time when he held office is correct, he may even have met the envoys of Funan and Lin-yi who arrived with tribute in the 226 - 231 period. There seems to be no reason to disagree with Professor Hsiang Ta that the Nan chou i wu chih is based on facts (2).

The book was probably a well known one in the centuries after Wan Chên's death. The references to it I have mentioned above suggest the importance attached to it, and in my opinion Yang Hsüan-chih 楊衒之 incorporated parts of it in the Lo yang chia lan chi 洛陽伽藍記, written in the middle of the sixth century (3). We shall have occasion to

(1) K'ang Sêng-hui visited Sun Ch'üan; Tran-van-Giap, BEFEO, 32, 1932, 213-4, translating the Kao sêng chuan.

(2) The variety of titles and the existence of only one early and specific attribution of the NCIWC to Wan Chên (in the Sui shu) are unsatisfactory aspects of the text, and one can never be completely certain that every NCIWC fragment is based on early third century A.D. facts. Pelliot referred mysteriously to a 'pseudo-NCIWC'; Polo, I, 458. Professor Hsiang Ta, however, has no doubts about the authenticity of the text, in spite of its different names. He also notes that the fragments were always written in the same 四言韻語 style; T'ang tai Ch'ang an, 569.

(3) I reach the conclusion after comparing this part of the LYCLC with NCIWC. The results are contained in Appendix 'A'. Henri Maspero noted how the NCIWC was used by later writers; 'Un texte Taoïste sur l'Orient Romain', Mélanges posthumes, III, 99 and note 2, 101. Fan Hsiang-yung, in his introduction to the LYCLC, Ku tien wên hsüen Ch'u pan Shê, Shanghai, 1958, suggests that it should be read as a novel, and notes borrowings from other works in chapter five, dealing with the western regions. I suspect that later Chinese references to primitive peoples in South East Asia, used as slaves in southern China, owe something to the NCIWC. On these references see Duyvendak, Africa, 23-4, and Stein, 'Lin-yi', 299-300. The NCIWC fragment inspiring these accounts is translated on page 92 below.

note how Yang Hsūan-chih, albeit only a northerner, came to the conclusion that Ko-ying was a remote country which never had relations with China.

I shall first provide the texts which, in my opinion, describe Ko-ying as a western Indonesian kingdom and sufficiently close to the Straits of Malacca for the information about it to constitute evidence of the nature of the trade using the Straits during the first half of the third century A.D. (1) The texts fall into three groups.

The first group is in the form of quotations preserved in later works of a statement originally appearing in K'ang T'ai's Fu nan t'u su chuan 扶南土俗傳, a statement which brings Chia-ying (= Ko-ying) into relation with Chu-po 諸薄. The most satisfactory, though not the earliest, quotation seems to be provided by the T'ung tien encyclopaedia of Tu Yu (735 - 812) (2) and copied in Ma Tuan-lin's encyclopaedia, the Wên hsien t'ung k'ao, compiled in the 13th century (3). It is as follows:

(1) Pelliot left the subject of Ko-ying in 1925 when he wrote that, because of various texts which it would have taken him too long to discuss in the article which he was then writing, he thought that Ko-ying lay somewhere in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula; 'Textes chinois', 250. I have attempted without success to discover whether Pelliot left unpublished notes on Ko-ying.

(2) TT, 188, 1011.

(3) WHTK, 332, 2607.

火山國隋時聞焉諸瀉東五千里國中皆有火
 雖雨不息中山有白鼠扶南土俗傳云火洲
 有馬五洲之東可千餘里春月霖雨雨止則火
 然洲上林木得雨則皮黑得火則皮白諸
 左右洲人以春月取其木皮績以為布或作
 燈炷布小穢投之火中復潔又有加營
 國北諸瀉國西山周三百里從四月火生正
 月火滅火燃則草木葉落如國寒時以
 三月至此山取木皮績為火浣布

'Fire Mountain (Volcano) country. It was known in the Sui period (581 - 618). It is 5,000 li east of Chu-po. It has volcanoes. Even when it rains the fires are not extinguished. In the middle of the volcanoes there are white rats. The Fu nan t'u sa chuan states: The Volcano Island is about a thousand and more li to the east of Ma-wu island (1). Heavy rain falls in the spring months. When the rain stops the fire blazes. The trees on the island in the rainy period have a black bark. When they are affected by the fire the bark becomes white. In the spring months the people in the neighbourhood of the island collect the bark and weave it into cloth or use it as a wick. When it is (a little) dirty, it is thrown into the fire and it becomes clean again. There is also a mountain to the north of Chia-ying and to the west of Chu-po. It is 300 li in circumference. A fire blazes from the fourth month and comes to an end in the first month. When it blazes the shrubs and trees shed their leaves as in winter time in China. In the third month the people go into the mountain, take the bark, and weave it into fire cloth.'

The same information appears in a slightly abbreviated form in the T'ai p'ing huan yü chi geography, compiled in the late

(1) Ma-wu's position east of Funan is made clear in the LS, 54,
 8a: 扶南東即大漲海海中有大洲洲上有諸瀉國國東
 有馬五洲
 I mentioned Ma-wu on page 59 in chapter two in connexion with
 cloves.

tenth century (1). The following excerpt deals only with the reference to Chia-ying.

扶南土俗傳云...又有加營國在諸瀉西
有山周三百里...

'The Fu nan t'u su chuan states: ... There is also Chia-ying country. It is to the west of Chu-po. There is a mountain in (Chia-ying) which is 300 li in circumference ...'

Finally there is a statement in the Hsüan chung chi 玄中記 a fourth or fifth century text preserved in the I wên lei chü encyclopaedia compiled by Ou-yang Hsün (557 - 641) (2). Here K'ang T'ai's information on volcanoes east and west of Chu-po has evidently been telescoped.

玄中記曰南方有炎山焉在扶南之東加營
國之北諸瀉之西山從四月而火生...

'The Hsüan chung chi states: In the southern region there is a volcano. It is east of Funan, to the north of Chia-ying, and to the west of Chu-po. From the fourth month a fire blazes ...'

Thus there were two volcanoes known to K'ang T'ai. They were west as well as east of Chu-po, and this circumstance no doubt explains why the word 'also' appears in the text preserved in the T'ung tien in order to distinguish between the volcano east and west of Chu-po.

The relationship between Funan, in modern Cochin-China, and

(1) TPHYC, 277, 8b.

(2) IWLC, 80, 2b.

Chu-po makes it certain that Chu-po was the name of a prominent South East Asian geographical feature, and there has never been any doubt on this matter (1). Chu-po may be another of the 'Java-like' names, though less certainly so than others, but, in addition to phonological difficulties, it is difficult to believe that, for K'ang T'ai in Funan, Chu-po meant more than part of the major land mass, with its offshore islands, lying south-east of Cochin-China. This region can only have been north-eastern Borneo (2). Chu-po's ready accessibility from Funan is borne out by the fact that two of Chu-po's offshore islands had trading relations with Funan; they were Chū-yen 巨延 and Tan-lan 耽蘭, north-east and north-west of Chu-po respectively. The Tan-lan islanders brought iron in their ships to Funan (3), while those of

(1) Pelliot, Polo, I, 448.

(2) Map 2 at the end of the study incorporates my conclusions concerning the regions in western Indonesia known to the Chinese in the first half of the third century A.D. P'u-lo-chung and P'u-lo, which are also shown in the map, are discussed on pages 371-4 and 382-8 below. Modern place-names are shown on maps 1 and 5. In 1904 Pelliot conceded the possibility that Chu-po could mean Borneo rather than Java; 'Deux itinéraires', 270. Since then Chu-po has been studied by Professor Stein in connexion with the early historical geography of mainland South East Asia. He concluded that it must have been Borneo or a large island in the Philippines; 'Le Lin-yi', 121. On pages 371-374 I suggest that north-western Borneo was known to K'ang T'ai by another name.

(3) TPYL, 787, 3485a, quotes K'ang T'ai that Tan-lan produced iron. TPYL, 813, 3614b, quotes the Nan fang ts'ao wu chuang 南方草物狀 (an early Chin text but with interpolations) about the ships:

禪夷莊舡載鐵至扶南賣之

Chū-yen sailed to Funan with large shell cups (1). One imagines that the metals of these islands helped to supply the workshops of Oc-Eo in Funan which, according to the results of the excavations there, had no lack of raw materials. Professor Stein has suggested that Chū-yen and Tan-lan were in the Philippines, and this is not unlikely (2).

Chia-ying, defined in terms of Chu-po, must, like Funan, have been in South East Asia, and attempts to identify it with somewhere in southern India cannot be sustained in the presence of the Chu-po evidence (3). No Indian toponym would have been described by its position in respect of Chu-po. Nor are there volcanoes in India (4). Nevertheless Ko-ying was not regarded as part of Chu-po. The T'ung tien text indicates that it was vaguely south-west of Chu-po, or north-eastern Borneo.

(1) TPYL, 787, 3485b. The heading of the passage is 巨延 . The text is as follows: 浮船海中載大蚌虫螺杯
往扶南

I take it that Chu-chuan-po 諸轉海 and Chū-chi 巨延 are errors for Chu-po 諸海 and Chū-yen 巨延 respectively. Po-t'an 海 莫久 to the north-west of Chu-po exchanged gold with foreign merchants for grain and other goods; TPYL, 787, 3485a. Pei-lu 比 擗 to the south-east of Chu-po traded its tin with foreigners; ibid, 787, 3485a. No doubt for all these islands Funan must have been the chief customer.

(2) 'Le Lin-yi', 120-2.

(3) Fujita Toyohachi suggested Quilon and Su Chi-ch'ing Koyampadi. These views are set forth in Fan Hsiang-yung's edition of the LYCLC, 238-240. Both writers argued from imagined phonological correspondences between Ko-ying and the Indian place names.

(4) It may also be noted that bark-cloth has been a common form of Indonesian clothing. On the way the early Chinese confused bark cloth with asbestos, see Laufer, 'Asbestos and Salamander', TP, 16, 1915, 299-373.

This orientation suggests that Ko-ying was either on the Malay Peninsula or in Western Indonesia. That it was in the latter region rather than on the Peninsula becomes ^{clearer} ~~apparent~~ when we examine the second group of texts, dealing with its more immediate neighbours.

There was Chia-ch'ên 加 陸, 'south-west' of Ko-ying, about which nothing is known (1). More interesting is P'u-lei 蒲 類, which was described by the Nan chou i wu chih in the T'ai p'ing yü lan's passage on Ko-ying (2).

歌 謠 在 句 稚 南 可 一 月 行 到 其 南 文 瀾 中 有
洲 名 蒲 類 上 有 居 人 皆 黑 如 漆 齒 正 白 眼
赤 男 女 皆 裸 形

'Ko-ying is to the south of Chū-chih. It takes about a month to reach it. To the south (of Ko-ying) there is a bay called Wên, and in the bay there is a chou called P'u-lei. Those who live there are all as black as lacquer. Their teeth are quite white and their eyes are red. Males and females (in this place) are all naked.'

The compiler of the T'ai p'ing yü lan added a note:

康 泰 扶 南 土 信 大 載 而 去 常 望 海 遇 則 遮 航
將 奚 猪 山 菓 易 鐵 器

'K'ang T'ai Fu nan t'u su: They load up with great quantities of supplies and go out (to sea). They look for ships passing by and come flocking to them with fowls, pigs, and jungle fruit in exchange for metal articles.'

The people of P'u-lei were evidently primitive, but, like

(1) TPYL, 790, 3501a, quoting the NCIWC.

(2) Ibid. I discuss the first part of this passage on page 96 below.

the islanders off Chu-po, they were not so primitive that they were unable to make a livelihood by trading with the representatives of more sophisticated communities. Presumably, they benefited from the shipping which converged in Ko-ying. The interesting piece of information about them, however, is that they had 'white teeth'. This probably means that they did not blacken their teeth for ornamental purposes (1). In the third century others in South East Asia, equally primitive, were also characterised as having white teeth. The Nan chou i wu chih contained the following account of the Lei people

類人 (2).

扶南海隅有人如獸身黑若漆齒白如素
 隨時流移居無常處水唯魚肉不識禾
 稼寒無衣服以沙自覆時或屯聚豬犬
 雞彘時或雖示人形無踰六畜

'In coves on the Funanese sea there are people like wild animals. Their bodies are as black as lacquer and their teeth are completely white. They shift their abode according to the seasons and have no fixed place of residence ... Water ... They only eat fish and meat and know nothing of agriculture. In cold weather they wear no clothes but cover themselves with sand. Sometimes they collect pigs, dogs, and fowl ... Sometimes ... Though they have the appearance of human beings, they are as primitive as tame animals.'

(1) It is possible, however, that they had not cultivated the habit of chewing betel leaf.

(2) TPYL, 790, 3501b. I have omitted the tedious paraphrase by the compiler of the TPYL. The text is broken, and I have indicated the breaks thus: ... Water ...

Professor Stein connects the name Lei with the mouth of the Lei river in the Lin-yi country on the northern Annam coast (1), but his explanation is not consistent with the fact that the Lei people were said to live in coves on the Funanese coast. I prefer to regard Lei as literally meaning 'miscellaneous types', and I suspect that such people as these were scattered in many of the less accessible parts of early maritime South East Asia. As far as the white teethed P'u-lei people south of Ko-ying are concerned, they may have been a pre-Indonesian people who were still only partially assimilated to the Indonesians. To call them 'negrito' would be begging the question. Perhaps they had marked 'Melanesoid' traits; 'Melanesoid' is a name sometimes given to the people associated with the mesolithic cultures of South East Asia (2).

It seems certain that the primitive P'u-lei neighbours of Ko-ying had South East Asian ethnic affinities. There is no text which suggests that the Chinese regarded 'white teeth' as an Indian feature. How far the P'u-lei population lived from Ko-ying is unknown, but it is unlikely that the Chinese would have heard of them if Ko-ying itself was unknown, for P'u-lei had no harbour and no communications between it and other places are mentioned. I conclude that it was not far

(1) 'Le Lin-yi', 302, note 369; 35.

(2) Callenfels, 'The Melanesoid civilisations of Eastern Asia', Bulletin of Raffles Museum, Series B, I, 1936, 41-51. There is an interesting discussion on the relationship between these people and the later dominant peoples of parts of the region in Barth, 'The southern Mongoloid migration', Man, 52, January, 1952, 5-8.

from Ko-ying itself. P'u-lei could have been anywhere in maritime South East Asia, but the other country in the world of Ko-ying is certainly an Indonesian one. It was Ssü-t'iao, mentioned in the Nan chou i wu chih (1).

斯謂海中洲名也在哥欠黎東南可三千里
上有王國城市街巷土地沃美

'Ssü-t'iao is the name of an island in the middle of the ocean. It is south-east of Ko-ying and about 3,000 li away. In (that kingdom) there are cities with streets. The land is very fertile.'

Ssü-t'iao is a difficult toponym, and much has been written about it. Pelliot, after originally identifying it with Ceylon and then with Java, felt inclined in the end to return to his first opinion that it was Ceylon (2). But Professor Petech has recently analysed a large number of Ssü-t'iao texts and comes to the conclusion that for Wan Chên, though not for his contemporaries K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying, Ssü-t'iao did not mean Ceylon (3). Indeed, Wan Chên's text, quoted above, if understood literally, locates it in Indonesia even more unambiguously than Ko-ying; it was almost as far south-east of Ko-ying, itself vaguely south-west of Borneo known from Funan,

(1) TPYL, 787, 3485b. Professor Petech, whose study of this subject is noted below, translates the passage in the sense that Ssü-t'iao had 'three kings'.

(2) Pelliot summed up his changing views in a review of Fujita's study of early toponyms in Chinese texts; TP, 29, 1932, 181-2.

(3) 'Some Chinese texts concerning Ceylon', The Ceylon Historical Journal, 3, 1954, 3 and 4, 217-227.

as Funan was 'west' of Lin-yi in northern Annam (1). It is possible that an error has crept into the direction of Ssü-t'iao from Ko-ying, but what leads me to believe that this was not so is the consistent way in which Wan Chên describes Ssü-t'iao as an Indonesian-type country. It is not necessary to agree with Ferrand that the mo-ch'u 摩厨 tree of Ssü-t'iao, also mentioned by the Nan chou i wu chih, was the majapahit tree of Java (2); but the association of Ssü-t'iao with a volcano and with bark-cloth is exactly the type of evidence one would expect of an Indonesian toponym.

斯言國又有中洲焉春夏生火秋冬死有木
生前火中秋冬枯死以皮為布

'Ssü-t'iao also has a chou in its midst. In spring and summer a fire blazes there. In the autumn and winter it dies down. A tree grows in the middle of the fire. In autumn and winter the tree withers and the bark is used for making cloth (3).'

Ssü-t'iao must have been an Indonesian neighbour of Ko-ying. Its volcano and the fertility of the land as well as the geographical hints about its location place it firmly in the Archipelago.

The third geographically definitive group of texts contains only one notice about Ko-ying. Once again it is a fragment

(1) According to the NCIWC Funan was 3,000 and more li 'west' of Lin-yi; TPYL, 787, 3482b.

(2) 'Ye-tiao, Sseu-tiao et Java', JA, 1916, 522-524. Read identified the mo-ch'u tree as Styrax japonica; Chinese medical plants, serial no. 186. Fujita Toyohachi thought it meant madhu or Madhuca longifolia, of south-eastern India or Ceylon.

(3) TPYL, 787, 3485b, quoting 'Wan Chên's Nan fang i wu chih'.

from the Nan chou i wu chih (1).

歌 魯 在 句 稚 南 可 一 月 到

'Ko-ying is to the south of Chū-chih. It takes about one month to reach it.'

It was noted in the previous chapter that Chū-chih, sometimes known as Chū-li, was probably on the isthmus of the Malay Peninsula (2). From it Su-wu of Funan sailed in a north-western direction to the mouth of the Ganges. According to the Nan chou i wu chi Chū-chih was 800 li to the south of Tien-sun, or about 200 miles south of the ^{Korkum} head of the isthmus (3). Because Ko-ying lay a month's sailing beyond Chū-chih (4), it must have been ~~either~~ at the southern end of the Peninsula or somewhere in western Indonesia (5). Either of these alternatives is consistent with the information that Ko-ying

(1) TPYL, 790, 3501a.

(2) Page 79 and note 1.

(3) TPYL, 790, 3501a. I take Tien-yu 典 遊 to be a mistake for Tien-sun 典 遊.

(4) I discount the possibility of a journey by land, which is impossible even today.

(5) The Lo yang chia lan chi, in its imaginary account of a journey from Ko-ying to China, modifies Wan Chen's statement that Funan was 3,000 and more li from Lin-yi to read that it took a month to reach Lin-yi from Funan; see Appendix 'A'. This may suggest that it took a month to travel 3,000 or more li and that Ko-ying was therefore 3,000 and more li from Chū-chih, a calculation which might place it about 1,000 miles south of the isthmus of the Malay Peninsula. It will be seen below that I believe that Ko-ying was in fact about 1,000 miles south of the isthmus, but I hesitate to invoke this calculation in aid of my identification of Ko-ying. We do not know why the LYCLC modified Wan Chen's details about the distance between Funan and Lin-yi. Nor is it wise to believe that the rate of sailing on these coasts was always uniform.

provided access to Ssu-t'iao, lying 3,000 li to its south-east and certainly an Indonesian toponym when it is used by Wan Chên[^]. Where, then, was Ko-ying ?

It is important to remember that, according to K'ang T'ai quoted by the T'ung tien, Ko-ying was south of a volcano. The volcano could have been on the Peninsula, but the Chinese knew something of the Peninsula at that time and never mentioned ~~one~~. ~~a volcano~~. This is not surprising, for no volcanoes, active or extinct, have been found there (1). This seems the strongest reason for not following Pelliot in locating Ko-ying on the Peninsula (2). Nevertheless the kingdom lay vaguely south-west of Chu-po, or north-eastern Borneo. The exclusion of the Peninsula from the field of enquiry narrows it down to western Borneo, Sumatra, or Java. But we shall see later that K'ang T'ai knew of land to the east of Chü-li (= Wan Chên's Chü-chih) under the name of P'u-lo-chung 湄羅中, which I believe represents ~~north~~-western Borneo (3). Moreover Ko-ying was south and not east of the Peninsula centre of Chü-li. One therefore looks for it either in Sumatra or in Java.

(1) Dobby, Southeast Asia, fifth edition, 1956, 90, in respect of the country now known as the Federation of Malaya. Volcanic ash is found in Pahang, in the Federation, but the volcano must have become extinct in prehistoric times. Professor Dobby does not mention even volcanic ash found elsewhere in the Peninsula.

(2) One naturally thinks of the ancient sites in Kedah, in the southern Peninsula, but it has never been suggested that any of the archaeological evidence there belongs to so early a time of the third century. Professor Wheatley makes no claim to Ko-ying as a Peninsula centre.

(3) See pages 371-374 below.

In spite of the fact that the volcanoes in Sumatra are on the main range of mountains and closer to the west coast than to the east coast of that island, I do not believe that Ko-ying was on the west coast of Sumatra. We shall see later in this chapter that Ko-ying was an important trading centre, but there is no evidence that any of the coasts of the island lying north of the equator contained important trading centres in the third century, or indeed before the seventh century (1). Moreover the itinerary south-east to Ssü-t'iao does not make much sense if Ko-ying was on the west coast of Sumatra. Nor need the volcano evidence be an argument against the location of Ko-ying on the east coast of Sumatra. In later centuries the Arabs reported a volcano near Jāvaga, the heartland of Śrīvijaya on the south-east coast of this island, though the volcano in question must have been far inland (2).

One is left with the east coast of Sumatra and the northern coast of Java as the remaining possibilities for locating Ko-ying. In making a choice between these two coasts one should not neglect the distance which separated Ko-ying from Ssü-t'iao. It was about 3,000 li and in a south-eastern direction. In terms of third century Chinese reckoning this distance would

(1) See pages 391-395 below. K'ang T'ai seems to have heard of a backward region in northern Sumatra under the name of P'u-lo

(2) Sauvaget, Relation, 10. Jāvaga here means a kingdom, for Kalah was said to be part of it; *ibid*, 8. But Kalah was on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula and would have been a distant dependency of Jāvaga, which was in south-eastern Sumatra.

have been rather less than 1,000 miles. The calculation of the distance between the two centres cannot, of course, be regarded as precisely accurate, nor does one know on what information Wan Chên bases it. Nevertheless the distance is recorded and it has to be taken into account. It means that, if Ko-ying was on the Sumatran coast immediately to the south of the Straits of Malacca, the furthest possible location for Ssü-t'iao would be at the eastern end of the island of Java. A Javanese location for Ssü-t'iao is consistent with its description as a fertile country. Furthermore, I am sure that if Ko-ying itself happened to be anywhere in Java the Chinese in the third century would never have heard of a flourishing kingdom 1,000 miles further east. Even in the seventh century the islands lying to the east of Java were terra incognita to them (1). By this process of elimination a harbour, probably near the mouth of a river, on the east coast of Sumatra south of the Straits and therefore south of Chū-chih offers itself as the likely location for Ko-ying. With this location it is possible to believe that the Chinese were told of a volcano vaguely to the north of the kingdom; similarly they could have been told of P'u-lei's bay, lying south of the same kingdom. But neither

(1) I give the evidence for this statement on pages 422-425 below. It will be seen that the statement is supported by I Tsing, a Chinese pilgrim who actually lived in western Indonesia for a number of years and can be expected to have been reasonably well informed about the geography of the region.

the volcano nor the bay make much sense if Ko-ying was on the northern coast of Java.

In deciding between Sumatra and Java I have been chiefly influenced by the evidence about the volcano and the distance and direction which separated Ko-ying from Ssü-t'iao. Though the exact location of Ko-ying cannot be defined, I propose that it lay on the east coast of Sumatra, but not so far north as the northern end of the active volcano belt, marked today by Sorik-merapi just north of the equator and extending south to Gunong Dempo about four degrees south of the equator (1). The kingdom was somewhere on the south-eastern coast of Sumatra below the southern entrance to the Straits of Malacca, with

(1) Atlas tropisch Nederland (Uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Nederlandsch aardrijkskundig ...), The Hague, 1938, leaf 5. This map shows the volcanoes which have been active as from about 1600.

P'u-lei a little further south (1). Ssü-t'iao was probably in Java.

One naturally looks for contemporaneous evidence to confirm or contradict the map of western Indonesia suggested by the fragments of third century Chinese literature. The Indians never mentioned a toponym which can be identified with Ko-ying,

(1) I have wondered whether the Wên 文 bay of P'u-lei can be identified with the northern entrance to the Bangka Straits, dominated by the Mënumbing hill (455 metres) at the extreme western end of Bangka island. The sound of Wên 文 would have been miuan; Karlgren, Grammata serica recensa, second edition, Stockholm, 1957, serial number 475a. Alternatively, the name may have been derived from Bangka itself, a toponym which may appear as early as in the list of geographical names in the Mahāniddeśa commentary in the form of Vaṅga or Vaṅkam; Lévi, 'Ptolémée, Le Niddeśa et la Brhatakathā', 27-28. According to Lévi, 'je crois inutile d'insister sur l'identité du b et du y'. Dr. de Casparis notes examples of the way the Srīvijaya dialect has an initial m, which corresponds to b- or y- in Malay and Javanese; Prasasti, 2, 42, note 49. A sailing itinerary of A.D. 1015, described in the Sung shih, 489, 22b, states that the ship left San-fo-ch'ü 三佛齊 (Srīvijaya) and crossed the estuary of the Man mountain river 度寧山水口. This itinerary was discussed by Ferrand, who did not identify the Man mountain; 'Le K'ouen-louen', JA, Juil-Août, 1919, 40. The Man mountain, apparently seen soon after leaving Srīvijaya, may also be the Mënumbing hill, a landmark noted by Floris as 'Manupin' when he left the Palembang river in 1612. In 1015 the capital of Srīvijaya may have been on the same river; Peter Floris ..., 31-32. Pires knew this part of Bangka as 'Monomby'; Suma Oriental, I, 157. It also appears on an early Portuguese map; ibid, 155, note 1. Mënumbing may have been an important sailors' landmark as soon as the Musi river was visited by traders. If the Wên bay represents the northern entrance to the Bangka Straits, Ko-ying, to its north, was probably at the estuary of the Jambi river. But the identification of Wên with Mënumbing is only hypothetical.

but in Ptolemy's Geographia there is a passage, probably based on the reports of Indian merchants, which resembles to a surprising extent the information which reached Wan Chên.

Since Professor Wheatley entered the field of early South East Asian historical geography some may have come to mistrust Ptolemaic evidence purporting to be derived from second century information (1). Students of Indian history, on the other hand, have more confidence in Ptolemy, who mentions at least one ruler who is known to have been alive in the second century. This ruler is Gastana, called 'king Tiastanes' by Ptolemy. Tiastanes was ruler of the city of Ozene. It is most unlikely that Gastana would have been familiar to any of those who later expanded the Geographia in Constantinople in the tenth or

(1) Professor Wheatley's views are contained in Golden Khersonese, 138-159. The study which has been most responsible for upsetting confidence in Ptolemy's Geographia is L. Bagrow, 'The origin of Ptolemy's Geographia', Geografiska Annaler, Stockholm, 27, 3-4, 1945, 318-387. It is worth noting, however, the way in which Bagrow states his conclusion. "In the future, it will always be necessary in using the material supplied by 'Ptolemy's' Geographia to compare it with other sources: the classical authors, annalists, and archaeological findings. If 'Ptolemy's' data are the only source for us, we cannot merely on their basis determine the time or the questions of migrations of peoples, the existence of cities, et cetera." Professor Wheatley rejected Ptolemy as a second century source because Ptolemy's details about the river system of the southern Peninsula suggest that they emanated from a period much later than the second century, when the southern Peninsula had become better known to the western world.

eleventh century (1). I do not question Professor Wheatley's conclusion about the indifferent value of Ptolemy's data as information about the Malay Peninsula in the second century A.D., but as far as Indonesia is concerned the description in the Geographia of Iabadiou is so similar to Wan Chên's description of Ko-ying and Ssü-t'iao that the former may have been derived from sources as old as the end of the second century A.D. (2). One thing is certain: the Chinese evidence of the early third century is consistent with Ptolemaic evidence.

Iabadiou is probably derived from Yāvadvīva, the Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit toponym Yāvadvīpa which, in its Pali form, is at least as old as the second or third century A.D. because it appears in the Mahāniddeśa commentary (3). Iabadiou seems to represent the civilised part of Indonesia, which Indian traders reached after passing the cannibal 'islands' of Barousai and Sabadibai (4). Like Ssü-t'iao it was 'said to be

(1) Tiastanes is mentioned in Book 7, chapter 1, section 63. I have used Renou's La géographie de Ptolémée, L'Inde, Paris, 1925.

(2) Book 7, chapter 2, section 29.

(3) Page 43 above.

(4) Book 7, chapter 2, section 28. Barousai is clearly connected with the 'Barus' toponym of northern Sumatra, which I discuss at some length in chapter 12. In the present chapter I am only concerned to establish the general pattern of Indonesian trade in the third century A.D. and I have therefore not mentioned the possibility that K'ang T'ai, like Ptolemy, heard of wild people in northern Sumatra; see pages 381-384. If K'ang T'ai actually wrote about P'u-lo (南島), the correspondence between Ptolemy and the third century Chinese sources is even closer.

very fertile'. But the significant detail about Iabadiou is that 'it has a city named Argyre, situated at its western extremity (1)'. Argyre, must have been the part of the region best known to Indians because it was the chief trading centre. Thus, if one compares the descriptions of Iabadiou and the Ko-ying - Ssü-t'iao complex, in both cases it is the western end of these regions which is said to contain the important trading centre, for we shall see in a moment that it was Ko-ying and not Ssü-t'iao in the Ko-ying - Ssü-t'iao complex whose communications led to India. Ssü-t'iao was 3,000 li south-east of Ko-ying. The similarity between Ptolemy's picture of Iabadiou and the Chinese picture of Indonesia in the third century seems to be a point worthy of emphasis. The correspondence exists in spite of the fact that both pictures were based on second-hand sources derived from India and Funan respectively. I therefore believe that the Chinese description of Indonesia, with the chief trading centre in the west of the region as they knew of it, is a reliable one, and it reinforces rather than contradicts my conclusion that Ko-ying was on the south-eastern coast of Sumatra. I am not implying that Java at that time was culturally less advanced than southern Sumatra.

(1) Argyre is certainly an ancient toponym. Pliny mentions it: 'extra ostium Indi Chryse et Argyre' - 'off the mouth of the Indus there are Chryse and Argyre'; Natural History, 6, 23, 80, translated by Rackham (Loeb Classical Library).

Nevertheless it was Ko-ying, not far from the southern entrance of the Straits of Malacca, which was better known to foreign traders.

It is now necessary to consider the range of Ko-ying's trading relations, which I interpret as the foreign trade of western Indonesia in the first half of the third century A.D.

There is, I repeat, no indication that Ko-ying traded with China, unless it did so through Chū-chih, Tun-sun, and Funan. There is emphatically no hint of a direct voyage being made to China over the South China Sea, a practice which K'ang T'ai, obviously interested in communications, would certainly have recorded. It would not be surprising if Ko-ying traded with the Funanese dependencies on the Peninsula; otherwise K'ang T'ai would never have heard of it. It is most unlikely, however, that foreign merchants chose to take the circuitous route to China through the Straits and thence from Ko-ying up to Tun-sun in the northern Malay Peninsula. Ko-ying was isolated from China, and this was the impression formed in the sixth century by Yang Hsūan-chih, author of the Lo yang chia lan chi:

南中有歌 務國去京師甚遠 風土隔絕 世不
與中國交通 雖佳二漢及魏亦未曾至也

'In the south there is the country of Ko-ying. It is very far from the capital. This land is cut off completely (from China). For generations there has been no communication (between Ko-ying and China). Even in the period of the two Han dynasties and the (third century) Wei dynasty it

never sent embassies to China (1).'

The impression I have formed of Ko-ying is such that I cannot accept Ferrand's assumption that Yeh-t'iao 葉詔, which sent an embassy to China in A.D. 132, was in Java or Sumatra, though I am unable to offer a satisfactory alternative explanation of where Yeh-t'iao was (2). Professor Stein has suggested that it was on the south-western borders of China (3), while Fujita Toyohachi wondered whether Yeh-t'iao was an alternative form of Ssü-t'iao 斯詔 in the sense of being Ceylon (4). It would not be surprising if a Sinhalese ruler sent a mission to China in 132, for missions from northern

(1) LYCLC, 89. The reference in this passage to the northern Wei dynasty need not be interpreted as meaning that the southern Wu dynasty, contemporary with the Wei, may have received embassies. Yang Hsüan-chih was writing from the point of view of a northern Chinese. In the same passage he refers to the southern Liang emperor Wu Ti as Su Yen 蕭衍.

(2) The reference to this mission is in HHS, 6, 9b. In 1919 Ferrand thought that Yeh-t'iao was Java; 'Le Kouen-louen', JA, Juil-Août, 1919, 5. This was already Laufer's view; 'Asbestos and Salamander', TP, 16, 1915, 351; 373; 'Se-tiao', TP, 17, 1916, 390. In 1922 Ferrand decided that foreign Java-like names, of which this seemed to be an example, more often referred to Sumatra: 'L'empire Sumatranais', 208. Pelliot in 1904 had suggested that Yeh-t'iao was an early transcription of 'Java'; 'Deux itinéraires', 266-269.

(3) 'Le Lin-yi', 136-142. Professor Demiéville was not convinced by Stein; TP, 40, 1951, 336. It may be noted that 'Java' is also a mainland South East Asian toponym; it appears in Ram Khamhaeng's inscription of 1292 in the context of modern Laos; Coedès, Recueil des inscriptions du Siam ..., I, Bangkok, 1924, 48.

(4) Ho Chien-min's translation, Chung kuo nan hai ku tai chiao t'ung ts'ung k'ao, Shanghai, 1936, 541-578. Pelliot was not convinced; TP, 19, 1932, 182.

India had begun as early as 89 (1). But whatever is the explanation of the meaning of Yeh-t'iao, I have come to the conclusion that the system of trans-Asian maritime communications up to and including the third century A.D. was such that a western Indonesian embassy to China in that period would have been improbable. If an embassy in fact went in 132, it cannot be regarded, as Ferrand thought, as evidence of established trading relations between Indonesia and China accompanied by voyages over the South China Sea.

Nevertheless Ko-ying was an important commercial centre, and the reason was that it, and through it western Indonesia, traded with India (2). Two more fragments of the third century make this clear:

康泰吳時外國傳曰加勞國王好馬月支賈人常
以舟載馬到加勞國國王悉為售之若於路
失鞍鞞但將頭皮示王王亦售其鞍鞞

(1) Professor Petech has pointed out that a Chinese translation of the Samyuktavadana of about A.D. 180 refers to Ceylon as Ssu-ho-tieh; 'Some Chinese texts concerning Ceylon', 221-222.
 (2) The LYCLC states that it 'was the greatest kingdom in the south (南夷之國最為強大)'; LYCLC, 89. I follow the compilers of the TPYL in regarding this passage as being a reference to Ko-ying, though its position in the text may suggest Funan; TPYL, 971, 4305a. I believe that the LYCLC was quoting from the NCIWC. The same passage also mentions the products of Ko-ying, which Yang Hsüan-chih could hardly have invented.

Chia-
 'K'ang T'ai's Wu shih wai kuo chuan: The king of ^{Chia-}~~Ko~~-ying likes horses. Yüeh-chih merchants are continually importing them to ~~Ko~~-ying country by sea. The king buys them all. If one (of the horses) escapes from its rein on the road (from the harbour to the palace) and has to be held by its mane when it is shown to the king, the latter still buys it at half price (1).'

南州異物志曰 姑奴去歌營可八千里 民人
 萬餘戶 皆乘四輪車 駕二馬或四馬 四會
 所集也 船常有一餘艘 市會萬餘人 晝夜
 作市 船皆鳴鼓吹角 人民衣被中國

'Nan chou i wu chih: Ku-nu is about 8,000 li from Ko-ying. There are more than 10,000 families (in Ku-nu). They all use four-wheeled carts driven by two or four horses. People from all corners meet there. There are always more than a hundred ships (in the harbour). The crowds gathering in the market are more than 10,000. Day and night they do business. Drums and horns are sounded on the ships. The clothes of these people resemble the clothes of the Chinese (2).'

Where was Ku-nu? Was it the port used by the Yüeh-chih horse dealers? The Yüeh-chih, in spite of the waning of their political power in northern ^{India}~~China~~, may still have been prominent in a number of Indian ports in the early third century, and Ku-nu could have been any of these ports. Its description does not

(1) TPYL, 359, 1650a. This translation differs slightly from Pelliot's in 'Textes chinois', 250. The last sentence is obscure. Pelliot suspected that the horse was dead when the king bought it at half-price. Perhaps it was a frisky one which had been confined to the ship for too long. Professor Heine-Geldern has written on Yüeh-chih horses and their influence on the scenes on one of the bronze drums of South East Asia; 'The drum named Makalamau', India Antiqua, Leyden, 1947, 167-179.

(2) TPYL, 790, 3501b.

impress one as that of a South East Asian country. The mention of horse-driven carts suggests somewhere in northern India, while the clothes of the inhabitants, likened to Chinese clothes, may reflect the trousers and belts of a horse-riding population, which are more likely to have resembled clothes introduced to northern China from the steppes than the loin-cloth and draped robes of the southern Indian. The comment on the similarity between the Ku-nu and Chinese clothes need not be taken as a fanciful guess, for Fa Hsien observed that the clothes of the people of Udyāna north of Taxila resembled those of the Chinese (1). But I am not prepared to be more specific in locating Ku-nu than saying that it was not likely to be port was known to K'ang T'ai as Tāmraliptī 擔 缺 The former's port was known to K'ang T'ai as Tāmraliptī 擔 缺, and in the neighbourhood of the latter was Chia-na-t'iao (2).

Uncertainty about the exact location of Ku-nu does not affect the conclusion that Ko-ying, south of the southern entrance

(1) Giles' translation, 11.

(2) On Tāmraliptī see Shui ching chu, 1, 43b. On Chia-na-t'iao see pages 69-70 above. Mr. B.N. Mukherjee wonders whether Ku-nu was Kayana. There may be a further reference to Ku-nu; Hu-li 扈利 country is 'to the south-west of Nu-t'iao island. It is on the side of the sea 在奴調洲西南邊海', TPYL, 790, 3501b, quoting the NCIWC. That Ku-nu-(t'iao) was abbreviated as Nu-t'iao is suggested by the statement in the LYCLC that formerly there was Nu-t'iao country whose people used horse-drawn four-wheeled carts; LYCLC, 89. Something may have gone wrong with the text, Hu-li suggests the early Tamil name for Ceylon which was Ili.

to the Straits of Malacca, appears in history as the most western Indonesian trading settlement which was in touch with India. It was a terminus for Indian shipping and a point of departure for Indian trade goods, probably handled by local middlemen, making their way further east into the Archipelago. The products of Ko-ying itself are known only through the Lo-yang chia lan chi, probably drawing on information originally available in the Nan chou i wu chih.

南夷之國最為強大民戶殷多出明珠
金玉及水精珍異饒木蜜榔

'(Ko-ying)(1) is a kingdom of the southern barbarians. It is a very powerful one. Its population is very numerous. It produces bright pearls, gold, jade and crystal rarities, and areca nuts.'

Gold and areca nuts are what one would expect of a Sumatran port, and the other precious things may have come through trade with foreigners. There was probably ^{also} some trade in the collection of local produce, stimulated by the needs of Indian merchants, as was happening in the same period between Funan and the Chu-po offshore islands.

The evidence about Ko-ying is coherent and gives a straightforward picture of the direction of western Indonesian foreign trade in the first half of the third century. Neither

(1) I quote from the LYCLC, 89, and regard the passage as evidence about Ko-ying on the strength of TPYL, 971, 4305a. The latter, quoting the LYCLC, begins:

楊銜之洛陽伽藍記曰南方歌國最為強大...

the Straits of Malacca nor Sumatra and Java lay on the sea route between the Indian Ocean and China, and efforts to construe earlier evidence, such as the Huang-chih and Yeh-t'iao passages, as indications of Sino-Indonesian trade before the third century must, in my opinion, be treated with caution. Ferrand more than any other scholar has been responsible for creating the impression that Indonesia traded with China at such an early date. Ferrand was a distinguished Arabic scholar, an enthusiastic compiler of sources in a variety of languages, and an ingenious philologist. Unfortunately, he was capable of making anachronistic use of his facts, inferring too confidently that situations existed long before there was any reliable evidence that they did.

I need not discuss in detail two other studies of early Indonesia which have drawn on Chinese sources. Both Sir Roland Braddell and Professor Heine-Geldern have independently argued that P'i-chien 毗 塞 , known to K'ang T'ai (1), was on the south-eastern and northern coasts of Sumatra respectively (2). Pelliot suggested long ago that P'i-chien was on mainland South

(1) TPYL, 811, 3605a. The work cited is the Fu nan chuan. Pelliot analysed the different titles of K'ang T'ai's work in BEFEO, 3, 1903, 275 and in TP, 22, 1923, 121, note 1.

(2) 'Malayadvipa'; 'Le pays de P'i-K'ien'. Pelliot's translation of the long Liang shu passage about this kingdom (LS, 54, 7a-8a) is in 'Le Fou-nan', 264.

East Asia, and I am certain that he was right (1). Sir Roland and Professor Heine-Geldern thought that, because this place was beyond Tun-sun and an island in the 'great ocean' (2), it must have been in Sumatra. But chou does not only mean 'island'; it can refer to any land mass watered by the sea. Moreover it was said to be 8,000 li from Funan, and it would be strange if Sumatra was plotted by the communications-conscious Chinese in terms of its distance from Funan and not from a port much closer such as Tun-sun or Chü-chih (3). It is more reasonable to picture P'i-chien as a remote place in the hinterland of Funan. Its population were said to eat traders, and their link with the outside world was in the form of sending presents to the ruler of Funan. There was probably some vassal relationship between the two countries, and this would explain why the passage about P'i-chien found its way into the Liang shu's account of Funan, in which it follows the account

(1) 'Le Fou-nan', 264, note 1; 'Deux itinéraires', 200. P'i-chien suggested the Bataks to Professor Heine-Geldern, but cannibalism, attributed to the people of P'i-chien, has not been unknown on mainland South East Asia; for example, see JSS, 32, I, 1940, 9-10. Why not the Dayaks of Borneo? Professor Heine-Geldern did not explain the long neck of the ruler of P'i-chien. The only reference to long necks known to me is the habit in north-eastern Burma of elongating the necks of maidens to enhance their charm; Seidenfaden, The Thai peoples, Bangkok, 1958, 48.

(2) LS, 54, 7a: 屯有遠之外大洲中又有此等國去扶南八千里
The text does not say that P'i-chien lay beyond Tun-sun.

(3) Lin-yang 林陽, believed to have been somewhere in Burma, is similarly located by K'ang T'ai in terms of its distance from Funan, from which it was separated by 7,000 li; TPYL, 787, 3485b.

of Tun-sun. The language of the people of P'i-chien is said to be 'a little different from that of Funan' (1), and this reads like a Funanese observation brought to the notice of K'ang T'ai (2).

P'i-chien must disappear from the early map of Indonesia, leaving Ko-ying as the symbol of the earliest recognisably Indonesian foreign trade. But Ko-ying's Indian trade need not have been the first commercial activities on the south-eastern coast of Sumatra, for the hinterland near Korintji, Pasemah, and Ranau has revealed traces of metal cultures which may be very old (3). The art forms of these cultures have striking affinities with objects associated with the early metal culture of Tongking, which was probably developing in the delta of the Red river some time before the beginning of the Christian era. Western Indonesia received its metal culture from the mainland, and it is likely that the populations in the hinterland of southern Sumatra were in touch at an early time with the outside world by means of the extensive river systems of the Musi and

(1) IS, 54, 7b: 其人語小異狹南

(2) The TFYK, 957, 11259 a, quoting an unknown source, says that P'i-chien was on a great river, which suggests the Mekong or Menam. P'i-chien was one of several states on the same large chou; TPYL, 790, 3501a, quoting Chū-chih's Fu nan chi.

(3) H.R. van Heekeren, The Bronze-Iron age of Indonesia, The Hague, 1958, 20-1, 42-3, 63-78, 83. He seems to accept the view of Callenfels and Professor Heine-Geldern that the Tongking metal culture was under way about 300 B.C. but does not commit himself on the age of the earliest Indonesian metal culture; ibid, 15.

the Jambi-Batang Hari, at whose estuaries small trading settlements would have developed.

It is in the context of the problem of the dissemination of the Indonesian metal cultures that the following passage in the Huang-chih account may have some significance:

蠻夷船轉送致之利交易
剽殺人

'The merchant ships of the barbarians were used to transfer them (the Chinese envoys) to their destination (Huang-chih). The barbarians also profited from the trade and by plundering and killing people (1).'

These barbarian ships may have helped to transmit the metal cultures from southern China and Tongking, along the coast of Indo-China and down the Malay Peninsula, to western Indonesia. The passage in the Ch'ien Han shu refers to a time when there was already a flourishing metal culture in Tongking, and one can picture the shunting from harbour to harbour of metals, artisans, and techniques in the form of primitive barter exchanges. The rarity of the metals, and perhaps their magical prestige as well, would have ensured the mobility of the metal trade. Ko-ying could therefore have been at the receiving end of the trade long before Indians first visited the south-

(1) CHS, 284, 37b. I have followed Dr. Wang Gungwu and other Chinese scholars in rendering 轉 as 'transfer'; 'Nanhai trade' 20. I have, however, translated the passage in the past tense because I believe that the account was written in connexion with the mission to Huang-chih.

eastern coast of Sumatra (1).

Two further questions remain to be considered briefly before we move on from this earliest period of western Indonesian commerce. What were the business transactions which took place in this Indian-orientated trade? To what extent did these transactions contribute to the later expansion of Indonesian commerce, when the successors to Ko-ying began to trade with China?

(1) In view of Dr. Wang Gungwu's account of the limited nature of Yüeh shipping ('Nanhai trade', chapter one) I find it difficult to accept Professor Heine-Geldern's theory that Yüeh traders had small colonies in Indonesia, which became diffusion centres for the metal cultures; Science and Scientists in the Netherlands Indies, New York, 1945, 147.

CHAPTER FOUREARLY INDONESIAN TRADE WITH INDIA

Ko-ying imported Yüeh-chih horses, and this is all the Chinese evidence tells us about the contents of the trade between western Indonesia and India in the early third century A.D. No doubt by then it was already at least a century old and involved much more than horse-dealing, but the Indian sources of information are such that little can be said of it.

I shall not return to the problem of the antiquity of the trade nor shall I consider the possibility of contacts between Indonesia and pre-Dravidian India, suggested by certain linguistic facts (1). Nor do I intend to enquire where were the first Indian trading posts in the region. It is likely that South East Asian toponyms appearing in the Indian religious and epic literature were originally given by sailors only to a few harbours. All that is safely known of the location of these harbours is that Yüeh-chih merchants visited Ko-ying, which I have identified with the south-east coast of Sumatra. Speculation concerning the earliest Indian trading posts in Indonesia may rest on a firmer basis when we have noted later

(1) J. Conda, Austrisch en Arisch. Het belang van de kennis der Austrische talen, voornamelijk voor de Indische philologie, Utrecht, 1932.

in this study the uneven manner in which the different coasts of western Indonesia subsequently developed as commercial centres

The regions in India from which the merchants originally came and their motives must also lie outside the scope of this study. The Periplus' reference to colandia sailing from the Coromandel coast to Chryse indicates that in the first century A.D. there was already some trade between southern India and parts of South East Asia. It is possible that ^{the} earliest voyages were made from the ancient ports of the Ganges down the coast of Burma. A search for gold has been regarded as an important motive for the original Indian interest in South East Asia, operating in the last centuries before the Christian era when the movement of barbarians across central Asia deprived the Indians of Siberian gold and in the second half of the first century A.D. when Vespasian cut off supplies of Roman bullion to India (1). Suvarnabhūmi and Suvarnadvīpa, 'the Gold Land' and 'the Gold Islands', may have been colourful expressions which exemplified the wealth of South East Asia, though it is significant that Chinese records of the third century A.D. mention several gold-producing areas in the region; these references may reflect the genuine reputation of South East Asia as an important source of gold (2).

(1) Lévi, 'K'ouen-louen et Dvīpāntara', 627; Coedès, États, 42-3
 (2) The following countries were connected with gold: P'i-chien (TPYL, 811, 3605a, quoting K'ang T'ai); Po-t'an 潘 敦 (TPYL, 787, 3485a, quoting K'ang T'ai), Funan, and Lin-yi.

On what terms was the early Indian trade conducted ? To what extent should the Indonesians be pictured as simple folk, fascinated by foreigners and delighted to have the chance of bartering their minerals and jungle wealth for Indian manufactured goods (1) ? There has been a reaction among some historians, though not among Indian ones, against the view that the original trading contact was between people of greatly unequal cultural status. Not only are the persistent identity and vitality of Indonesian society now acknowledged (2). The reaction against the traditional rendering of early Indonesian trade has also been reinforced by the economic historian, van Leur, who argued that the Indian traders belonged to the lower social groups and included foreigners from various countries (3). They were 'pedlars', and people such as these are unlikely to have been carriers of Brahmanic culture.

The origins, character, and evolution of early Indian influence in Indonesia will be discussed for many years to come. Here I wish to say no more than that I am sympathetic with the

(1) This is, in effect, the picture Ferrand describes; 'Le K'ouen-louen', JA, Juil-Août, 1919, 15-18.

(2) The reaction developed among certain Dutch writers in the 1930ies; Casparis, 'Historical writing on Indonesia', Historians of South-east Asia, 1961, 136-139.

(3) Indonesian trade and society, 89-110. Professor Bosch, the oldest surviving Dutch writer on early Indonesia, has stressed the probability that Indonesians themselves were chiefly responsible for propagating Indian culture as a result of visits to India; "'Local genius" en Oud-Javaanse kunst', Meded. Kon. Akad. Wet. Afd. Lett., n.r., 15, 1952, 1-25.

modern tendency not only to distinguish in time between the original Indian trading contacts and the later Brahmanic cultural contacts but also to avoid the assumption that the latter were a direct consequence of the former in the sense that Indian mercantile communities in Indonesia were subsequently reinforced by the arrival of Brahman priests and scholars. I believe that, as far as the early trading kingdoms of Indonesia were concerned, there was no question of Brahmanic cultural influence until long after the first Indian merchants arrived; in the meantime, the rulers of these kingdoms, as a result of growing prosperity and knowledge of the outside world, had become capable of forming independent judgments on the practical advantages of strengthening their institutions of government by means of certain Indian kingship doctrines. As a result of their own political initiative they came to employ educated Indians, Buddhist as well as Brahman, and also Indonesians who had studied in India. But this development, in so far as it can be regarded as a form of 'Indianisation', happened long after the early Indo-Indonesian trade which I am considering in the present chapter.

In the earliest trading period transactions between Indians and Indonesians may before long have been conducted on terms of equality, with Indonesians capable of driving bargains and even of taking their trade to India. And in Indonesia as in India foreigners would have come to terms with the local rulers. The early Indian merchants in Indonesia have certainly left no

evidence of themselves. Nor did their colloquial languages leave any impression on the Indonesian vocabulary, from which the conclusion has been drawn that not only was there no Indian political domination but that it is unlikely that there were any permanent and powerfully organised Indian settlements by the time the first inscriptions appear in the fifth century A.D. (1). To this extent the linguistic evidence does not suggest that the Indians taught the Indonesians how to trade. If the conclusions reached later in this study are well-founded, the initiative displayed by Indonesian seamen in the fifth and sixth centuries would make it surprising if the early Indian trade had not encouraged Indonesians to handle most of the collecting trade in their own country and also to send ships to India itself (2). Not enough weight has been given to the possibility that one motive in the early trade was the desire of the Indonesians for goods from India which led to their sailing there to obtain them.

In one respect van Leur's description of the Indian 'pedlars' may be amplified. He did not take into account the

(1) Damais, 'Les écritures', BSEI, 30, 4, 1955, 367. Dr. de Casparis has noted that one of the few Indonesian terms in the list of potential traitors in Srīvijaya at the end of the seventh century is pahavam or 'shippers'; Prasasti, 2, 20.

(2) One Jātaka tale refers to the merchants of Suvannabhūmi who visited Bhārukaccha (Broach); no. 463. But were they Indian or South East Asian ?

likelihood that some of them were sympathetic towards Buddhism or were indeed Buddhists themselves (1). The Yüeh-chih who visited Ko-ying may have had Buddhist connexions, and in the second chapter I remarked that the same type of merchant found during the early centuries of the Christian era in the oasis cities of Turkestan probably turned up in Funan as well. The casteless and cosmopolitan influence of Buddhism would have assisted in promoting tolerance among Indian merchants in their dealings with South East Asian peoples (2).

But not only is there still uncertainty about the terms on which the original commerce between Indonesia and India was conducted. We are also ignorant of its contents. From Indian sources there are no means of reconstructing a comprehensive inventory of the Indonesian exports in this early period, and this deficiency makes it difficult to decide to what extent the later Indonesian trade with China was an expansion in volume of the Indian-type trade or was entirely different in character. It is significant, however, that the earliest Indian references to South East Asian products have little to say about the goods which I have come to regard as the basis of the later trade between western Indonesia and China.

The early Indian texts mention gharuwood and sandalwood as coming from foreign parts, presumably from South East

(1) On this point see Lévi on the Indian merchants' cult of the Buddhist saint Manimekhalā; "Les marchands de mer" and 'Manimekhalā'.

(2) Professor Coedès has made this point; États, 44.

Asia (1). Yet Indonesian gharuwood never became a famous trade produce (2). White sandalwood of eastern Indonesia is much more valuable (Santalum album Linn.), and it would not be surprising if Indonesian ships brought it from Timor or Sumba to entrepôts in western Indonesia for trans-shipment to India. In the fourth century A.D. the Chinese seem to have known of 'red sandalwood' 紫栴木, the Angsana tree (Pterocarpus indicus Willd.). It was said to come from Funan (3). The Chinese, like the Indians, called it 'sandalwood' (4). It is possible that by that time South East Asian traders had learnt from the Indians the habit of giving the Angsana tree the name of 'sandalwood'; the Indians called their Pterocarpus santalinus Linn. 'red' sandalwood.

The early Indian traders may have been anxious to obtain cloves (Eugenia aromatica Kuntze), another excellent product of

(1) Gharuwood was sometimes known in Sanskrit literature as anāryaja or 'a product of the country of the barbarians'; Gonda, Sanskrit in Indonesia, xviii. The Rāmāyana refers to 'yellow sandalwood' from Mount Rsabha, which Lévi considered was a reference to Timor or Celebes in eastern Indonesia; 'Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyana', 104-111 and especially 110.

(2) Chao Ju-kua in 1225 rated Srivijayan and Javanese gharu wood low in value among the South East Asian species; Hirth and Rockhill, Chao Ju-kua, 204.

(3) Ku Chin chu, 22. On this subject see E.H. Schafer, 'Rosewood, Dragon's Blood, and Lac', 129-130.

(4) The Indians called it candana. For an example of the latter see Avinash Chandra Kaviratna's translation of the Caraka samhitā, Part 21, 638, note k, where it is stated that in the context of 'bitters' only the red variety was used.

eastern Indonesia. The clove (lavaṅga) of the dvīpāntara, 'the other island(s)', undoubtedly meaning the Indonesian archipelago, is mentioned by Kālidāsa, who is generally believed to have been alive about A.D. 400 (1). The clove is also mentioned in the early medical treatise traditionally ascribed to Caraka (2). Caraka was almost certainly the physician of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka, of the first or second century A.D., though the extant version of Caraka's samhitā was reconstructed much later (3). It is probably safer to regard Kālidāsa's reference to lavaṅga from the dvīpāntara as the first certain reference to the Indonesian clove. It is unlikely that the Chinese owed their knowledge of the clove to the Indians, for they probably obtained it from the Funanese, who were trading with the islands of eastern Indonesia (4).

Centuries later western Indonesia became famous as a pepper

(1) Raghuvamśa, 6, verse 57.

(2) Caraka samhitā, Part 56, 1759, for treatment of diseases of the mouth.

(3) On the Caraka samhitā, see Filliozat, L'Inde classique, 2, 1953, 150-151.

(4) There has been some etymological discussion of the word lavaṅga, the Indonesian as well as the Sanskrit word for the clove, and it has been suggested that it was a loan word from Indonesia; see, for example, Gonda, Sanskrit in Indonesia, Nagpur, 1952, xviii. But it has also been suggested that the word was originally used by Tamils for the flower and fruit of the Indian cinnamon and was, perhaps in the first century A.D., transferred by them to the similarly smelling clove of Indonesia; Yamada, Tozai koyaka shi, 91, quoting Okamoto, Chusei Morukka no Koryo, 1944. Ibn Batuta is invoked as saying that the clove, nutmeg, and cinnamon came from the same tree.

producing region, but in the ancient world the Indians had no rivals as pepper cultivators, users, and traders. One of their medical recipes, involving the use of long pepper, was adopted by Greek doctors before Alexander's expedition to northern India (1). Innumerable medical preparations of pepper are recommended in the samhitā of Caraka and Suśruta (2), and it would not be surprising if the pepper-conscious Indian traders became interested in the many wild-growing peppers which flourish in the moist climate of western Indonesia. It is even possible that they sometimes used Indonesian peppers to boost their exports to Rome in booming trade years during the first centuries of the Christian era (3). Unfortunately there is no evidence to prove that the Indians imported Indonesian peppers. There is only one hint that western Indonesia before about A.D. 400 had acquired the reputation of being a pepper growing area. The hint is contained in a passage in a Chinese translation of the Sutra of the Twelve Stages of the Buddha 十 = 10⁴ 經 卷 四 , undertaken by Kālodaka in 392. Here it is stated that the king of Shē-yeh 罽 賓 possessed both long and black

(1) Filliozat, Doctrine classique, 211-212.

(2) On the Suśruta samhitā see Filliozat, L'Inde classique, 2, 147.

(3) Both Professor Warmington and Professor Lohuisen-de-Leeuw have foreseen this possibility; Commerce, 182; 'India and its cultural empire', 44, in connexion with trade products in general. Suśruta states that long pepper (pippali) should be used only after it had matured for at least a year; Suśruta samhitā, 1, 339. It would have been medically feasible to sell Indonesian long pepper (Piper retrofractum Vahl.) to the Romans.

pepper. Lévi thought that Shê-yeh (*d'iǎ/dz'iǎ; *zǐǎ/iǎ) was a reference to 'Java' (1). The kingdom was certainly in the maritime world of South East Asia.

I suspect that the wild growing cubeb pepper (Piper cubeba Linn.) has the best chance of any Indonesian pepper of appearing in the early Indian trade. In the first half of the eighth century the materia medica writer Ch'ên Ts'ang-ch'i 陳東嶽 藏 嶽 states that it grew in Srīvijaya (Fo-shih 佛 誓) 藏 嶽 states that it grew in Srīvijaya (Fo-shih 佛 誓) wand calls it Pi-têng-chia 辟 澄 茄 (2). Laufer reconstructed this ribes Burm., a climbing bush found in India and eastwards as far as Java (3). Laufer pointed out that the seeds of Embelia ribes are extensively used as an adulterant for black pepper and he suggested that the Indonesian cubeb was given the name of vidāṅga because it resembled Embelia ribes in appearance and properties. Laufer's explanation is the likely one, and it is

(1) Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 4, no. 195, 147b. I translate this passage on page 395. Lévi's views on this passage are in 'Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyana', 82-85.

(2) PTKM, 32, 1321b. The Arab Ibn Roste, writing about 903, attributes cubeb pepper to Salāhat, apparently on the north-eastern coast of Sumatra; Ferrand, Textes, 1, 79. Pigolotti of Florence, in the first half of the 14th century, refers to both cultivated and wild cubeb pepper, though he does not indicate the source of production; La pratica della mercatura, edited A. Evans Cambridge, Mass., 1936, 294; 374. Heyne notes that it was cultivated in Java in the 19th century. When wild cubeb was in demand, it was often adulterated with other wild species of Piperaceae, and only in 1892 was a means discovered of distinguishing between real and false cubeb; Nuttige, I, 523-525.

(3) 'Vidāṅga and cubeb', TP, 16, 1915, 282-288.

significant that in Ku Wei 顧微's Kuang chou chi, written not later than the early sixth century, it is said that

澄加生諸海國乃嫩教胡椒也

'Têng-chia grows in several ocean countries; it is a tender black pepper (1).'

The similarity between cubeb and black pepper is re-iterated by Li Shih-chên, the author of the great materia medica of the end of the 16th century. Li Shih-chên says:

海南諸番皆有之夏生開白花夏結
黑實與胡椒一類二種

'A number of the foreign (countries) in the ocean to the south have it (cubeb pepper). It is a creeper. In spring time a white flower unfolds. In ~~winter~~ time it bears black fruit. Cubeb pepper and black pepper are two species of the same family (2).'

Cubeb pepper was certainly known to the Chinese by the eighth century and, according to the Kuang chou chi, by the fifth or sixth century, and in view of its having the Sanskrit name of vidāṅga, which was a substitute for black pepper, it is possible that the Indians long before the eighth century had come to

(1) PTKM, 32, 1321b, quoting Li Hsün. Chi 記 is written as chih 志. But in the CLPT, 9, 235b, the quotation is attributed to the Kuang chih, a text which could not have been written later than 521. I consider the dating and reliability of both the Kuang chou chi and the Kuang chih on pages 167-184.

(2) PTKM, 32, 1321b. Pi-têng-chia appears immediately before black pepper in the list of a Champa tribute gifts to China in 1072; SHYK, 蕃夷 7, 7855b.

regard it as yet another substitute for black pepper (1). The Indians may have been responsible for the original transaction of substituting cubeb for black pepper, with the Romans, knowing nothing of what had happened, as the victims of the deception (2).

The classical literature of Europe is, in fact, unhelpful for supplementing the meagre Indian records of the contents of the early Indo-Indonesian trade. In a negative way, however, the classical records are of assistance. If the Indians were tapping on a large scale the natural wealth of western Indonesia in the first two centuries of the Christian era, one would expect the Romans, with their taste for oriental luxuries, to have known the backwash of the trade and to have mentioned such characteristic Indonesian produce as camphor, benzoin, and cloves. But it is an impressive circumstance that none of these commodities are mentioned in the earliest Roman sources analysed

(1) I am very doubtful whether the 'black pepper 胡椒' attributed to Shê-yeh in Kālodaka's translation of the Twelve Stages of the Buddha was in fact Piper nigrum Linn. This plant is indigenous to India and not to Indonesia, where it was transplanted at an unknown time though before the 13th century, for Chao Ju-kua attributes it to Shê-p'o = Java.

(2) Professor Warmington considers that cubeb pepper reached Europe much later than the first two centuries of the Christian era; Commerce, 221. He concedes, however, that it may have been known to the earlier Romans; ibid, 220. A late gloss on the Tamil poem Silappadigāram that vāsam (spices), mentioned in the early trade between southern India and overseas, included cubeb pepper is a comment on the later importance of cubeb imports and not evidence that cubeb was coming to India in the early centuries of the Christian era; this reference is quoted by Professor Nilakanta Sastri in JGIS, 11, 1, 1944, 27.

by Professor Warmington (1). One has to conclude that if these plant substances reached India, the scale of the trade was still too small to permit re-exports to the Mediterranean market. There is even some doubt when the Romans first knew the famous clove under the name of caryophyllum, though Cosmas Indicopleustes, writing in the first half of the sixth century, seems to make it clear that the clove was reaching Ceylon from countries further east (2).

I suspect that only small amounts of the most valuable form of western Indonesian produce were arriving in India before the fourth century A.D., and my reason for this suspicion is the slight impact made by tree camphor on early Indian literature.

Karpūra, or camphor, is casually mentioned in the Jātaka tales, in the Rāmāyana, in the Milinda-pan̄ha, and in the medical works attributed to Caraka and Suśruta (3). Because the

(1) Commerce, Part two, 180-234.

(2) Ibid, 199-200.

(3) Jātaka tales no. 285 and 547 where camphor is regarded as a luxurious or costly substance. Rāmāyana, Book 4 of the Kiskindhā Kānda, canto 28, in Rāmā's description of southern India in the rainy season. Camphor trees do not grow there. Hsūan Tsang also attributes camphor trees to this region. Professor Yamada's view is that the camphor-smelling cinnamon root and bark, known by the Tamils as karua and karppu, was the tree in question; Tozai koyaka shi, 97-8. Milinda-pan̄ha, chapter 3, verse 382, where camphor is regarded as a 'desirable thing'. Caraka samhita, Part 56, 1759. Suśruta samhita 1, 391; 1, 507; 2, 483. I note that Suśruta's recipe incorporating camphor for ailments of the mouth is similar to I Tsing's account of the monks' habit of washing their mouths in the islands of the 'southern ocean'; Takakusu, Record, 48. In both cases camphor appears with other Indonesian plants, and this may be a guarantee that Suśruta's karpūra was genuinely camphor.

Jātaka tales cannot be dated later than the fourth century A.D. in the form in which they are now available, it seems that by about 400 the Indians were importing some camphor. But it is noteworthy that this important drug, through which Sumatra was later to have Asia-wide fame, has only a minor status in the medical samhitā associated with the names of Caraka and Suśruta (1) and was ignored by the early medical treatise known as the 'Bower manuscript', written between the fourth and the sixth century (2). It cannot therefore be easily claimed that camphor made an early and important impact on the Indian materia medica, and we shall see later that the impact was even slighter on western Asia and Constantinople, where the first notices of it are not before the sixth century (3). Cosmas did not mention it, and this is perhaps the most eloquent argument for believing that it was still an unimportant item of trade between India and

(1) The Caraka samhitā mentions camphor once and the Suśruta samhitā only rarely. Both prescribe it for the mouth. The Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya, attributed to Vāgbhaṭa, only mentions it for use against the ill-effects of heat in early summer; the passage is quoted by Hoernle, The Bower Manuscript, 1, 13, note 14. Professor Filliozat thinks that the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya's author may have lived before the seventh century and certainly before the tenth; L'Inde classique, 2, 158.

(2) This is Professor Filliozat's view in L'Inde classique, 2, 157. In La doctrine classique, 11-12, he points out that the script of this manuscript is clearly older than what he describes as the 'Kuṣāṇa' script in the form it had assumed by about A.D. 640.

(3) Pages 314-318 .

Indonesia as late as the early sixth century. The Śilappadigāram includes camphor among the goods of Tondi brought to southern India on the 'fleet of tall roomy ships', but this passage may be as late as the sixth century (1).

An early Indian interest in camphor has been inferred from the reference to Karpūradvīpa, 'the camphor land', mentioned in the eleventh century Kathāsaritsāgara of the Kashmiri Somadeva (2). This work is believed to have derived some of its stories from the lost Brhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya. The reference to Karpūradvīpa, however, symbolises the difficulties in using Indian literature for a chronologically satisfactory study of early Indonesian history. In the first place, the date of the lost Brhatkathā is in doubt. Professor De thinks that it would not be an 'unjust conjecture' to assign it to the fourth century (3), though Winternitz once proposed that Guṇāḍhya perhaps lived in the first century A.D. Secondly, there is even a doubt whether the original Brhatkathā in fact referred to Karpūradvīpa at all; Professor De thinks that it could have been a Kashmiri accretion(4)

(1) Nilakanta Sastri's view in JGIS, 11, 1, 1944, 28. My colleague Dr. Marr is not certain that the Tondi mentioned in this passage was in South East Asia.

(2) The Ocean of Story, trans. by Tawney, London, 1925-8, volume 4, 224. Dr. Wheatley's maps of the span of the early Indian voyages include Karpūradvīpa, represented by north-western Borneo; Golden Khersonese, figures 34 and 45; also page 184.

(3) Dasgupta and De, History of Sanskrit literature, I, 92.

(4) Ibid, 98-99.

Finally, it is uncertain whether the 'camphor land' was anything more than an invention of folklore (1).

This brief review of what is known of the contents of the early Indonesian trade with India has been depressingly negative in its conclusions. One is left with the feeling that the trade could not have been considerable or one which comprised those

(1) This is Ferrand's suggestion; JA, Juil-Août, 1919, 185, note 3. For similar reasons one hesitates to follow Tideman in accepting the statement in the Kathāsaritsāgara about Kalaspura in Suvarnadvīpa as a very early reference to Kalasan in the Pakpak Batak camphor-producing area of northern Sumatra; Hindoe-Invloed, 40. It is true, however, that the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa mentions Kalasavarapura; Lévi, 'Pré-aryan et pré-Dravidien dans l'Inde', JA, Juil-Sept. 1923, 40, but he believed that it was on the mainland of South East Asia. I have found no convincing evidence that the Indians knew of benzoin in these early times. In Monier-Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 1899, 277, the work kālanusārin is translated as 'benzoin', and in the Suśruta sahitā, 2, 274, kālanusari is mentioned in connexion with the treatment of wounds. I know of no means of proving that this isolated reference is to benzoin. My guess is that the Suśruta sahitā is referring to a crude myrrh, a well-known styptic which would have been available from species growing in India or imported from the Middle East. Watt denies that the early Indians knew anything about benzoin; Economic products of India, 6, part 3, 384. Amara's lexicon includes several words which modern translators have rendered as benzoin; N.G. Sardesai and D.G. Padhye, Amara's Nāmalingānus Asanam, Poona, 1940, 44. But it is not certain that Amara lived in the fifth century. The origins of the Indian trade in benzoin awaits research by someone who can study the Indian sources. Benzoin did not reach Europe until the Portuguese took an interest in it; Heyd, Histoire du commerce du Levant, 1923 edition, Leipzig, 2, 580-1. I return to the subject of benzoin in chapter seven & eight.

Indonesian goods which later became the basis of western Indonesia's foreign commerce. Nevertheless I do not wish to under-estimate the significance of the early Indian trade with Indonesia, even though so little can be said about it. As a result Indonesian merchants probably became increasingly aware of the commercial value of some of their natural produce in the form of drugs. I suspect, though I cannot demonstrate it, that Indians were interested in Indonesian plants with a medical efficacy similar to their own plants. The Ayurvedic medical tradition was flourishing at the beginning of the Christian era, and in India there was plenty of experience of the medical functions of plants. Fresh specimens were often needed for decoctions, and here would have been a practical motive for noting the presence of species overseas available for safeguarding the health of Indian merchants and crews. But the subject awaits someone qualified to study the surviving Indonesian medical treatises and examine the extent of Indian influences which they may reflect.

I prefer to emphasize another and more general reason for the importance of the earliest Indian period of Indonesian foreign trade. I believe that this was a period of apprenticeship for the Indonesians, when they learnt to look across the Bay of Bengal for commercial profits and the rewards of adventurous sailing; even occasional visits by Indian ships must have opened up new horizons for the coastal inhabitants of

Ko-ying and stimulated among them a curiosity about the homeland of the foreign traders, a curiosity which eventually led to Indonesian voyages to India. The habit of looking overseas, acquired in the first centuries of the Christian era, helped to mould a race of traders on the south-eastern coast of Sumatra and possibly elsewhere in western Indonesia. Although there is no evidence in the records of this early period about the activities of Indonesian merchants, the sequel will show that by the fifth century they were sensitive to the changing circumstances of Asian maritime trade and able to turn those circumstances to their own advantage. Their commercial aptitude at that time, backed by seafaring enterprise, is inexplicable unless for many years before then they were becoming more confident travellers overseas and had edged their way into the trade with India.

We have now reached the threshold of decisively important commercial developments affecting western Indonesia in the fifth and sixth centuries. The evidence is somewhat more ample, but unfortunately it spills into several fields and the extent of its relevance to the subject of early Indonesian commerce is rarely unmistakable. The way I have chosen to broach this evidence is by investigating the reasons why certain Indonesian tree produce, unnoticed by the Chinese in the third century, originally appeared on the Chinese market. This development, coinciding with the use of the all sea route between the Indian Ocean and China, including the voyage across the South China Sea, throws light on the expansion of Indonesian commerce which took place

some time after the first half of the third century A.D. and especially during the two hundred years before the rise of Srivijaya.

CHAPTER FIVETHE DEVELOPMENT OF ASIAN MARITIME TRADE FROM THE
FOURTH TO THE SIXTH CENTURY

The appearance of certain Indonesian tree products on the Chinese market was, I believe, at first only an indirect and minor consequence of adjustments in trade communications being made by merchants in eastern and western Asia to changing political circumstances affecting each others' markets. These markets had long been linked through Turkestan. By the fifth century, however, the sea was becoming more important, a tendency already foreshadowed in the third century and especially to the merchants of southern China. The routing and mechanism of the maritime trade affected western Indonesia, and the consequences will be examined in later chapters. In the present chapter I wish to distinguish what seem to me the chief factors likely to have increased the tempo of sea trade from the fourth to the sixth century and, by implication, the importance of the trans-Asian trade making its way through South East Asia.

By the end of the sixth century Sassanid Persia had acquired great prestige among the Chinese as a source of wealth. Hsūan Tsang's biographer, probably writing between 664 and 667, states that, before the pilgrim visited India, China had been known there for a long time by hearsay and that there was a tradition

in India that the world was governed by four kings.

彼土常傳賸部一洲四王所治東謂脂那
主人王也西謂波斯主寶王也南謂印度
主象王也北謂獺狄主馬王也皆謂四
國藉其所以治即因為言

'In that country (India) it was always said that Jambudvīpa was governed by four kings. In the east the country was China, whose ruler governed men. In the west the country was Persia, whose ruler governed precious things. In the south it was India, whose ruler governed elephants. In the north it was Hsien-yün (the Turks etc.), whose ruler governed horses. Such was said to be the basis of the rule of each of these four countries. This is the reason for the saying (1).'

A similar saying was at least as old as the third century, though then only three kings had been mentioned and it was Ta-ch'in, the Roman Orient and the Middle East, which originally enjoyed the reputation of being the source of precious things (2). And for a more matter-of-fact assessment of the wealth which Persia was believed to possess in the sixth century there is an impressive list of products attributed to that country in the Hou Chou shu, the records of the northern Chinese dynasty which

(1) Hsü kao sêng chuan, 4, Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 50, no. 2060, 454c. On this subject see Pelliot, 'Théorie', 125. Pelliot points out that Tao-hsüan 道宣, the biographer, was one of those who helped Hsüan Tsang in his translation work after the latter returned to China. Tao-hsüan could therefore have had the saying direct from Hsüan Tsang.

(2) Page 62.

ruled from 556 to 581 (1). The list includes not only genuine Persian textiles and minerals but also precious objects such as coral, pearls, amber, and especially glassware which had formerly been considered to be the characteristic wealth of Ta-ch'in. It is noteworthy that now black and long pepper, the produce of India, were also attributed to Persia, though they were only imports.

But the evidence in the Hou Chou shu reflects a late impression of Sassanid Persia, when the dynasty was reaching its apogee. It can be compared with Theophanes' description of the luxury-packed Sassanid city of Dastgard, which Heraclius sacked in 628 (2). Moreover the Hou Chou shu's account is a northern Chinese one and an echo of the reputation of Persia on the overland trade route. As such it throws little light on the extent of Persian commerce at sea by that time.

Singularly little is known of the history of Sassanid maritime activity, and the absence of information is unfortunate for two reasons (3). In the first place we have seen that

(1) HCS, 50, 17a-b. The passage has been translated by Miller, Accounts of western nations, 15-16. About forty articles were enumerated. Shiratori has discussed the Chinese impression of the wealth and prosperity of Persia in the fifth and early sixth centuries; 'A new attempt at the solution of the Fu-lin problem', 181-185 (MTB, 15, 1956)

(2) Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sassanides, 463. Theophanes, like the author of the Hou Chou shu, mentions pepper, silks, luxurious clothing, and a great quantity of aromatic materials.

(3) Hādī Ḥasan's A history of Persian navigation, 1928, does not take one very far. He had to support his account with such unsatisfactory evidence as the presence of Persian shipping terms in Arab texts of the ninth century. Christensen in 1936 had little to say on the subject and merely quoted Reinaud's Relations politiques et commerciales de l'empire romain, 1863.

about A.D. 400 the voyages of Fa Hsien and Gunavarman provide evidence that a trade route between the Indian Ocean and China was passing through western Indonesia. To what extent was the merchandise described in the Hou Chou shu also carried by sea to China? How far may Persia have been responsible for quickening the tempo of maritime commerce with the Far East? Secondly, we shall see later that there are some southern Chinese texts which suggest that in the fifth or early sixth century the maritime trade route was in fact being fed with Persian goods. Scholars have not been happy about the reliability of these texts, and one would be more disposed to take their information seriously if there was independent evidence of the growth of Persian shipping activity in the Sassanid period.

There can be no doubt that the Sassanids, from the foundation of their dynasty in the early third century, had an unassailably strong position in the organisation of continental trade between China and western Asia. As a result of their occupation of the former Kuṣāṇa territories astride the Pamirs they controlled not only the route through Persia from Turkestan but also its diversion to the Indus, formerly tapped at Barbaricon by Roman traders to offset Parthian exactions on the route leading to Syria (1). By means of Sogdian middlemen the Sassanids had

(1) On Shapur I (242-272)'s territorial claims see Henning 'The Great Inscription of Šāpūr I' and 'Two Manichaean magical texts', 54. Shapur claimed to control the region from Balkh to the Stone Tower, the first stretch of the silk route eastwards.

access to the silk of northern China. Their merchants were also able to exploit a number of botanical products, especially species of myrrh (Commiphora) growing in the region once controlled by the Kuṣāṇas, and especially in north-western India and on the Makrān coast of Baluchistan; this coast, known as 'Gadrosia', had been famous for its aromatic resins as long ago as the time of Alexander the Great (1). The existence of valuable resins in the Sassanid empire needs to be emphasised, for it will be seen later that they contributed considerably to the reputation enjoyed by Persia among the southern Chinese in the fifth and early sixth centuries.

The extent to which the early Sassanids were interested in the sea is, however, by no means clear. Their conquest of Persia seems to have been a southern Persian reaction against Parthian ascendancy. The dynasty came from a region much closer to the Persian Gulf than its predecessor had been, and this circumstance probably led to an interest in maritime affairs. Sassanid dynastic traditions relate that the first ruler, Ardashir I (226/7 - 242), improved some of the ports on the Gulf (2). The Pei shih states that Persia was the former

(1) Arrian, Anabasis, vi, 22, 4, quoting Aristobulus (Loeb Classical Library, translation by Robson).

(2) According to Ḥamza of Iṣfahān in the middle of the tenth century; Hādī Ḥasan, Persian navigation, 61-63. According to Ṭabari, quoted by Hourani, the pre-Islamic name of al-Ubullah was 'Farj al-Hind', the 'marches of India'; Arab seafaring, 41.

T'iao-chih 條支, or Mesene kingdom of the lower Tigris and Euphrates known in Han times as a dependency of the Arsacid empire, and here may be a vague acknowledgement by the Chinese of the prominence of southern Persian influence in the Sassanid period (1).

No one has ever imagined that the Persians themselves suddenly took to the sea, but among their subjects there were those capable of navigation. Arabs on the western shores of the Persian Gulf and the traders of the former Kusāna ports of north-west India must have continued to do business under their new masters just as the population of the eastern Mediterranean had done when their countries were annexed by the Romans. It should not be forgotten that K'ang T'ai's description of the maritime route from north-west India to Ta-ch'in was written during the first years of the Sassanid dynasty. Moreover the former Kusāna ports had trading links down the west coast of India, and these would have been inherited by the Sassanid empire, though the chronology of the earliest Persian influence in southern India cannot be established by the Pahlevi inscriptions found there (2).

(1) Pei shih, 97, 16b: 波其國都宿利城在恆密西古條支國也

For the identification of T'iao-chih with Mesene see Shiratori, 'T'iao-chih', 20-21.

(2) On the Nestorian crosses see Modi, 'A Christian Cross', JBombayBRAS, 2, 1, 1926, 1-18; Minorsky, JRAS, 1942, 183. All these crosses seem to be post-Sassanid. Nevertheless Cosmas mentions Persian bishops at Calliana near Bombay and on the Malabar coast; Christian topography, 119.

Nevertheless the first satisfactory evidence of Persian shipping on a considerable scale in the western Indian Ocean is as late as the first half of the sixth century, when Cosmas Indicopleustes, drawing on information probably acquired in 522 or 525 or a few years later, describes how the Persians were entrenched in Ceylon and enjoyed special privileges for their horse imports (1). Procopius, writing of the 530 - 531 period, refers unambiguously to the monopoly the Persians now had in the disposal of the silk arriving in the western Indian Ocean from China, a monopoly from which the Aksumites were unable to dislodge them (2). Nor by this time were the Persian traders confining their activities to Ceylon; according to the Greek version of the Martyrdom of St. Arethas, their ships were trading with Aksum itself (3).

In view of what Cosmas and Procopius have to say it is reasonable to believe that the fifth century saw a gradual

(1) Christian topography, 363-370. It is interesting that the name Cosmas uses for 'China' was probably based on a Pahlavi word. Cosmas' word was 'Tzinista'; Pelliot, Polo, I, 268.

(2) History of the Wars, I, xx, 12, 143.

(3) Boissonade, Anecdota Graeca, vol. 5, 1833, 44-5. I am grateful to Professor Beckingham for this reference. The passage deals with the merchant ships commandeered by the Aksum king for the Himyarite campaign in the early sixth century. 60 ships had arrived; they belonged to the merchants of Byzantium, Persia, India and the Farasan islands. Vasiliev's quotation of this text omits the reference to Persian ships; Justin the First, Harvard, 1950, 295.

expansion in Persian maritime activity. Nothing is known in that century about their rivals, the Aksumites, and it may be that after the expansion of Aksum under its great king Ezana in the fourth century there was a period of political depression (1). It has never been suggested that Aksumite ships brought silk to the Byzantine ports at the head of the Red Sea on an important scale, and the loan of ships by Justin I to Ella Asbeha for the Himyarite campaign in 523 may mean that Aksumite sea power was no longer considerable (2). Nor is there any evidence that the Persians had to fight the Aksumites for control of the Ceylon silk trade.

But though Persian ships were no doubt obtaining a greater share of the trade within the western Indian Ocean during the fifth century, it cannot be assumed that their merchants were anxious to increase their maritime trade with China whether by direct voyages or through middlemen. It is difficult to believe that they ever regarded the sea as more than a supplementary silk route. Even Cosmas, who mentions silk arriving in Ceylon, is at pains to point out that overland was a much quicker means of bringing silk to Persia (3). I doubt whether the Persians at

(1) Rossini, Storia d'Etioopia, 1928, 167. For a recent summary of the present state of knowledge of Aksum see Ullendorff, The Ethiopians, 1960, especially 53-57. It is unlikely that shipping from southern Arabia competed with Persian shipping in the fifth century; Tibbetts, 'Pre-Islamic Arabia and South-east Asia', JMFRAS, 29, 3, 1956, 203.

(2) Vasiliev, Justin the First, 294. He quotes the Arab tradition that the Aksumite king complained that he had many men but no ships.

(3) Christian topography, 48-49.

any time ceased to regard the journey through Turkestan as the normal one to China, in spite of periods when travelling conditions were difficult. There was, for example, a collapse of political authority in northern China early in the fourth century and depression among the Sogdian middlemen as a result of the sack of Lo-yang in 311 by the Huns. One Sogdian wrote to a prominent merchant in Samarkand:

"And, Sir, it is three years since a Sogdian came from 'inside' (= China) ... And, Sir, if I wrote (and told you) all the details of how China fared (what happened to the China trade), it would be (a story of) debts and woe; you have no wealth from it (1)."

Yet, in spite of this distressing situation, another Sogdian letter in the same period states that in the three previous years the road had been open not less than five times (2). It is hardly likely that the overland route was ever closed for long stretches of time. More probable is it that the volume of trade was sometimes affected and that, in the fourth century, there was a steep falling off in the demand for western luxuries in the barbarian camps of northern China, though a little trade may have made its way through Kansu and Szechuan to the capital of the Eastern Chin dynasty on the lower Yangtse. The survival of the overland route in that disturbed century is indicated by

(1) Henning, 'The date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters', 605-7.
 (2) *Ibid.*, 611.

Ammianus Marcellinus, writing about 363, when he states that beyond the Sogdians and the Sacae

'a very long road extends, which is the route taken by the traders who journey from time to time to the land of the Seres (1).'

Whatever interruptions there may have been in the fourth century (2), trade would certainly have picked up in the following century with the return of more settled conditions in northern China and eastern Turkestan under the Toba Wei dynasty. An illustration of the persistent manner in which the trade was then conducted is again provided by the Sogdians.

其國(粟特)商人先多詣涼土販貨及委
 其姑臧悉見虜文成初粟特王遣使請
 贖之詔聽焉

'Many merchants of Su-t'ê (north-west of K'ang-ehū or Sogdiana) had gone to the Liang country (Kansu in north-western China) to trade. When the Wei captured Ku-tsang (in 439), all (these merchants) were taken prisoner. At the beginning of (the Wei emperor) Wên Ch'êng's reign (he succeeded in 452) the ruler of Su-t'ê sent envoys and asked that the prisoners should be ransomed. His request was granted (3).

(1) Res gestae, XXIII, 6, 60 (Loeb Classical Library, Rolfe's translation). This passage was written in 363. Fu Chián 符堅 had by then established temporary authority in northern China.
 (2) Monks may have suffered more than merchants. Kumārajīva was detained in Kansu from 385 to 401; Mather, Biography of Lu Kuang, California, 1959, 86-87. Dharmamitra got as far as Kucha from India but was not allowed to proceed to China; Bagchi, Canon Bouddhique, I, 388. Holy men were in demand among the rulers on the trade route, but the rulers would have benefited from traders passing through their dominions, from whom tolls could be extracted.

(3) Pei shih, 97, 16a.

If there was an increased tempo of maritime trade in the fifth and sixth centuries, I do not believe that it can be explained as a diversion of traffic from the overland route or by Persian resourcefulness in seeking an alternative access to China. Instead the cause is more likely to be found in the economic needs of southern China. Sooner or later it would have dawned on merchants in western Asia that there was now another important Chinese market as well as the traditional one on the Yellow river and that its demand for foreign produce could normally be met only by shipping. The trading impulse during these centuries came from southern China rather than from western Asia, and for this reason the situation in southern China has a considerable bearing on western Indonesian history.

When barbarians overran northern China in the early fourth century a massive flight of Chinese southwards took place. According to the Chin shu, from 311, when Lo-yang was sacked, to about 325, 60% to 70% of the upper classes moved from the central provinces of northern China to south of the Yangtse (1). Among the émigré population in the territories of the Eastern Chin earlier standards of gracious living, formerly familiar in the north, gradually revived as the refugees recouped their fortunes on the new estates carved out

(1) Lien-shāng Yang, quoting the Chin shu, 'Notes on the economic history of the Chin dynasty', HJAS, 9, 1945-7, 115.

for them in the fertile south. Though the Eastern Chin dynasty (317 - 420) was weak and there were several rebellions, nevertheless it was possible for the last years of the reign of the emperor Hsiao Wu (372 - 396) to be described as a peaceful period (1). In the fifth century conditions continued to improve, and it has been suggested that the 424 - 453 period was one of the relatively peaceful and prosperous periods in southern China during the fifth and sixth centuries (2). The Yangtse cities were becoming important centres of trade and consumption, never having suffered the cruel experiences of the northern cities in the decades of barbarian civil war during the fourth century. Internal trade developed and was encouraged by the government, which relied on trade taxes for its chief source of revenue (3).

But the southern dynasties, and especially the Liu Sung (420 - 479) suffered from one grave handicap. Their links

(1) Lien-sheng Yang, also quoting the Chin shu; *ibid.*, 174.

(2) Ho Tzū-ch'üan, Wei Chin Nan Pei ch'ao shih lüeh, Shanghai, 1958, 137. He bases his judgment on the Liu Sung shu, 92, 1b. This was the reign of Wên Ti, to whom a number of Indonesian embassies were sent; see pages 342-343 below.

(3) T'ao Hsi-shêng and Wu Hsien-ch'ing, Nan Pei ch'ao ching chih shih, Shanghai, 1937, 89-90. According to Eberhard 'there is no question at all that the highest refinement of the civilisation of the Far East between the fourth and the sixth century was to be found in South China'; A history of China, 1955 impression, 165.

with Turkestan were precarious and often severed. In 439 the northern Wei conquered Kansu in north-western China, and thus the surviving bridgehead to southern China from the overland route was lost. From Kansu it had been possible to reach the Yangtse valley. When the northern and southern dynasties were at war in the fifth and sixth centuries the frontier between them was blockaded, and even when there was peace private trade across the border seems to have been in the form of smuggling (1).

In these circumstances it is not surprising that the southern dynasties wanted to attract sea-borne trade. The dependence of the Liu Sung dynasty on maritime communications has been described in a well known passage.

晉氏南移河階實隔戎夷梗路外域天監
 若夫大秦天竺逾出西漢二漢徐行役特翼其
 路而商貨所資或出交部汎海陵波因國遠
 至又重山嶽參差氏衆非一殊名詭号虎種別
 美自殊山玉琛水寶由茲自出通犀翠羽之珍虫
 王朱火布之墨干名萬品並世主之所虛心故
 舶自^{Lu}路商使交屬

(1) On the subject of border relations see T'ao and Wu, 84ff. They were sometimes very bitter, with captives from either side enslaved; Wang Yu-t'ung, 'Slaves and other comparable social groups', *HJAS*, 16, 1953, 302, note 6.

'When the Chin dynasty moved south it was separated from the Yellow river and Kansu by a great distance. The barbarians (? of northern China) obstructed the routes and the foreign regions were now as remote as Heaven. Ta-ch'in and India were far away in the vastnesses of the west. (Even) when the two Han dynasties had sent expeditions these routes had been found to be particularly difficult and (some) merchandise, on which (China) depended, had come from Tongking; it had sailed on the waves of the sea, following the wind, and travelling from afar to (China). (In between) there are also range upon range of mountains. There are numerous tribes with different and strange titles. Precious things come from the mountains and the seas by this way. There are articles such as rhinoceros' horn and kingfisher feathers and rare articles such as serpent pearls and asbestos; there are thousands of varieties, all of which the rulers eagerly coveted. Therefore ships came in a continuous stream and merchants and envoys jostled with each other (1).'

(1) Liu Sung shu, 97, 29a-b. Other translations of this key passage are in Hirth, China and the Roman Orient, 46, and Wang Gungwu, 'The Nanhai trade', 46 and 58. The present translation differs in two respects. I translate 而商所出交部 as 'and the merchandise, on which (China) depended, had come from Tongking'. This sentence seems to be contained in Hirth's 'yet traffic in merchandise has been effected, and goods have been sent out to the foreign tribes'. Dr. Wang's version is: 'But still the supply of merchandise has been kept up, being sent out from the Chiao area (Chiao-chou = Tongking) across the waves ...' I have read 商貨所出 as 'merchandise, on which (China) depended' and I believe that the passage refers to imports from abroad and not to Chinese exports. The imports would have been forwarded from Tongking to the cities on the Yangtse. I am certain that the only Chinese interest was getting goods into China. The other difference in these translations is that Hirth and Dr. Wang translate 並世主之所虛心 as 'and also the doctrine of the abstraction of mind (in devotion to) the lord of the world (Buddha)'. I have taken Dr. Whitaker's advice and rendered it as 'because rulers coveted these things'. For me this translation is exceedingly important. It is a clear statement of the cause of an increased tempo of maritime trade in the first half of the fifth century.

This passage in the Liu Sung shu, written by Shên Yüeh who died in 513, is an important one. It explains clearly the reason for the busy sea trade reaching southern China, which was the shift of the Chin dynasty to the south, where it was succeeded by the Liu Sung. As a result the southern dynasties lost their overland link with the western regions. No doubt some of the precious things 'coveted by the rulers' came from South East Asia, but the context of this passage indicates that they came chiefly from much further afield. Otherwise why should Ta-ch'in and India have been mentioned (1) ?

Fortunately there is some evidence about the tribute sent by two kingdoms to the Sung emperor which makes it clear that Indian Ocean produce was coming to southern China by sea. In

(1) Dr. Wang Gungwu ('Nanhai trade', 58), while observing 'the attractions of T'ien-chu and Ta-ch'in' indicated in the passage just quoted, considers that 'the imports noticeably include the products of mainland South-east Asia (rhinoceros horns and kingfisher feathers) as well as those of India, Ceylon and further west ...'. This is an instance of the way he and I have formed different opinions about the relative importance to the Chinese of the western Asian and the South East Asian trade in this period. For him the latter was only beginning to extend into the Indian Ocean. But I do not believe that 'kingfisher feathers' is evidence of South East Asian produce. The Liang shu, 54, 37a-b, in an introductory passage about the 'north-western' barbarians, uses the expression 'bright jewels and kingfisher feathers 明珠翠羽'. I believe that the reference to rhinoceros' horn and the other precious articles is a literary flourish and not an exact inventory of the chief imports. Asbestos certainly came from the Roman Orient.

430 Ho-lo-tan 呵羅單, a western Indonesian kingdom, sent tribute (1). It was in Shê-p'o 訶婆, the 'Java' region from where Gunavarman had sailed to China a few years earlier.

呵羅單國治訶洲天嘉七年遣使獻
金剛指金環赤嬰鳥武鳥鳥天竺國白
疊古貝葉波國古貝等物

'Ho-lo-tan country rules in Shê-p'o chou. In 430 it sent envoys with tribute. (The tribute) comprised a diamond ring, red parrots, white cloth from India, cloth from Gandhāra (2), and such items (3).'

In 449 P'u-huang 蒲黃, another western Indonesian kingdom(4)

獻牛黃等物又獻鬱金香等物

'sent as tribute articles such as bezoar stones and also articles such as turmeric (5).'

Ho-lo-tan unquestionably had access to western Asian produce, and P'u-huang was probably in the same position (6).

I therefore believe that it is in the needs of the southern Chinese dynasties that one has to look for the probable explanation of an increase in the use of the maritime

(1) I return to Ho-lo-tan in chapters eleven and thirteen.

(2) Pelliot upheld Chavannes' rendering of Yeh-po = Gandhāra; Polo, I, 439.

(3) Liu Sung shu, 97, 5b-6a.

(4) I return to P'u-huang in chapters eleven and thirteen.

(5) TPYL, 787, 3487a, quoting the Sung Yüan chia ch'i chü chu.

(6) Bezoar stones are collected in Indonesia, but the Sui shu, 83, 8b, describes them as a product of K'ang 康 country or Samarkand. The Liang shu, 54, 21b-22a, states that turmeric came only from Chi-pien 戩小 省, or Kashmir, whence merchants sold it to other countries. The Hou Chou shu attributed turmeric to Persia; 50, 17a.

route in the fifth and sixth centuries. The route served a trade stimulated by southern China; the merchandise it carried was what the Chinese wanted.

Silk no doubt travelled westwards to help finance the trade, and there is one reference to silk exports in the records of the Southern Ch'i dynasty (479 - 502). The foreign merchants in question came from South East Asia. The passage mentions Chang Ching-chên 張景直

又度絲金帛 隨山崑山 船營貨

'who calculated carefully the silks and brocades he used to trade with (the merchants of) the X'un-lun ships (1).'

The Liu Sung dynasty controlled the silk-producing region of north-eastern China until 469, when it lost it to the Wei, but in the sixth century more relaxed political relations between the southern dynasties and the Eastern Wei (534 - 550) and the Northern Ch'i (550 - 577) in north-eastern China would

(1) Nan Ch'i shu, 31, 6b, quoted by Wang Gungwu, 'Nanhai trade', 60.

have ensured silk supplies for the south (1). Yet one suspects that only in the second half of the fifth century were the Persians becoming more interested in increasing their silk imports from southern China. By that time the Hephthalites were powerful in western Turkestan and had established themselves in the commercial centres of Sogdiana and Bactria. In 484 they were sufficiently strong to be able to defeat and kill the Sassanid ruler Perōz. At the end of the century they were in occupation of Gandhāra. As a result of their conquests they controlled Sogdiana, Khotan, Kashgar, and Bukhara (2). Cosmas heard that they 'oppressed the people' (3), and Theophanes recalled that they deprived the Persians of the trading centres used by the 'Seres' (4). Here

(1) I have had difficulty in obtaining information on the subject of sericulture in southern China during this period. The best account is in Li Chien-nung, Wei Chin Nan Pei ch'ao ..., 50-54. No doubt with the resettlement of northerners in the south new mulberry growing areas came into production, but according to Li Chien-nung, 51, cloth rather than silk was being paid as taxes to the southern Chinese government. Yet there must have been considerable progress in southern sericulture; according to the Sui shu, quoted by Balazs, the Kiangsi region was producing four or five crops of silkworms a year; 'Le traité économique de Souei-chou', reprint from TP, 42, 3-4, 318.

(2) Pei shih, 97, 23b: 西域康居于闐沙勒安息及諸小國三十許皆屬之號為大國

(3) Christian topography, 371.

(4) Müller, Fragmenta Histor. Graec., iv, 270, quoted in Yule-Cordier, Cathay and the way thither, second edition, 1, 204-205, (Hakluyt Society, 1913-1916).

is the immediate background to the situation in Ceylon described by Cosmas and to Justinian's attempt to persuade the Aksumites to compete with the Persians in buying silk in Ceylon.

As a result of the Hephthalite occupation of central Asia in the first half of the sixth century it is possible that for some years southern China was the main access to the outside world for much of northern China as well. The dependence of north-eastern China on the overseas contacts of southern China has been suggested in a recent study of the origins of Gupta influence on Buddhist art in north-eastern China in the first half of the sixth century (1). Styles of Buddhist iconography in that region have been attributed to the examples of Liang dynasty artists in southern China, who, in touch with India or even with South East Asia, specialised in copying Indian sculptural effects.

It would be fanciful to suppose that the maritime route

(1) A. Soper, 'South Chinese influences on the Buddhist art of the Six Dynasties period', *BMFEA*, 32, 1960, 47-112. The conquest of Szechuan by the Later Chou in 553 would have isolated southern China even more effectively from the overland route via Szechuan to Kansu and Turkestan. Soper quotes the case of the Northern Ch'i scholar Wei Shou 魏 秀, who, in 562, sent his agents to the southern Ch'ên empire to make contact with a K'un lun ship. In this way he obtained a great quantity of valuable things; Pei Ch'i shu, 37, 13b-14a. On the reputation of the south as a source of valuable goods see T'ao and Wu, 87-88.

in these centuries was free of man-made obstacles to merchants. Flourishing trade would have encouraged piracy at sea and exactions by officials in the ports. Tabari states that the governor of Ul-Uballah had to fight Indian pirates (1). Fa Hsien complained of pirates in the Bay of Bengal (2). The Chams were probably a major nuisance off the coast of Annam until the Liu Sung government punished them in 446 in a campaign which reflects the concern of that government to protect shipping in the waters approaching southern China (3). Grasping officials in most harbours on the route must have been a frequent cause of increased trading costs, and not least in the harbours of southern China (4). But none of these difficulties could have weakened the attraction of trading with an increasingly populous, prosperous, and productive southern China.

The increased tempo of maritime trade inevitably improved the fortunes of those countries with harbours along the sea route and this is borne out by the little that is known of Sinhalese commerce in these centuries.

(1) Quoted by Hourani, Arab seafaring, 41.

(2) Giles' translation, 77.

(3) The campaign against the Chams is summarised with references in G. Maspero, Le royaume de Champa, Paris, 1928, 70-74. Valuable booty was captured. These events are related in Liu Sung shu, 97, 2b.

(4) Dr. Wang Gungwu notes how ambitious officials in Kuangtung and Tongking used these wealthy areas as bases for attempts on the imperial throne; 'Nanhai trade', 46-50.

The great port of Ceylon was Mahātīttha, and it is unfortunate that the results of the excavations there by Hocart in 1925 - 1928 have not been published in detail (1). But there is other evidence of the commercial status of Ceylon in this period. In the fifth century Roman coins were being used as currency (2) and have been found at almost every little port on the island with the exception of Trincomalee. The most numerous issues are of the eastern Roman emperor Arcadius (395 - 408) and of his predecessor and successor. Before the reign of Valentinian I (364 - 375) there are only a few isolated coins (3). Evidently in the fifth century middlemen in touch with Byzantium were trading with Ceylon.

But Ceylon was an important commercial centre long before that time. The following passage appears in the T'ai p'ing yū lan

(1) S. Sanmuganathan, Report on the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon for 1950, Colombo, 1951, G.15.

(2) Codrington, Ceylon coins and currency (Memoirs of the Colombo Museum, Series A, no. 3, Colombo, 1924), 31-32. Codrington called attention to the fact that many of them were found at Sigiriya, which was the capital only during the reign of Kassapa I (? 479 - 497); 33.

(3) Professor Warmington has discussed these coins; Commerce, 120-125. One of the reasons which he considers responsible for their presence in Ceylon is the trading activity of Aksumite and Persian middlemen after the foundation of the Byzantine empire. The same writer also thinks that in the latter part of the fourth century the sea route was encouraged by disturbances on the land route and the loss of 'Roman' influence in the regions of the Caspian and the Persian Gulf; ibid, 140.

唐子曰師子國出朱砂水銀薰陸樹金
蘇合青木等諸香

'The T'ang tzü states: Shih-tzü country (Ceylon) produces cinnabar, mercury, hsün-lu, turmeric, storax, costus and such perfumes (1).'

According to the Sui-shu the author of the T'ang tzü was the Taoist T'ang P'ang 唐滂, who lived under the Wu dynasty (222 - 280) (2). Shih-tzü is the name used by Fa Hsien for Ceylon at the beginning of the fifth century, and its use as early as the third century is unexpected. K'ang T'ai's name was Ssü-t'iao 斯言罔 (3). But there can be no doubt that the list of products associated with Ceylon included some from the Middle East, and this persuades me that Shih-tzü in this passage is in fact Ceylon. The Wei lüeh, in its account of the products of Ta-ch'in mentions hsün-lu, turmeric, and storax (4), and these articles must have been imports of Ceylon known by hearsay to the southern Chinese in the first half of the third century, a comment on the growing trade of that island.

The maritime route between western Asia and China, in which the Wu government and K'ang T'ai were interested, could

(1) TPYL, 982, 4347b. This passage seems to have been overlooked by students of Ceylon. Hsün-lu is discussed in detail in chapter seven.

(2) Sui shu, 34, 4a: 唐子十卷吳唐滂撰

(3) TPYL, 787, 3485b; 811, 3605a; 699, 3120a. I agree with Professor Petech that these references can only be to Ceylon; 'Some Chinese texts', 223.

(4) SKCwei, 30, 33b.

not fail to involve Ceylon, and already by that time southern China would have been receiving goods which passed through Ceylon. With the increase in the tempo of maritime trade, the importance of Ceylon increased, and it is not surprising that by the early fifth century Ceylon was in direct touch with China. Envoys were sent to the Eastern Chin at the beginning of the 405 - 419 period and to the Liu Sung in 428, 429, and 435 (1). Both Fa Hsien and Gunavarman sailed from Ceylon to Indonesia and thence to China (2).

By the first half of the sixth century Persian traders had established themselves in Ceylon, where they received the Far Eastern trade arriving at that island. One naturally enquires when the Persians^a first became interested in Ceylon trade, and for this reason a Chinese fragment, noted by Pelliot, deserves to be quoted.

The fragment comes from Liu Hsin-ch'i 劉欣期's Chiao chou chi 交州記.

波斯王以金釧聘斯言國王女也

'The Po-ssü (Persian) king asked for the hand of the daughter of the king of Ssü-t'iao (Ceylon) and sent a gold bracelet as a (betrothal) present (3).'

- (1) Liang shu, 54, 24b, in respect of the mission to the Chin. It was said to be the first ever sent to China: 晉義熙初始遣使獻 Liu Sung shu, 97, 10a; LS, 54, 25a; LSS, 97, 10b
- (2) Fa Hsien wept with homesickness when he saw a Chinese fan in Ceylon; Giles' translation, 68.
- (3) Ling nan i shu, 55; collected fragments of the Chiao chou chi, chapter 2, 1b. The fragment is also preserved in the TPYL, 718, 3183b.

The Chiao chou chi, or 'Records of Tongking', is lost. The Chinese tradition is that its author lived under the Chin dynasty (265 - 420), and because he mentions a date corresponding to 380 he must have been writing towards the end of that period (1). Henri Maspero was prepared to believe that Liu Hsin-ch'i wrote in the last years of the fourth century (2), but Pelliot, cautious as usual, thought that the text could not be later than the first half of the fifth century (3).

We saw in an earlier chapter that in the Nan chou i wu chih Ssü-t'iao appears as an Indonesian toponym (4). K'ang T'ai, however, uses the same name for Ceylon, and its persistence in the Chiao chou chi is surprising in view of the fact that Fa Hsien knew the island as Shih-tzü. On the other hand, T'ang P'ang in the third century called it Shih-tzü, and one has to conclude that both names were current. That Shih-tzü was not the only name for Ceylon in Chin times is indicated by the fact that Chih Sêng-tsai 支僧載 knew it as Ssü-ho-t'iao 斯訶言 (5). Indeed, only the Nan chou i wu chih uses

(1) Such is the attribution in the Ling nan i shu. The authority for 380 as the date of the event described is given as the T'ung chien; Ling nan i shu, chapter 2, 1a. The passage also appears in the TPYL, 49, 242b.

(2) BEFEO, 18, 1918, 3, 22, note 2.

(3) Polo, I, 542.

(4) Pages 94-95.

(5) For instance TPYL, 701, 3130a. Petech points out a perfect parallelism between K'ang T'ai's reference to Ssü-t'iao (TPYL, 699, 3120a) and his fellow-envoy's, Chu Ying's, reference to Ssü-ho-t'iao, contained in the Pei t'ang shu ch'ao. Both references are to a curtain sent by the king as a present for the gods of India; 'Some Chinese texts', 223. Hsiang Ta considered that Chih Sêng-tsai was a Yüeh-chih monk of Chin times; T'ang tai Ch'ang an, 571.

Ssü-t'iao to mean anything other than Ceylon, and I feel that it is safe to regard the name in the Chiao chou chi as a reference to Ceylon. But what of Po-ssü and my translation of this term as 'Persia' ?

Po-ssü was certainly used by the northern Chinese to transcribe 'Persia', and the earliest instance of this in northern texts is in connexion with the first Sassanid mission to the Wei dynasty in 455 (1). The name is believed to be derived from Pārsa, the region of southern Persia associated with the Sassanids, and Pelliot suggested that the form the transcription took indicated a Sogdian pronunciation (2). When Po-ssü became current as the name for 'Persia', the earlier word An-hsi 安 息, probably derived from Arsak or 'Arsacid' and meaning 'Parthia', was abandoned. But there is no reason for believing that the change took place among northern Chinese writers before 455, though the Sassanid dynasty was by then already established for more than 200 years. Until 455 it was probably assumed that An-hsi was still the appropriate name for the Iranian empire. A screen of middlemen, on whom the northern Chinese depended for political intelligence, would have kept them in ignorance. But when the Wei dynasty got into its stride, some Chinese influence returned to central Asia and foreign missions, including Persian ones, came with

(1) Wei shu, 5, 5b.

(2) In a note to Ferrand published in JA, Avril-Juin, 1924, 241, note 1.

up-to-date information (1). Thereafter An-hsi survived, though only as the name for Bukhara west of the Oxus river. It should not, however, be assumed that the use of Po-ssü for 'Persia' depended on when the northern Chinese adopted the transcription. The southern Chinese, with a different system of commercial access to western Asia, could have heard of Pārsa earlier. One need not doubt that this was the meaning of Po-ssü in the Chiao chou chi merely because the text may have been written before 455, when the northern Chinese first heard of Po-ssü.

It is therefore possible that gossip about Persians in Ceylon was reaching China by the sea route early in the fifth century (2). The passage in the Chiao chou chi is a useful one because it makes it less improbable that additional information about the Po-ssü (Persians) was reaching southern China in the fifth century, and I shall later invoke Liu Hsin-ch'i in support of the truthfulness of other early southern Chinese texts dealing with the Po-ssü. In the first half of the fifth century Persian merchants operating in the western Indian Ocean may have been already responding to the needs of the southern Chinese by bringing goods as far east as Ceylon for re-shipment to China.

(1) Professor Petech notes that as a result of missions to the Wei the northern Chinese heard of new names for old countries; India, 73-4.

(2) I do not attempt to connect the evidence in the Chiao chou chi with the claims of Ṭabari and Hamza that Chosroes I (531 - 578) invaded Ceylon or with Ṭabari's story that Bahram V (420 - 438) had an Indian wife; Hādī Hasan, Persian navigation, 65-68.

In this chapter I have dealt briefly with some general factors likely to have promoted maritime trade from the fourth to the sixth century. I have stressed as the main factor the influence of the southern Chinese market certainly from the early decades of the fifth century, if not earlier. In the second half of the fifth century the Persians would also have had reason for looking to the sea for access to Chinese silk, and one should not ignore the existence of the Indian market for Chinese silk in this period. According to Kālidāsa, Chinese silk was one of the most fashionable textiles among the richer sections of society (1). Not all the silk would have come to India by the overland route, and there is evidence in the Tamil poem Śilāppadigāram, composed in the early centuries of the Christian era, that silk was arriving in southern India by sea (2). But I do not believe that either the Persians or the Indians were so dependent on sea trade for luxuries as the southern Chinese were, and the statement in the Liu Sung shu that 'the rulers coveted' precious goods suggests better than any evidence I have been able to discover the economic background to the expansion in Indonesian commerce which I shall describe.

Because of the Chinese dependence on maritime trade for

(1) Kumārasambhava, VII, 3, quoted by Maity, Economic life of northern India in the Gupta period, Calcutta, 1957, 134.

(2) Nilakanta Sastri, 'The Tamil land and the Eastern Colonies', JGIS, 11,1, 1944, 26-28.

their luxury imports it is reasonable to suppose that news about centres of production in western Asia reached them by means of the merchants who brought the precious cargoes to their shores. They could therefore have known by hearsay of the Persians, or subject peoples trading under the name of 'Persians', certainly as early as 530 - 531, when Procopius describes the Persian monopoly of the silk trade in Ceylon, and there is a chance that in the Chiao chou chi fragment one has an illustration of the way a century earlier news about the Persians was already trickling through by sea. Evidence about the Po-ssu^u is likely to be increasingly authentic information about the Persians the closer in time it is to the beginning of the sixth century.

I have been careful, however, to refer to hints of Persian shipping activity no further afield than the western Indian Ocean. I have deliberately avoided considering how the sea trade was organised and especially the identity of the traders who were bringing southern China and western Asia into touch with each other. I believe that the handling of the trans-Asian maritime trade in these centuries has an important bearing on the expansion of early Indonesian commerce, but there is no text in any language in which it is satisfactorily described.

Before I broach the question of the organisation of the maritime trade through South East Asia I wish to examine some of the goods which travelled by sea under the label of Po-ssu^u

natural products. They will take us to western Indonesia and reveal a connexion between that region and the western trade bound for southern China. The goods are mentioned in fragments of lost texts which bring into a curious juxtaposition two expressions: 'southern ocean 南海' and 'Po-ssü 波斯'. The products were Po-ssü but they grew in the 'southern ocean'. The term 'southern ocean' was conventionally used to describe the maritime region immediately to the south of China, and in the sixth century two Indonesian kingdoms were said to be in 'the southern ocean' (1). If Po-ssü always meant 'Persia', a country conventionally believed to be in the 'western regions' (2), the juxtaposition of the two terms creates a problem, and in its solution lies, I believe, the basis for reconstructing the history of western Indonesian commerce in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Whatever extended or different meaning the term Po-ssü may have had, there can be no doubt that it normally meant 'Persia' or 'Persian'. To the end of his life Pelliot insisted on this, and he therefore rejected Laufer's view, formulated in 1919, that the Chinese before Sung times (960 - 1279) were

(1) Liang shu, 54, 16b and 19a, on Kan-t'oli 干陀利 and P'oli 婆利 respectively. The Peninsula Kingdom of Lang-ya-hsiu 狼牙脩 was similarly described; *ibid*, 18a.

(2) The Liang shu, 54, 37a and 44a, includes Po-ssü = Persia among the countries of 'the north-western Jung barbarians'.

capable of using the expression to mean something other than 'Persia' (1). I shall later explain why I am convinced that Pelliot was right.

Yet when, on botanical grounds, Laufer called attention to certain South East Asian aspects of the usage of the expression Po-ssü, he was making a useful contribution to the history of early Indonesian commerce (2). I therefore propose to re-open the discussion of the Po-ssü question, and I shall do so by examining the Po-ssü products in the sequence which, in my opinion, most readily elucidates the significance of the expression in the context of Indonesian history. I shall begin with what seems to be the clearest example of an Indonesian reaction to the maritime trade between western and eastern Asia, a trade which in this instance was old enough to be associated with Ta-ch'in, the Han toponym for the Roman Orient (3). I shall then provide a further, though less distinct, example of the same reaction (4). In both cases western Indonesian tree resins came on to the southern Chinese market as substitutes for western Asian resins. It will then be necessary to establish the nature of the trade in Po-ssü natural

(1) Pelliot, Polo, I, 87; Laufer, Sino-Iranica, especially 468-487.

(2) Pelliot never studied the Po-ssü products from the 'southern ocean'. I imagine that the article on 'Persia' in the second volume of his Notes on Marco Polo, posthumously published, will do so.

(3) Chapter seven.

(4) Chapter eight.

products and the sense in which Po-ssu^u was used during the fifth and sixth centuries (1). Then, and only then, do I believe that it is possible to explain how it was that a connexion came into being between western Indonesia and Po-ssu^u or 'Persia'. By treating the subject in this way some progress may be made in exposing the special contribution of western Indonesia to Asian maritime trade in the centuries before the rise of Śrīvijaya.

The chief reason why Laufer's pioneer study in 1919 did not bring out more clearly the significance of the Po-ssu^u problem in early Indonesian history was because he did not give sufficient prominence to the earliest southern Chinese texts to mention the Po-ssu^u. Instead he chose to regard the T'ang period and especially the eighth century as the period providing the evidence about the problem most susceptible to solution. For me, on the other hand, the earliest texts, which I shall assign to the fifth or early sixth century, are the basis of the problem. Yet to say of them that their usefulness cannot be taken for granted is an under-statement of the student's difficulty when he begins to handle them. I have, therefore, to introduce them and plead their credentials.

(1) Chapter nine.

CHAPTER SIX

THE VINTAGE TEXTS

These texts survive in the form of fragments from Kuo I-kung 郭義恭 's Kuang chih 廣志, Ku Wei 顧微 's Kuang chou chi 廣州記, and Hsü Piao 徐表 's Nan chou chi 南州記. For the sake of convenience I shall refer to them as the 'vintage texts' for the po-ssu problem.

The three texts were lost long ago (1). Later writers quoted from them, but one can never be certain that they actually possessed copies and were not merely repeating mutilated quotations from earlier works incorporating parts of the vintage texts or were even inventing the quotations. Worse still, one is not only dealing with fragments of lost texts. The most important source containing^{Cing} the fragments of interest to me, Li Hsün 李王旬 's Hai yao pên ts'ao 海藥本草, is also lost and there is even an uncertainty whether Li Hsün was in fact the author of this work. Fragments of the Hai yao pên ts'ao have been preserved in the Ch'ung hsiu cheng ho

(1) The KC fragments have been collected in the 19th century Yu han shan fang chi i shih shu, no. 74, by Ma Kuo-han, but an important fragment which I use is omitted from this collection. The KCC fragments have been collected in the Shuo fu, Chekiang edition, 1646, no. 668, but here again an important fragment has been omitted.

ching shih chêng lei pei yung pên ts'ao 重修正和經史
 證類備用本草, which is a revision, undertaken in
 1249, of T'ang Shên-wei 唐慎微's materia medica of 1116,
 known as the Cheng ho hsin hsiu chêng lei pei yung pên ts'ao
 政和新修證類備用本草 (1), and are also preserved
 in Li Shih-chên 李時珍's Pên ts'ao kang mu 本草綱目 (2)
 Li Shih-chên died in 1593.

Three questions have worried me. When were the vintage texts written? When did they disappear? What assurance is there that the fragments, in the form we have them today, do not contain interpolations and, in particular, that the word Po-ssu appearing in them was in fact written by their authors?

The text which can be dated least inexactly is the Kuang chih. It has never been suggested that anyone other than Kuo I-kung wrote this work, and a terminus post quem for its composition is provided by a reference in it to the Wei

(1) I have used the 1957 Jên min wei shêng ch'u pan shê edition, which is a facsimile reprint of the 1249 edition. I refer to it as the CLPT. But T'ang Shên-wei also wrote a materia medica in 1108, known as the (Ta Kuan) Ching shih chêng lei pei chi pên ts'ao 大觀經史證類備用本草. It was block-printed in 1211, and a facsimile reprint was brought out in 1904 by K'o Fêng-shih 柯逢時. I am grateful to Dr. K.T. Wu, of the Orientalia Division of the Library of Congress, for verifying that the important passages from the KC and the KCC on ju and An-hsi perfume respectively (pages 185-6 below) also appear in K'o's reprint of T'ang's earlier work. Laufer (Sino-Iranica, 204) stated that he consulted the 1521 and 1587 editions of the 'Chêng lei pên ts'ao'. The latter is merely a reprint of a 1468 reprint of the 1249 revision, and I suspect that the 1521 edition is really a 1523 reprint of the 1468 edition. Dr. Kaiming Chiu, of Harvard, has been good enough to check that the KCC passage on An-hsi perfume appears in the 1587 edition, while Dr. Wu, of the Congress Library, has checked that it also appears in the 1523 edition. I do not know why Laufer missed this important passage (see page 179, note 4 below).

(2) I have used the Jên min wei shêng ch'u pan shê facsimile of an edition of 1885, Peking, 1957. The editors have corrected it against an edition, the printing of which began in Li Shih-chên's lifetime.

emperor Wên Tî (220 - 226) (1). For its terminus ad quem there is the circumstance that Liu Chün 劉峻, author of the commentary on the Shih shuo hsin yü 世說新語, quotes it (2). Liu Chün died in 521. Pelliot, in his posthumously published Notes on Marco Polo, could not make up his mind about the age of the Kuang chih. He thought that it was written about A.D. 400, in the fourth or fifth century, or 'perhaps not before the sixth century' (3). At all events it was written before 521. The Kuang chih throws helpful light on the Po-ssü problem. Provided that the fragment I shall later examine is not corrupt, this text supplies one of the chief reasons for believing that the trade in Po-ssü products was under way by the beginning of the sixth century.

'Ku Wei's Kuang chou chi' is quoted several times in the Ch'i min yao su, written in the beginning of the 534 - 549 period (4). This text, which has an important bearing on the Po-ssü problem, could therefore not have been written much later than the latest possible date for the Kuang chih, and it is likely that its information also reflects a situation under way

- (1) It is contained in the Sung period Hsiang p'u 香譜, attributed to Hung Ch'ü 洪魯, 1, 9. Wên Tî is said to have written a prose poem 賦, and Dr. Whitaker informs me that the emperor in question must have been the third Century Wei Wên Tî.
- (2) Shih shuo hsin yü chu, Ssü pu pei yao edition, 下之下, 27b.
- (3) Polo, I, 555, 451, 467. Pelliot rejected as groundless the Ch'ing tradition that Kuo I-kung lived in Chin times (265-420).
- (4) Ch'i min yao su, chapter 10, 92; 105 etc.

by the beginning of the sixth century. I prefer to commit myself no further in dating the Kuang chou chi (1). I wish, however, to remove one source of doubt concerning the author of the Kuang chou chi quoted in the pên ts'ao. Chia Ssü-hsieh, in his Ch'i min yao su, distinctly refers to Ku Wei's name in connexion with descriptions of plants contained in the Kuang chou chi. The pên ts'ao writers, on the other hand, while often quoting the Kuang chou chi on botanical subjects, rarely mention the author's name, and this is one reason why Professor Yamada refused to take notice of a fragment to which I attach importance (2). Chia Ssü-hsieh, however, makes it clear that

(1) In 1918 Henri Maspero quoted the Sui shu as his authority for assigning Ku Wei to the Liu Sung period; BEFFO, 18, 3, 1918, 26, note 2. He gave no Suishu page reference. Pelliot did not disturb this dating but gave as his authority the Sui ching chi chih k'ao chêng, 6, 31a; Polo, I, 462. I have consulted this authority (Erh shih wu shih pu pien, reprint of the K'ai ming shu tien edition, 1956, 6, 4988) and have failed to understand why the KCC has been attributed to the Liu Sung period. The Tōhō Bunka kenkyū-jo kanseki bunrui mokoroku, 1, 222, follows the Shuo fu tradition in regarding Ku Wei as a Chin period author. The Pu Chin shu i wên chih, reprint of the K'ai min edition, 3, 26, states that Ku Hui 韋 德文, author of the Kuang chou chi, lived in Chin times and that his father was an official in the early part of the fourth century. This family came from southern China, and in the Chin shu biography of the father, Ku Yung 榮 (68, 1a) it is stated that Ku was a famous surname in the south. The character for 'hui 韋' is very similar to that for 'wei 魏', and it may be remotely possible that Ku Wei lived in Chin times. In view, however, of the number of times the Kuang chou chi refers to Po-ssu I cannot believe that this text is earlier than the fifth century.

(2) Yamada, 'Introduction of An-hsi-hsiang in China', I, 22. Professor Yamada could not believe that so early a text referred to An-hsi hsiang 安 息 香 from South East Asia, and he thought that the passage was either an interpolation or from another book of the same name. For there is also a Kuang chou chi by P'ei Yuan 裴 淵, quoted in the Shui ching chu, whose author died in 527. I return to the problem of An-hsi hsiang in chapter eight.

Ku Wei was interested in plants, and I have found no other author of a Kuang chou chi who shared this interest. It is not surprising that the bibliography at the beginning of T'ang Shên-wei's pên ts'ao also mentions Ku Wei, describing his work as the Kuang chou chi (1). The least of the problems connected with the vintage texts is whether Ku Wei was responsible for the Kuang chou chi fragments which I shall be using. I have no hesitation in believing that all references to this work in my study are to Ku Wei's work.

I have least to say about the date of the Nan chou chi. There can be no dispute, however, concerning the author's name, which is frequently quoted in the pên ts'ao literature. 'Hsü Piao's Nan fang chih 南方志 appears in the I wên lei chū (2). This encyclopaedia was compiled^{by} Ou-yang Hsün (557 - 641) and others (3). I am content to regard the Nan chou chi as another source reflecting a situation not significantly later than the situation described in the other two texts.

The southern Chinese origin of two of the texts is indicated by the titles of the Kuang chou chi ('Records of Canton') and the Nan chou chi ('Records of the Southern Regions'). We shall see that all three authors refer to the 'southern

(1) CLPT, 4.

(2) I wên lei chū, 84, 5b.

(3) Laufer states that the Ch'i min yao su quotes the Nan chou chi but gives no reference; Sino-Iranica, 247, note 7. Ma Nien-tsu, in his index of titles of works quoted in eight old Chinese texts, does not supply an earlier reference than the I wên lei chū; Shui ching chu ..., 57.

ocean'. Though none of their works can be classified as pen ts'ao literature, all of them mention plants so often that they attracted the interest of pen ts'ao writers in later times, and it is reasonable to believe that these authors were influenced by the growing access of southern China to foreign products coming by sea and the knowledge of foreign countries which accompanied the trade. Provided that the term Po-ssu is not a later interpolation, there is no reason for supposing that any of them were writing about Po-ssu products immediately after the latter began to arrive in southern China. More likely is it that the products in question were already fairly familiar in order to come to the notice of these writers. I would not be surprised if the texts were written earlier rather than later in the fifth century, for it is curious that none of their surviving fragments refers to camphor. Not even the author of the Hai yao pen ts'ao, with his great interest in the vintage texts, claims that any of them mentioned camphor. Yet

T'ao Hung-ching (52 - 536 or 456 - 540) 陶弘景 (1) not only knew of camphor but incorporated it in his revision of the materia medica (2). It would be extraordinary if Kuo I-kung and the others, with their evident interest in foreign plant life, knew of but did not mention this famous tree which made so early an impression on the southern Chinese.

But there must be a limit to speculation about the time the vintage texts were written. The situation they describe may have been at least fifty years earlier than A.D. 500, but

(1) For details on pên ts'ao writers I have consulted: Ch'ên Fang-hsien, Chung kuo i hsüeh shih, Shanghai, 1957 edition; Huard and Wong, 'Bio-bibliographie de la médecine chinoise', ESM, 31, 3, 1956, 181-246; Huard and Wong, Evolution de la matière médicale chinoise, Leiden, 1958 (reprinted from Janus, Vol. 47). T'ao Hung-ching is an illustrious name in the history of the Chinese materia medica. His commentary to the Shên nung pên ts'ao ching 神農本草經 brought the materia medica up to date by raising the number of entries from 365 to 730. T'ao's work is extensively quoted in later pên ts'ao and I have had to assume that the quotations are accurate. Like other scholars of his time he was interested in longevity. He is discussed by Ts'ai Ching-fêng in Chung kuo ku tai k'o hsüeh chia, 83-87, and by W.H. Barnes and H.B. Yuen, 'T'ao, the recluse', Ambix, 23-4, London, 1946, 138-147. His biography has been translated in Giles, A Gallery of Chinese Immortals, London, 1948, 106-109.

(2) CLPT, 13, 321b, quoting the Hai yao. Li Shih-chên quotes T'ao's Hing i pieh lu in connexion with the use of camphor in cases of difficult childbirth; ITK, 34, 1377a.

I propose to regard them as potential evidence of a situation which had come into existence by about A.D. 500.

My next worry is when the texts disappeared. None of them are mentioned in the Ssü k'u ch'üan shu, compiled between 1773 and 1783, though in the addition 增訂 to the Ssü k'u chien ming mu lu piao chu there is a statement to the effect that the catalogue of the Ching yün lou 絳雲樓 library possessed a Kuang chih (1). Nor are the imperial histories helpful in determining how long the vintage texts survived. Only the Kuang chih, in two chuan, appears in the bibliographical chapters of the Sui shu and the Hsin T'ang shu (2). I believe, however, that editions of the Kuang chih were still available at the end of the tenth century because there are numerous quotations from it in the T'ai p'ing yü lan, completed in 983, though it is not included in the bibliography. But in that bibliography mention is made of 'Ku Wei's Kuang chou chih (志)' and 'Hsü Piao's Nan fang chih 南方志' (3). Both these works are quoted in the T'ai p'ing yü lan and are also listed in the bibliography at the beginning of the ¹²⁴⁹ revision of the Chêng lei pên ts'ao (4). I am prepared to believe that copies of these texts were still available by about A.D. 1000,

(1) Edited by Shao Chang, Commercial Press, 1959, 570.

(2) Sui shu, 34, 7b; HTS, 59, 9b.

(3) TPYL bibliography, 16b; 15a. Ta Ming 大明, a late tenth century pên ts'ao writer, quotes Hsü Piao on psoralea 補骨脂; PTKM, 14, 817a. It is encouraging to have an example of a writer quoting a vintage text other than the author of the Hai yao pên ts'ao.

(4) CLPT, 4b.

though in reaching this conclusion I have been influenced by the use made of them in the T'ai p'ing yü lan.

The problem of the survival of the texts is important for one reason in particular. Li Hsün, conventionally regarded as the compiler of the Hai yao pên ts'ao, makes considerable use of them, and it is on the quotations from the Hai yao pên ts'ao that I rely for much of the material in the following chapters. Naturally I have had to ask myself whether 'Li Hsün' actually handled copies of the vintage texts, and common sense suggests that he did. There is no evidence that any one before him, whom he could have quoted without acknowledgment, made such extensive use of them, and I can think of no other explanation for his frequent quotations except that he possessed copies and realised that their contents were peculiarly relevant to his specialist interest in 'maritime drugs'.

The problem in connexion with 'Li Hsün' is not whether he actually handled these texts but who was Li Hsün and who wrote the work attributed to him. Li Shih-chên's information

on these 海藥本草 (禹錫曰) 南海藥譜二卷不著撰人知
海氏雜記南方藥物所產郡縣及療疾之功頗
及無倫次 (時珍曰) 此即海藥本草也 六卷唐
無人李珣所撰 珣蓋肅代時人 收采海藥
人亦頗詳明 又鄭虔有胡本草七卷皆胡中
亦藥物今不傳
藥物今不傳

'Hai yao pên ts'ao: (Chang) Yü-hsi (1) says: the Nan hai yao p'u is in two chapters. The compiler's name is unknown. It is a miscellaneous record of the provinces and districts in the southern regions which produce medical materials and the medical efficacy of those materials. It is not in a very good sequence. Shih-chên says: this (work) is in fact the Hai yao pên ts'ao. In all it has six chapters. Li Hsün of the T'ang period compiled it. Hsün lived in the reign of Su (Su Tsung, 756 - 762). His collection of maritime drugs was quite detailed. There is also Chêng Ch'ien's Hu pên ts'ao in seven chapters. This dealt (mainly) with barbarian drugs. It is no more extant (2).'

There are those, however, who disagree with Li Shih-chên and believe that the pên ts'ao writer in question was of Persian extraction and lived in the tenth century (3). Pelliot, on the other hand, noted that the Hai yao pên ts'ao was not attributed to a Persian Li Hsün in the Wên hsüeh chia ta tz'u tien or in the Fên min ta tz'u tien, and he preferred to leave in abeyance the authorship and authenticity of the works attributed to Li Hsün (4).

The text from which I shall be quoting is called the Hai yao

(1) This writer assisted in the compilation of a materia medica which was published in 1957. Li Shih-chên discusses it in PTKM, 1 上, 334b-335a.

(2) PTKM, 1 上, 333b-334a.

(3) Yamada ('Introduction of An-hsi-hsiang in China', 1, 24) quotes Hsiang Ta, Chung wai chiao t'ung hsiao shih, Commercial Press, 1947, 25-26, in connexion with a Li family of Persian origin which escaped to Szechuan after Huang Ch'ao's revolt in 878 and traded in drugs. But there does not seem to be any evidence that a member of this family wrote a pên ts'ao.

(4) Polo, I, 544. Ch'en Pang-hsien merely regards Li Hsün as a T'ang writer. Huard and Wong accept Li Shih-chên's evidence about Li Hsün.

in T'ang Shen-wei's Cheng lei pen ts'ao and is attributed to Li Hsün by Li Shih-chen. Whenever possible I shall quote the Hai yao from the Cheng lei pen ts'ao of the early 12th century rather than Li Hsün from the 16th century Pen ts'ao kang mu. It is obviously preferable to quote the earlier copyist; less time could have passed for errors to slip in, and I believe that T'ang Shen-wei had access to a copy of the Hai yao pen ts'ao which enabled him to quote from it so frequently (1). Pen ts'ao writers, in comparison with scholars dealing with the Confucian classics, are unlikely to have quoted from memory and would normally have consulted their texts(2). Pen ts'ao literature was no part of the gentleman's cultural equipment, which a scholar would have absorbed at an early age. Moreover the pen ts'ao writers were scientists, anxious to establish their facts accurately (3).

The bibliography of the Cheng lei pen ts'ao makes separate references to the Nan hai yao p'u and to the Hai yao (3), and both sources are quoted in this work (4). I shall, however, follow the general practice and regard Li Hsün as the author of the Hai yao pen ts'ao, though only because a more suitable

(1) T'ang Shen-wei took a great number of quotations from the Hai yao and listed them systematically. He could hardly have done this if he did not possess the text.

(2) I owe this observation to Dr. Whitaker.

(3) CLPT, 3-4.

(4) In the section on camphor both the Nan hai yao p'u and the Hai yao are quoted; CLPT, 13, 321b.

attribution is not available. I shall limit my comments on this text to one point, which is the important one of when its author lived. He certainly wrote after the time of Ch'ên Ts'ang-ch'î 陳藏器 because he quotes Ch'ên (1). This means that he was writing later than the 713 - 741 period. I have also observed that on two occasions the Hai yao purports to quote from the Ling piao lu 1 嶺表錄異, written by Liu Hsün 劉恂 about A.D. 900 (2). These borrowings suggest that the Hai yao pên ts'ao could not have been written earlier than the tenth century, and this may explain why its author refers to the emperor T'ai Tsung (624 - 649) as being of 'the T'ang period 唐太宗時' (3), a statement which seems to have been made by a post-T'ang dynasty writer. The tenth century or later as the date for the composition of the Hai yao pên ts'ao brings it closer in time to the composition of the Ch'ung lei pên ts'ao and reduces considerably the likelihood that

(1) PTKM, 14, 828a, on the subject of Loxanthus rugosus or Lysimachia sikokiana. For this identification see Read, Chinese medicinal plants, no. 127 and no. 192. I base my identifications of plants on Read's unless I have occasion to disagree.

(2) CLPT, 4, 109b, on the subject of Chinhsieh 金屑 and LPLI, 上, 2-3. CLPT, 13, 327b (quoting the Ling piao chi 嶺表記) on Populus balsamifera 胡木同 欒 and LPLI, 中, 13. The former CLPT quotation, though it helps to settle one matter, makes an irritating contribution to the Kuang chou chi question, for it records that text as mentioning the Ta-shih 大食, or Arabs. It is out of the question that Ta-shih should have been known to Ku Wei, and I suspect that the word is Ta-ch'in 大秦.

(3) CLPT, 13, 321b. A bibliographical note in the Ch'ung hsiu ch'eng ho ching shih ch'eng lei pei yung pên ts'ao, 1, 40, on the Nan hai yao p'u, states that the author's name is unknown and that it seems to have been written by some one at the end of the T'ang period 似唐末人所作. This is a more likely attribution than Li Shih-chên's eighth century date for Li Hsün.

T'ang Shên-wei was not quoting from a copy in his possession. Nor does a later date for the Hai yao pên ts'ao necessarily mean that its author could not have had access to the vintage texts; the T'ai p'ing yū lan, completed in 983, often quotes them. The problem of the identity of Li Hsün, though an untidy one, does not, I think, bedevil a discussion of the Po-ssü question.

None of the obscurities surrounding the vintage texts which I have noticed so far are, in my opinion, absolute bars on their use as evidence relating to about A.D. 500. My main worry has been on other grounds. Has there been tampering with the texts and, in particular, was the expression Po-ssü 波斯其所 interpolated by Li Hsün himself? In default of the texts themselves, the only means of disposing of doubts on this score would be by comparing Li Hsün's rendering of the passages in question with the same passages quoted independently in other works. Unfortunately this degree of textual verification can be applied to only one of the Po-ssü products with which I shall be dealing. Li Hsün quotes the Kuang chih on the important subject of a Po-ssü pine resin known as ju perfume 乳豆香 (1). The same passage and attribution to the Kuang chih are found in three Sung period works; the Hsiang p'u 香譜, attributed to Hung Ch'u 洪蜀 who was alive in

(1) CLPT, 12, 309b under the heading of ju perfume:

謹按廣志云生南海是波斯松樹脂也
紫赤如木嬰桃者為上

1126, quotes it (1), and so does Ch'ên Ching 陳敬 's Hsin tsuan hsiang p'u 新纂香譜, a work compiled by a Sung writer (2). Moreover Su Sung 蘇頌, compiler of the T'u ching pên ts'ao 圖經本草 of the eleventh century, also quotes it (3). All these writers could, of course, have been merely quoting Li Hsün on the Kuang chih, yet none of them follow either Li Hsün or the Kuang chou chi on the subject of the An-hsi perfume 安息香, another important resin with which I shall be dealing (4). I feel that the Kuang chih's passage on

(1) Reprint of the text in Hsüeh ching t'ao yüan, Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng collection 1481/1, 上, 4: 廣志云即南海波斯國松木樹脂有紫赤木櫻桃者為乳香蓋薰陸之美類也

(2) Shih yuan ts'ung shu collection, 1, 9a: 廣志云即南海波斯國松木樹脂紫赤色如木櫻桃者為乳香蓋薰陸之美類也

The Ssu k'u t'i yao states that Ch'ên Ching lived in Sung times, though another authority ascribes him to the Yüan period; Ch'ien tsun wang tu shu min ch'iu chi chiao chêng, Chang yü, 2 中, 9a.

Pelliot thought that he lived at the end of the Sung period;

Polo, I, 35.

(3) CLPT, 12, 308a: 廣志云南海波斯國松木脂有紫赤如木櫻桃者為乳香蓋薰陸之美類也

Hai 海 is omitted after the fourth character.

(4) The Kuang chou chi passage on An-hsi perfume is found in CLPT, 13, 330b. The PTKM, 34, 1375a, suppresses the reference to the KCC. Laufer and Feng Ch'eng-chün quote from the PTKM and not from the CLPT in respect of An-hsi perfume; Sino-Iranica, 465, 479; Chu fan chih hsiao chu, 100. Laufer's omission to invoke the CLPT on the subject of An-hsi perfume was one reason why he conceived the Po-ssü problem as posed by Li Hsün's use of the term Po-ssü rather than by my vintage texts. I am not particularly concerned by the PTKM's omission to mention the KCC in Li Hsün's passage on An-hsi perfume. I suspect that Li Shih-chên relied on the CLPT for his Li Hsün references and was sometimes inaccurate in quoting them. The same kind of omission occurs in respect of amomum 沙蜜: the CLPT, 9, 232b, quotes the Hai yao as quoting Ch'ên (Ts'ang-ch'i), but the PTKM, 14, 812b, only quotes Li Hsün; in respect of the marking nut 波羅得, the CLPT, 14, 358b, quotes the Hai yao as quoting Hsü (Piao), whereas the PTKM, 35 下, 1411a, only quotes Li Hsün. Finally in respect of cassia 阿剌勃, the CLPT, 12, 312a, quotes Ch'ên Ts'ang-ch'i in respect of Fo-shih 佛新 (Srivijaya), while the PTKM, 31, 1311b, mentions Fo-lin 佛林 instead. Pelliot rightly observed that the PTKM contains many misquotations; Polo, I, 544.

the Po-ssü ju must be regarded as authentic and a statement of knowledge available in southern China in about A.D. 500.

But this is the limit of textual verification which I have been able to achieve. I have not concealed the danger of taking the vintage texts at their face value, and an obligation remains to justify their use. I hope to do so by showing that their contents have the flavour of the fifth or sixth century. I shall show, for example, that not only Kuo I-kung, author of the Kuang chih, but also T'ao Hung-ching distinguished the separate identity of two otherwise similar resins, ju perfume and hsün-lu perfume 薰陸香. In later centuries the distinction was lost, but it was certainly observed at about A.D. 500, and to this extent the Kuang chih reads like a text written at that time. This seems to me to be consistent with the fact that the Kuang chih was quoted in the commentary to the Shih shuo hsün yū by Liu Chün, who died in 521. Again, I shall show that the Kuang chou chi's reference to an An-hsi perfume is not an isolated one in early Chinese literature. A perfume with this name was known in northern China at least as early as the beginning of the fourth century and was also mentioned in a text quoted in the Liu Sung shu, the history of the southern dynasty in the fifth century. Moreover the descriptive language of the Kuang chih and the Nan chou chi is identical in one important respect. These two texts liken foreign resins to pine resin. I shall show that the pine resin analogy would have been particularly meaningful to southern Chinese in the

fifth and sixth centuries on account of Taoist influences working on the development of Chinese medicine.

Nor am I disconcerted by the appearance in the vintage texts of the expression Po-ssü. Though the Kuang chih only uses it once (1), the Kuang chou chi uses it several times (2), and the Nan chou chi at least twice (3). Moreover the Nan Yüeh chih 南越志 of Shên Huai-yüan 沈懷遠, a southerner, also uses it (4); Pelliot believed that this author lived in the third quarter of the fifth century (5). In the previous chapter we saw that Po-ssü appears in the Chiao chou chi, (Records of Tongking), perhaps written in the first half of the fifth century. Po-ssü missions from Sassanid Persia visited the southern Liang dynasty in the 530 - 535 period, and in 520 the Hephthalites sent Po-ssü brocade to the Liang emperor Wu Ti (6). In view of these numerous examples it cannot be argued that the word Po-ssü was known only in northern China when the vintage texts were written and that its appearance in the texts discredits them.

- (1) In connexion with the ju perfume.
 (2) The passages are discussed in chapter nine.
 (3) The passages are discussed in chapters eight and nine.
 (4) CLPT, 4, 110a. I return to this passage in chapter nine.
 (5) Polo, I, 456-7. This author is mentioned in the Pu Sung i wên chih, reprint of K'ai ming shu tien edition, 1956, 3, 4304, and in the Sui ching chi chih k'ao chêng, 3, 5276.
 (6) Liang shu, 3, 16a and 17a; LS, 54, 44b; LS, 54, 40b. LS, 54, 40b, states that in 520 Hua 滑 sent Po-ssü brocade as tribute.

Something else can be said in favour of the authenticity of the fragments I shall use. The Kuang chih, on the subject of ju perfume, mentions both 'the southern ocean' and Po-ssü (1), and the four writers who quote the Kuang chih on this subject all agree that 'the southern ocean' appeared in the passage. The use of the term 'southern ocean' in this context is the hub of the Po-ssü question, for it at once introduces the problem of a 'Persia' outside western Asia. If the curious expression occurred only in the Kuang chih, there would be justifiable doubt concerning its authenticity. Fortunately, the Kuang chou chi also uses it in a passage which mentions Po-ssü (2). Because the two texts independently mention the 'southern ocean' in the context of Po-ssü, I think that it is unlikely that both fragments are corrupt. Moreover, it seems that an eccentric usage of Po-ssü created a problem for later pén ts'ao writers. Ch'én Ch'eng 陳承, in his pén ts'ao pieh shuo 本草別說 of about 1090, felt it necessary to distinguish between a western and a southern ju; the former came from India and the latter from Po-ssü (3). There could have been no doubt in this writer's mind that Po-ssü normally meant 'Persia'; nevertheless, he makes this strange distinction. Li Shih-chên even volunteered an extraordinary definition of Po-ssü:

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- (1) The text is given in note 1 on page 178 above.
 (2) CLPT, 13, 330b. The text is given on page 186 below.
 (3) PTKM, 34, 1371b:

西出天竺南出波斯等國

漢羅門西域國名波斯西南夷國名也

'P'o-lo-mên (Brahman) is the name of a country in the western regions. Po-ssü is the name of a country of the south-western barbarians (1).'

Why did he not assume that Po-ssü = 'Persia' was also in the western regions, as Persia certainly was as far as the Chinese were concerned? The reason must be that he was aware of an earlier and esoteric usage of Po-ssü by pên ts'ao writers, probably preserved in the Chêng lei pên ts'ao quotations of Li Hsün, themselves often incorporating passages from the vintage texts.

My final justification for using these texts is that I believe that their contents, after botanical and pharmacological analysis, disclose a pattern of information which is consistent with the way maritime trade was developing in the fifth and sixth centuries. That trade was primarily a trade between China and Western Asia and not Indonesia, and the same emphasis is reflected in the Po-ssü passages in the vintage texts.

It is on these various grounds that I justify my use of these fragments. It is safe to associate their authors with a period not later than the beginning of the sixth century.

There are no reasons for suspecting that the texts had disappeared by the tenth century, when ^{perhaps} the writer of the Hai yao pên ts'ao

(1) PTKM, 31, 1311a, on the subject of cassia pods. Li Shih-chên had occasion to quote the T'ang period Yu yang tsa tsu 酉陽雜俎 on the Po-ssü tsa chieh, 波斯卑菜.

and the compilers of the T'ai p'ing yü lan consulted them, and, whatever mutilation has occurred in the fragments as we have them today, I consider that the crucially important juxtaposition of 'southern ocean' and Po-ssü in the Kuang chih and the Kuang chou chi creates a problem which cannot be shirked by casting doubt on the reliability of the two fragments. The sequel will show whether my faith in these texts is misplaced.

CHAPTER SEVENTHE PINE RESIN OF THE SOUTHERN OCEAN

The vintage texts began to become significant when I noticed how some of the natural products they mention were likened to pine resin either by the authors of these texts or in another text not later than the seventh century. A fragment of the Kuang chih has survived in the following form:

海藥云乳頭香謹按廣志云生南海是
波斯松樹脂也

'Hai yao. Ju t'ou perfume. I note that the Kuang chih says that it is produced in the southern ocean and that it is (a) Po-ssü pine resin (1).'

Hsü Piao, author of the Nan chou chi, also knew of a pine resin:

海藥謹按徐表南州記生波斯國是彼處松脂也

'Hai yao (on the no drug 沒藥). I note in Hsü Piao's Nan chou chi that it grows in the Po-ssü country. It is a pine resin of that place (2).'

Ku Wei, author of the Kuang chou chi, does not describe An-hsi perfume as a pine resin:

海藥謹按廣州記云生南海波斯國樹中脂也

(1) CLPT, 12, 309b.

(2) Ibid., 13, 330a.

'Hai yao. I note that according to the Kuang chou chi it grows in the southern ocean (and that it is) the resin of a Po-ssü country tree (1).'

The compilers of the T'ang pên ts'ao in the middle of the seventh century (2), however, say of An-hsi perfume:

出西戎似松脂

'It comes from the western Jung (barbarians) and its appearance is like that of pine resin (3).'

Moreover in the T'ang pên ts'ao even camphor, known to the Chinese at least as early as the beginning of the sixth century, is now likened to pine resin:

龍腦香及膏...出邊徠國形似白松脂

(1) CLPT, 13, 330b. I once thought that this passage meant that An-hsi perfume came from a tree which grew in the 'southern ocean Po-ssü country'. It is clear to me now that Po-ssü was never described in this way, and I have therefore amended the translation to make it conform with the fragment from the Kuang chih on ju, translated above. Both ju and An-hsi perfume grew in the 'southern ocean' but were also described as Po-ssü resins.

(2) In 657 Su Ching 蘇敬 presented his Hsin hsiu pên ts'ao, bringing up to date the materia medica of T'ao Hung-ching of the early sixth century. The work was edited by a number of officials and doctors and completed in 659. The items in the materia medica now stood at 850. Li Shih-chên calls this work the T'ang pên ts'ao, a title which I shall follow for convenience. Li always associates it with Su Kung 蘇恭, who is never mentioned by modern Chinese writers on pên ts'ao subjects. Wherever possible I shall quote from a facsimile of a T'ang manuscript; Hsin hsiu pên ts'ao 新脩本草, Chung kuo ku tien i hsueh ts'ung shu series, Shanghai, 1955.

(3) Hsin hsiu pên ts'ao, 1, 145; CLPT, 13, 330b.

'Camphor perfume and ointment ... come from P'o-lu (= 'Barus') country. In appearance it is like white pine resin .. (1).'

The 'pine tree resin' classification is interesting. It is difficult to believe that it was a casual one, for the evergreen pine tree was one of their venerable trees, admired from early times for its size and firm stance and regarded as a symbol of endurance. Confucius said:

'Only when the ^{year} ~~tree~~ grows cold do we see that the pine and the cypress are the last to fade (2).'

Its prestige was specially great in Taoist circles, where it was regarded as a source of vitality for the same reasons which guaranteed its long life and ability to retain its foliage in winter. Pine resin was one of the drugs which the Taoists, seeking immortality, took to strengthen their bodies when they starved in an effort to rid themselves of the corrupting effects of the 'Five Cereals 五穀', rice, millet, corn, oats, and

(1) Hsin hsiu pên ts'ao, 1, 146. The same text is reproduced exactly in the CLPT, 13, 321b, even though it is thought that T'ang Shên-wei could not have seen a copy and that the TPT had been transmitted in the Shu pên ts'ao 蜀本草; Hsin hsiu pên ts'ao 2, 跋, 5. The manuscript and the CLPT also agree, with insignificant differences, in their rendering of the passage about An-hsi perfume. The correct reproduction of the T'ang pên ts'ao in the CLPT illustrates the careful way the pên ts'ao writers preserved their predecessors' work. At the end of the passage in the CLPT there appears the statement T'ang pên chu 唐本注, or 'commentary on the T'ang pên (ts'ao)'. The commentary appears in the manuscript and I take it that it represents a contribution by the committee which edited Su Ching's work in 657-659.

(2) Analects, 9, 27, Dr. Waley's translation, 144. Dr. Waley noted that Confucius was only repeating a proverb. The Chinese attitude towards the pine is discussed by Stein in 'Jardins en miniature d'Extrême-Orient', BEFEO, 42, 1942, 83-84.

beans (1). The Shên nung pên ts'ao ching 神農本草經, the earliest Chinese materia medica, believed to have been compiled in Han times from earlier sources, included it among the 'Superior products 君品' and recorded its life-prolonging efficacy (2). Ko Hung 葛洪, the famous Taoist alchemist and philosopher (281 - 341), describes a miraculous cure from pine resin as a result of which the patient lived to a ripe old age (3). T'ao Hung-ching (452 - 536 or 456 - 540) observes that the pine tree was used in Taoist starvation techniques:

松柏皆有脂潤凌冬不凋理為佳物
服食多用但人多輕忽之

'The pine and the cypress both have resins. The cold winter does not wither them. Therefore they must be fine substances. Those who practise starvation techniques make much use of them, but most people take little notice of them (4).'

Su Sung 蘇公 頌, author of the 11th century T'u ching pên ts'ao 圖經本草, makes a similar observation:

道人服餌或合茯苓松柏蜜菊花作丸
亦可單服

(1) On the subject of techniques for resisting the decay caused by the 'Five Cereals' see H. Maspero, 'Le Taoïsme', Mélanges posthumes, 2, 1950, 100-102. Maspero discussed the subject at much greater length in 'Les procédés de "nourrir le principe vital" ...', JA, 1937, 2 and 3, 177-252, 313-430.

(2) Chung kuo ku tien i hsüeh ts'ung han edition, 1955, 28. See this study 考, lff. on the way the work was preserved in the later pên ts'ao.

(3) PTKM, 34, 1352a.

(4) PTKV, 34, 1352a.

'Taoists, preparing their special diet, sometimes mix fu ling (1), pine and cypress seeds, and chrysanthemum flowers into pills. (But pine resin) may also be taken alone (2).'

Li Shih-chên, at the end of the 16th century, summed up the tradition when he stated that pine leaves and seeds were essential for 'starving' in the Taoist sense of the term (3).

But the pine tree had other and less esoteric properties which could still be recognised when the quest for longevity had ceased to excite scholarly minds. As early as the Shên nung pên ts'ao ching it was realised that

松脂... 治癰疽惡瘡頭瘍白禿疥癢
風氣安五藏除熱

'pine resin ... cures ulcers and evil sores, ulcers on the head and baldness, the itch, and vapours. It calms the five viscera (heart, liver, spleen, lungs, and kidneys) and expels heat (4).'

According to T'ao Hung-ching among its properties was the removal of 'dead flesh' 死肌 (5). The Yao hsing pên ts'ao 藥性本草, attributed by Li Shih-chên to Chên Ch'üan 甄權 who was alive in the early seventh century (6), also had much to say in favour of pine resin:

(1) Fu ling is usually identified with Pachyma cocos Fries. It is a fungus growing on pine tree roots.

(2) PTKM, 34, 1352a.

(3) Ibid: 松葉松膏服餌所須

(4) 28.

(5) PTKM, 32, 1351b.

(6) On this author see PTKM, 1, 333. Chên Ch'üan's biography is in CTS 列傳, 141, 2b.

煎膏生肌止痛排膿祛風貼諸瘡
 膿血瘡大爛

'When fried it produces flesh and stops pain. It clears up pus and removes wind. It is pasted over various kinds of boils, pus-filled and suppurating ulcers. (1).'

There is nothing surprising in the application of pine resin for ulcers and other forms of bodily eruptions. The Greek physicians used it for these ailments (2). The alleged fumigatory functions are more interesting. The belief that pine resin expelled wind dwelling inside the body was probably derived from the Taoist view that the 'Five Cereals', like everything else, had their 'air 氣', the lingering effects of which had to be removed even after the seeker for immortality had begun to abstain from eating these harmful substances (3).

The prestige of the pine tree was shared by amber and the fu ling fungus, both of which were intimately connected with the pine tree. Amber was recognised at an early date as fossilised pine resin and therefore presumably the quintessence of hardy old age and the benign influences making

(1) PTKM, 32, 1351b-1352a.

(2) I return to the Greeks later in this chapter.

(3) Dr. Needham has occasion to discuss early Chinese notions on 'air' in Science and Civilisation, Cambridge, 1956, 2, and especially 21-24. In the context of neo-Confucian philosophy he defines ch'i as 'matter energy of which everything is composed' and he also gives early examples of the way in which plants were endowed with ch'i. Acupuncture was based on the technique of removing air from the pulse.

for its achievement, while fu ling, which actually grows on pine roots, was readily believed to be immune from decay and another transformation of pine resin (1).

It was, therefore, with distinct ideas about pine resin that the Chinese writers classified the Po-ssu 'pine resins'. For them pine resin was a styptic and fumifuge, or disinfectant. Evidently they considered that the foreign resins, listed at the beginning of the chapter, had similar properties.

Foreign plant life, however, had additional associations for the Chinese. After the establishment of Han influence in Turkestan in Wu Ti's reign (141 - 87 B.C.) they began to hear of valuable shrubs and trees in north-western India, Persia, and the Middle East. No doubt botanical produce was brought as tribute to Ch'ang-an and, if we believe stories of Wu Ti's reign, some of this produce attracted attention for its magical virtues. Several texts refer to an outbreak of disease in Ch'ang-an early in the first century B.C. which was checked, according to one lost text, when Yüeh-chih envoys recommended that shên perfume 神香, stored as tribute in the imperial warehouses, should be burnt (2). The story

(1) Li Shih-chên quotes a work on fu ling; it was the air of the sacred soul of the pine trees 松之神靈; PTKM, 37, 146a.
 (2) According to the Jui ying t'u 魏應圖, quoted in the Hsin tsuan hsiang p'u, 1, 25a. The Jui ying t'u is listed in the Sui shu bibliographical chapter. Other texts mention the same episode. Background information on products reaching Han China may be found in Chang Wei-hua, Lun Han Wu Ti, Shanghai, 1957, and Ch'ên Chu-t'ung, Liang Han ho hsi yü têng ti ti ching chi..., Shanghai, 1957.

was probably embroidered by later writers who combined the facts of Chinese expansion in central Asia during Wu Ti's reign with the tradition of the emperor's Taoist inclinations. For Wu Ti's conquests had been in lands which were believed to lie close to the 'western regions', honoured by Taoists as a place where supernatural powers held sway. Chinese ideas about the western regions were crystallised in popular beliefs about the 'Western Queen Mother' 西王母 ' who lived in the neighbourhood of the K'un-lun mountains. Originally she had been regarded as the goddess of epidemics, but for the Taoists she became the Queen of the Immortals and the supplier of drugs for long life and other drugs (1). As a supplier of drugs she was mentioned in the Huai nan tzü of the second century B.C. (2).

During the Later Han period (25 - 220) the demand for

(1) Maspero, 'Le Taoisme', 127.

(2) As quoted in TPYL, 984, 4356b: 羿請不死之藥於西王母

A consequence of the early trade in foreign plant products was the introduction of incense burners to northern China in Han times. The classic study on this subject is Laufer's Chinese pottery of the Han, Leiden, 1909, 174-198. A recent discussion of the introduction of foreign plant substances for incense purposes is in Yamada, Tozai koyaka shi, 319 ff. I recognise the influence of Buddhism in propagating the use of foreign plant substances as incenses, especially during the Northern and Southern Dynasties of China (fourth - sixth century), but I have chosen to make the drug trade the basis of my study because I believe that the medical affinities of the resins in question, likened to the Chinese pine resin, explain the way in which western Indonesia was caught up in China's maritime trade. The early Chinese interest in the pine tree was an indigenous one, and to this extent their interest in foreign 'pine trees' did not depend on foreign cultural influences.

western goods continued, and it was now that the prestige of Ta-ch'in was beginning to make an impact on the Chinese imagination. The Wei lüeh and the Hou Han shu mention two countries which possessed vegetal wealth. They were India, which produced 'various kinds of perfumes 諸香' and also black pepper (1) and above all Ta-ch'in:

或云其國西有弱水流沙近西王母所居
處幾於日所入也

'It is said that to the west of this country are the Jo river and the quicksands, near the place where the Western Queen Mother lives and where the sun goes down (2).'

The Wei lüeh notes that there were twelve kinds of perfume to be found in Ta-ch'in (3). Moreover

其土地有松柏槐梓竹葦楊柳胡桐
百草

'here are (to be found) the pine tree, the cypress, the sophora tree (4), the catalpa kaempferi tree, bamboos, reeds, the willow tree, the calophyllum inophyllum tree, and a hundred plants (5).'

Now at last we have a reference to foreign pine trees.

Shiratori thought that the botanical description of Ta-ch'in was partly inspired by romantic ideas of the vegetation which the idealised regions of the west would be expected to possess

(1) HHS, 118, 16b.

(2) HHS, 118, 14b.

(3) SKCWei, 30, 33b: 十二種香

(4) For the identification of these trees I have followed the Tz'ü hai and the Chung kuo yao hsüeh ta tz'ü tien, Peking, 1956.

(5) SKCWei, 30, 32b.

(1). This may be so, but subsequent views of the Chinese on the properties of one plant drug attributed to Ta-ch'in suggest that a more than romantic acquaintance with Ta-ch'in vegetation developed.

This drug was the su-ho perfume 蘇合 or storax, believed to have been supplied in classical times by Styrax officinale Linn. (2) and attributed by the Wei lüeh and the Hou han shu to Ta-ch'in (3). The Chinese do not seem to have been certain whether su-ho was a single substance or a synthetic one, composed of several drugs, and T'ao Hung-ching even thought that it was lion dung (4). But the identity of this drug is less significant than the medical properties which the Chinese attributed to it. The first technical description is provided by T'ao Hung-ching:

辟惡殺鬼精物溫瘧蠱毒癩瘡去三蟲除
邪令人無夢魘久服通神明輕身長年

'It drives out evil and kills devilish semen. It destroys fever, poison, and convulsions and gets rid of the three worms. It expels pernicious (influences). It enables one to avoid nightmares. By following this diet one shares the potencies of the gods, lightens the body, and lengthens one's years (5).'

(1) 'Chinese ideas reflected in the Ta-ch'in accounts', 49-72 and especially 65-66.

(2) On the history of storax see D. Hanbury, Science Papers, London, 1876, 127-150, and Burkill, Dictionary, I, 117-118. (Styrax grows in a number of areas in the Middle East.) In the sixth century A.D. Styrax officinale was beginning to be overtaken in value by Liquidambar orientale Linn.

(3) SKCWei, 30, 33b. HHS, 118, 14a.

(4) HHS, 118, 14a: 合會諸香煎其汁以為蘇合

(5) Wood. P1KM, 34, 1375 G.

Storax was clearly valued for its fumigatory powers and as a means of practising longevity techniques. In this way it had something in common with pine resin. The expression 除邪, which I have translated as 'expelling pernicious influences', was used by Ta Ming 大明, author of a tenth century pên ts'ao, on connexion with pine resin (1).

But a much more important plant drug than storax came from Ta-ch'in and in the third century there are several references to it in Chinese texts. This drug was hsün-lu 薰陸.

Pelliot once suggested that hsün-lu became known in China as a result of sea-borne trade in Chin times (265 - 420), probably in the fourth century (2), but there are references to it which show that it was already known in the third century. The Wei lüeh, believed to be written in the first half of the third century, attributes it to Ta-ch'in (3). There is also the statement in the T'ang tzü, quoted in ^a the previous chapter, that hsün-lu came from Ceylon (4); it is mentioned with certain

(1) PTKM, 34, 1352a. One of the attributes of storax was that it 'drove out evil 辟惡'. It is interesting that a perfume with a similar name 辟邪香 was said to come as tribute to China since the time of the two Han dynasties; Hsiang p'u, 上, 9, quoting the Tu yang pien 杜陽編. The story of the shên perfume which cured an outbreak of disease in Wu Ti's reign is in effect about a disinfectant, for the substance was burnt as incense. Though I do not know what weight should be attached to these accounts of early perfumes, we shall see that the Chinese realised later that perfumes from the western regions had a strong aroma.

(2) In his review of Hirth and Rockhill's Chau Ju-kua, TP, 13, 1912, 475-9.

(3) SKCWei, 30, 33b.

(4) TPYL, 982, 4347b. Pages 155-156.

other products ascribed in the Wei lüeh to Ta-ch'in. There is no evidence that they grew on that island and they must have been imports. Finally, even Wan Chên, author of the Nan chou i wu chih and an authority on Ko-ying, seems to have heard of it as a Ta-ch'in product (1). References to it continue in the following centuries. Ko Hung, who died in the early fourth century, mentions it (2). A kingdom in south-eastern India, known to the Chinese as 'Kaveri' 加毗梨, sent it as tribute to the Liu Sung dynasty in 428 (3). It is also mentioned in the Kuang chih, one of the vintage texts:

寄六出交州又大秦海邊人採與商人
易穀若無商人取食之

'Chi-lu comes from Chiao chou (Tongking). It also comes from Ta-ch'in. The people by the side of the sea gather it and exchange it with merchants for grain. If there are no merchants, they take it and eat it (4).

Hsün-lu would have been available in Tongking as an export from Ta-ch'in, as it was in Ceylon according to the T'ang tzü.

(1) CLPT, 12, 309a, quoting Chang Yü-hsi and others (c. 1056). The passage first quotes the Nan fang ts'ao mu chuang, attributing hsün-lu to Ta-ch'in, and then adds: 'Note. The Nan fang i wu chih is the same. It differs only in saying that in appearance it is like peach gum 注南方異物志同其異者惟云狀如桃膠'. In TPYL, 982, 4347b, the Nan fang ts'ao mu chuang is also quoted and followed with: 'The Nan chou i wu chih is the same. It differs only (香 must be an error for 者) in saying that in appearance it is like peach gum 南州物異志同其異香唯云狀如桃膠'.

(2) TPYL, 982, 4347b.

(3) Liu Sung shu, 97, 11b. It is called ma-lo 摩勒 which is one of the alternative names for hsün-lu provided by Li Shih-chên; PTKM, 34, 1371a. Pelliot ignored it because he was uncertain when it was first en vogue; TP, 13, 477.

(4) TPYL, 982, 4347b. The heading of this section of the TPYL is hsün-lu, and Chi-lu is an irregular transcription.

And, though the references are not numerous, hsün-lu was clearly sufficiently well known in southern China for T'ao Hung-ching to incorporate it in his revision of the materia medica (1).

The compiler of the Sui shu included the T'ang tzü in his list of Taoist books. Ko Hung, who also mentions hsün-lu, was a Taoist, and T'ao Hung-ching had Taoist inclinations. I believe that the Taoists were largely responsible for the assimilation of hsün-lu to the materia medica. During the third and following centuries the influence of Taoism in southern China was accompanied by important developments in Chinese medicine when its followers were ceasing to be exclusively concerned with devising recipes for immortality but were extending their researches to finding new cures for diseases (2). Their aptitude for experimentation led them to investigate the properties of an increasing number of plants, and the more inaccessible the habitat of a plant the more was it thought likely that the plant was a useful one. It was in this period that T'ao Hung-ching doubled the entries in the materia medica. An empirical approach to pharmacy would have provided a favourable background for the acceptance by Chinese physicians of foreign plant products, and

(1) I analyse below T'ao's interest in it.

(2) I have relied on Ch'ên Pang-hsien, Chung kuo i hsüeh shih, chapter five.

indeed the literature of the Southern and Northern Dynasties includes several works on foreign drugs (1).

The evidence about hsün-lu makes it practically certain that the Taoists were responsible for the reception it received in China, and the reason for its success was simply that they regarded it as a superior form of pine resin, no doubt hallowed by its western origins. From a practical point of view, according to T'ao Hung-ching, it could be used for curing poisonous swellings 青腫, eruptions 癰疹, and the itch 瘡 (2). According to the seventh century T'ang pên ts'ao it cured ulcers (3). Ulcers, evil sores, and the itch were among the ailments for which the Shên nung pên ts'ao ching recommended pine resin. But perhaps equally important were the fumigatory properties of hsün-lu, for T'ao also notes that

(1) Titles are mentioned by Ch'ên Pang-hsien, 131. Two of the Liu Sung emperors and one Liang emperor wrote books on medical and pharmacological subjects. I regret that Dr. Needham's study of Chinese medicine in his Science and civilisation in China series did not appear when I was preparing this study. Enough has been written, however, by him to make clear the high regard in which he holds the Taoists as scientists.

(2) PTKM, 34, 1371b. The passage is as follows: 'Hsün-lu: it deals with wind, water, and poisonous swellings. It expels evil air. It prevents infection from eruptions, scabies, and the poison of corpses: 主國水毒腫去惡氣伏尸癰瘡毒

(3) CLPT, 12, 309a. 'It expels evil air and evil ulcers 去惡氣瘡'. The only reference to hsün-lu in the T'ang pên ts'ao manuscript is under the heading of gharu wood 沉香; Hsin hsiu pên ts'ao, 109-110, where the same attributes are given.

it expelled evil air (1). It is not surprising that Li Hsün should have said of it that

仙方用以辟瘴^凡

'the immortals (the Taoists) use it in their starvation techniques to rid their bodies of the effects of the Five Cereals (2).'

But hsün-lu was believed to have even more in common with pine resin. Its tree resembled the pine tree to the extent of its appearance. The Nan fang ts'ao mu chuang provides a hint of this when it states that the branches and leaves of the hsün-lu tree were 'just like 正女^口' those of an ancient pine tree, presumably a pine tree which had proved its virtue by successfully weathering old age (3). Li Shih-chên notes that there were several statements that the ju tree, the later name for hsün-lu, was similar to 'an old pine tree' (4). T'ao Hung-ching may have mentioned hsün-lu in an account of the remedies

(1) See note (2) on page 198.

(2) PTKM, 34, 1372a. I have paraphrased the expression 辟瘴^凡. Ta Ming 大明 of the tenth century says of pine resin: 'The practitioners of old made much use of it to rid their bodies of the effects of the Five Cereals 方方多用辟瘴^凡'; PTKM, 34, 1352a.

(3) Commercial press edition, 1955, 中, 7. The passage is as follows: 枝葉正如古松

Hirth translated 枝葉 as 'straight like'; China and the Roman Orient 268, note 1. In view of the comparisons made by later Chinese between the hsün-lu tree and the pine tree I feel that 'just like' is the appropriate translation. The NETVC is believed to contain interpolations, and one cannot be certain that this passage is as old as about A.D. 300.

(4) PTKM, 34, 1371b:

諸說皆言其樹類古松

achieved by different species of pine (1). At all events, by Su Sung 蘇頌's time in the eleventh century it was possible to say that the pine resin used by druggists was as 'transparent 透明' as hsün-lu (2). Hsün-lu now set the standard of quality by which pine resin was judged.

But here we have to consider a complication, for by Su Sung's time hsün-lu had lost currency as the only name for this resin and was being bracketed with and eventually superseded by another name. The alternative name was ju t'ou perfume 乳豆香 or 'milk nipple perfume', often known merely as ju perfume.

I wish to emphasise the fact that ju perfume was originally something distinct from hsün-lu. The earliest reference to it is in the Kuang chih quoted in the Chêng lei pên ts'ao:

海藥云乳豆香謹按廣志云生南海
是波斯松樹脂也

(1) My authority for this statement is TPYL, 982, 4347b. The passage deals with hsün-lu and the comments of the Nan fang ts'ao mu chung and Nan chou i wu chih. Then it says: 'The Tien shu also says the same. It states, however, that in T'ao's "system of pine and cypress (remedies)" one does not drink it. If one eats it one attains the potencies of the gods. 典術又同唯云陶松栢法不飲食之令人通神靈也'

According to the Sui shu, 34, 29b, the Tien shu was written by Chien P'ang-wang 建平王 of the Liu Sung period, and his biography is in the Liu Sung shu, 72.

(2) CLPT, 12, 291. 'Pine resin is produced in the mountain valleys of the T'ai Shan. Today it is found everywhere. The resin is used today because it is as transparent as the hsün-lu perfume

松脂生泰山山谷今處處有之其用以透明如薰陸香

'Hai yao. Ju t'ou perfume. I note that the Kuang chih says that it is produced in the southern ocean and that it is (a) Po-ssũ pine resin (1).

The corresponding passage in the Pên ts'ao kang mu is somewhat different.

珣曰按廣志云薰陸香是樹皮鱗甲采之復生
乳豆香生南海是波斯松樹脂也

'Hsün says. I note that the Kuang chih states that hsün-lu perfume is the scaly part of a tree bark. When it is removed it grows again. Ju-t'ou perfume grows in the southern ocean. It is a Po-ssũ pine resin (2).'

The Hsiang p'u, Hsin tsuan hsiang p'u, and the T'u ching pên ts'ao, however, do not include the sentence about the scaly part of the tree bark in the passages they attribute to the Kuang chih (3), and I do not believe that it ever appeared in that text. Instead it was probably introduced by the author of the Hai yao pên ts'ao, and this must be why the Hsin tsuan hsiang p'u attributes it to the Hai yao pên ts'ao (4).

We have seen that the Kuang chih states that hsün-lu came from Ta-ch'in, the country to which a number of other early texts attributed hsün-lu (5). Since the Kuang chih also states that the ju perfume was produced in 'the southern ocean', it is clear that Kuo I-kung regarded hsün-lu and ju as different substances. Moreover, if Li Shih-chên is to be believed. T'ao Hung-ching did likewise, for he is quoted as saying that

(1) CLPT, 12, 309b.

(2) PTKM, 34, 1371a.

(3) I quoted these passages on page 179, Notes 1-3.

(4) Hsin tsuan hsiang p'u, 1, 10a.

(5) Page 196.

hsün-lu and ju were different but had the same efficacy (1). But the best authority on the separate identity of hsün-lu and ju is Ch'ên Ts'ang-ch'î, writing in the first half of the seventh century, who states unambiguously that ju was a species of hsün-lu 乳香即薰陸之類也 (2). Li Shih-chên sums up the problem of nomenclature by remarking that the Sung Chia yü pên ts'ao 嘉祐本草 kept hsün-lu and ju under separate headings but that in his own period the various authorities amalgamated them (3).

That these two resins were originally separate substances is also borne out by the fact that there is no early text which indicates that ju came from Ta-ch'in, the source of supply for hsün-lu. Similarly the Hou Chou shu and the Sui shu attribute hsün-lu to Po-ssü = 'Persia' (4), but never is ju mentioned in the context of Persia in spite of the statement of the Kuang chih that it was a Po-ssü pine resin.

Thus there seems to be clear evidence that originally hsün-lu and ju were different resins from different parts of the world, though very similar because in Chinese eyes they both resembled pine resin. In attributes and appearance hsün-lu reminded them of the pine, while ju was specifically described

(1) PTKM, 34, 3171b. T'ao gives the functions of hsün-lu and adds: 乳香 同 工力 . Unfortunately this passage does not appear in the CLPT.

(2) CLPT, 12, 309b; PTKM, 34, 1371a.

(3) Ibid, 1371b; 分出三條今據諸說合供為一

(4) Hou Chou shu, 50, 17a rendered as 薰陸 ;
Sui shu, 83, 15a, rendered as 薰陸 薰陸

as a pine resin. The distinction between the two substances is one of the few aspects of the Po-ssü problem which can be confidently stated. Equally evident is the fact that hsün-lu was known to the Chinese before they knew of ju (1); Hsün-lu from Ta-ch'in was already known to Wan Chên. Sometime within the next 250 years, however, Kuo I-kung not only knew of hsün-lu but also of ju from the 'southern ocean'.

On the basis of this evidence I shall now formulate a hypothesis, and its substantiation is one of the chief themes of this study. I shall postpone awhile an explanation of the significance of the description of ju as a Po-ssü resin, preferring to concentrate on the statement that it was produced in the 'southern ocean'. I suggest that, some time after hsün-lu first arrived by sea in southern China, a subsidiary trade with China in a similar product, represented by ju, came into being, from a country in the 'southern ocean' on the route by which hsün-lu travelled. The reason was that those responsible for pioneering the ju trade realised that there was an established and profitable market in China for hsün-lu and believed that ju would be equally acceptable to the

(1) Yamada, in his study of the history of aromatics, does not bring out the original distinction between hsün-lu and ju; Tozai Koyaka shi, 2nd edition, Tokyo, 1957, 327.

Chinese. That the judgment of the ju traders was sound is indicated by the way the Chinese came to regard ju as a species of hsün-lu and both these substances as similar to or identical with pine resin. It is possible that the 'southern ocean' merchants at first surreptitiously insinuated their ju into cargoes of Ta-ch'in hsün-lu and palmed it off on the Chinese as genuine hsün-lu. 'Long distances make long lies', as D'Orta once remarked in connexion with stories about camphor, but it would only have been a question of time before it was safe to disclose the identity and origin of ju. The disclosure must have occurred before 521, the last possible date for the composition of the Kuang chih, and it is likely that for some decades before 521 ju imports were becoming a feature of China's maritime trade. Thus I am led to believe that in the later decades of the fifth century 'southern ocean' ju was reaching China. The quantities may have been small, but the hsün-lu trade was sufficiently important to spark off a trade in the ju substitute (1).

Before I consider where was the region which manipulated this successful deception I wish to establish the nature of the resins in question. Their identity is the chief reason

(1) Laufer foresaw the likelihood that a demand for one type of product created a demand for similar products; Sino-Iranica, 464, on costus. He noted the fragments on hsün-lu and ju but contented himself with commenting on Sung texts to the effect that 'a kind of incense', as he translated ju, was produced among 'the Malayan Po-se'; 470-471.

for my hypothesis that ju was a deliberate substitute for hsün-lu and takes us a considerable way towards distinguishing the region which produced the ju.

In modern China ju is a trade name for mastic and also for frankincense (1). Foreign students of Chinese drugs working in China during the last century had to rely on analyses of specimens bought at the local shops in order to identify in botanical language the products they were studying. They were therefore the victims of chance purchases. Tatarinov in 1851 sent ju to Horaninov in Russia and it turned out to be sandarac (Callitris spp, Tetraclinus articulata) (2). Bretschneider sent ju to Flückiger, who identified it with Boswellia or frankincense (3). Father Roi has identified it with mastic (Pistacia spp) (4). Laboratory analyses are clearly not helpful in trying to establish the nature of the ju which, fifteen hundred years or so ago, came to China alongside hsün-lu.

(1) Read, Chinese medicinal plants ..., no. 313. According to Laufer the Chinese learnt of mastic in Mongol times under its Arabic name of mastaki 馬思答吉. Li Shih-chên knew so little about it that it included it as an appendix to his notes on Cummin; Sino-Iranica, 252.

(2) Catalogue medicamentorum Sinensium, St. Petersburg, 1856, 65.

(3) Botanicon Sinicum ..., Part 3, 1895, 462. He noted that Cleyer in 1682 (Specimen medicinae sinicae, 210) reached the same conclusion.

(4) 'Traité des plantes médicinales Chinoises', 208-9.

In 1885 Hirth identified hsün-lu from Ta-ch'in as 'frankincense', partly because Li Shih-chên had said that it was the same as ju, a modern name for frankincense, and partly because he thought that the name was derived from the Turkish ghyunluk, the name for frankincense in that language (1). Pelliot and Laufer rejected Hirth's philology and insisted that hsün was merely a Chinese word for 'fragrance' and could not be safely understood to mean anything more than a general term for 'incense' (2). Neither of these scholars derived any assistance from the alternative words supplied by Li Shih-chên as Sanskritic names for the product, Laufer noted, however, the essential point that ju grew in the 'southern ocean', though he made the curious observation that this could not refer to Po-ssü = 'Persia' because no incense was produced in Persia (3). Ju, according to Laufer, might 'very well be' a species of pine, as indeed the Chinese said it was.

I have come to the conclusion that hsün-lu was frankincense and ju a pine resin. The evidence which convinces me that

(1) China and the Roman Orient, 266-8. In Hirth and Rockhill's Chau Ju-kua, 196, note 1, hsün-lu was derived from the Arabic kundur.

(2) TE, 13, 475-9; Sino-Iranica, 470, note 3.

(3) Cruder species of Eoswellia grow in north-western India, which was under the Sassanids. 'Incense' is an unsatisfactory term, for other resins as well as frankincense are burnt for this purpose. Laufer translated the passage from the Kuang chih about ju in the sense of meaning 'Po-se in the Southern Sea', a translation which I ~~now~~ reject; see page 185 above. Laufer considered that Po-ssu in the context of ju was the name of a South East Asian country, a hypotheses which he was concerned to establish.

this is the correct identification is not philological (1) but simply that the Chinese originally regarded them as similar resins. The Chinese description of the hsün-lu tree of Ta-ch'in as being similar 正女⁰ to a pine tree, though consistent with its being frankincense (Boswellia spp), was based only on hearsay (2). But the manner in which they came to couple hsün-lu and ju, apparently two distinct resins, makes sense only if these were species of Boswellia and Pinaceae respectively. One can be even more explicit. Frankincense is the only resin which one can imagine as an acceptable and indeed superior substitute for the Chinese pine resin, as the pén ts'ao accounts of its attributes show that it originally was. Similarly the 'southern ocean' ju, described as a 'pine resin', could have been a feasible substitute for frankincense only if it was in fact a pine resin.

(1) Pelliot may have changed his views about the derivation of hsün-lu and considered the possibility that it was derived from an Old Persian form corresponding to kunduruk or kundruk; Rygaloff, 'Dissertation sur le montage et le doublage', JA, 236, 1948, 107, note 2. Pelliot in 1912 had pointed out that the early sound of -lu 陸 was -*luk. This seems to be confirmed by the variant character -lu 六 in the name given in the Hou Chou shu, 50, 17a, and also in the Kuang chih's variant in TPYL, 982, 4347b. Boodberg considers that hsün-lu was an early loan-word from the Sanskrit kunduruka = 'frankincense'. The same writer also says that hsün-luk is attested since the third century B.C., but he provides no references; HJAS, 2, 1937, note 60.

(2) Marco Polo similarly compared the frankincense tree, which he never saw, with a small pine tree; A.C. Moule and P. Pelliot, Marco Polo ..., 1, London, 1938, 444. Chao Ju-kua says that hsün-lu came from the Arab countries of Murbat, Shihr, and Dhofar; Chu fan chih, 93.

Chemically both frankincense and pine resin, though of different botanical families, produce a turpentine-yielding oleo-resin (1). The smell of these resins is similar (2). The higher grades of pine resin have a pale yellow colour not unlike frankincense (3). Li Hsün, quoting the Kuang chih, said that ju had the 'purple-red ^紫赤' colour of cherries (4), but not too much weight should be given to the descriptions of the colour of either of these resins. In the ancient world frankincense was often adulterated, and pine resin was the common adulterant. Dioscorides in the first century A.D. notes this (5), while Pliny says that pitch pine provided a resin interspersed with white drops so closely resembling frankincense that when the two were mixed they were indistinguishable to the eye; for this reason adulteration of frankincense was practised in the perfumers' street in Capua (6).

(1) T.H. Barry, Natural Varnish Resins, London, 1932, 145, describing frankincense. For a description of pine resin see Howes, Vegetable gums and resins, 104.

(2) Dioscorides refers to the resins of pitch pine and the fir tree which excelled because they had a sweet smell and resembled frankincense in their odour; The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides ..., 50.

(3) Howes describes Boswellia resin as being usually pale yellow, but often with a reddish or greenish tinge; Vegetable gums and resins, 152. Similarly the Chinese pine resin has been described as pale yellow; Hanbury, 'Notes on the Chinese materia medica', Pharmaceutical Journal, 3, 1862, 423. Pliny refers to a reddish frankincense, not so pure as the white one; Natural History (Loeb Classical Library, translated by Rackham), XII, xxxii, 60.

(4) CLPT, 12, 309b.

(5) The Greek Herbal, 45-6.

(6) Natural History, XVI, xviii, 40.

But not only in appearance, smell, and colour have frankincense and the better types of pine resin much in common. More relevant for understanding why the Chinese were able to regard both of them as 'pine resins' is the circumstance that Greek and other doctors recognised both substances as containing detergent and astringent properties equally capable of healing wounds and ulcers. Dioscorides recommended frankincense for 'filling up the hollowness of ulcers' (1) and pine resin for superficial ulcers, boils and wounds (2). Celsus in the first century A.D. said that frankincense stopped the flow of blood and pine resin filled up ulcers (3). These notions, based on the genuine styptic properties of the two resins, persisted during the middle ages and found expression in Culpeper's translation of the Pharmacopoeia Londinensis in 1649. In this work frankincense was one of the substances prescribed for 'green wounds', filling up hollow ulcers with flesh, and stopping the bleeding of wounds. 'Pitch', the resin of a species of pine, mollified hard swellings, brought boils and sores to suppuration, broke carbuncles, and cleansed ulcers of corruption and filled them with flesh (4). These cures are identical with those attributed by the Chinese to hsün-lu and ju.

(1) The Greek Herbal, 45.

(2) Ibid, 47-8.

(3) Celsus, Of Medicine, translated by J. Grieve and revised by G. Futvoye, London, third edition, 1837, 207, 213.

(4) Pharmacopoeia Londinensis or the London Dispensatory, London, 1653 edition, 106, 102.

One more property, shared by frankincense and pine resin, was matched by the properties of hsün-lu and ju, and I shall mention it briefly. All these four substances had potent aromas. We have seen how hsün-lu and ju were regarded as fumifuges. Symeon Seth, the Byzantine doctor of the 11th century, noted that frankincense prevented pestilence (1), a statement which may be compared with T'ao Hung-ching's recommendation that hsün-lu and ju expelled evil air 去惡氣. But pine resin also has a strong aroma, and in ancient times it was used in English churches as a substitute for the more expensive frankincense (2).

Such then are my reasons for identifying hsün-lu and ju with frankincense and pine resin respectively. No other explanation is consistent with the medical qualities of these resins.

I have now to consider the source of supply of ju - pine resin. I cannot believe that ju came from southern Arabia or Somaliland, where the best kind of frankincense was produced. No doubt pine resin was often mixed with frankincense in order to increase supplies for export, but pine resin would have been an adulterant and not a separate commodity. Moreover every effort would have been made to conceal its presence. The Chinese, however, knew it as a distinct substance. Nor do I

(1) quoted in Adams, The Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta, printed for the Sydenham Society, London, 1844-7. III, 217. A doctor serving under the Duke of Buckingham early in the 17th century tried to free a ship in Plymouth from infection by 'perfuming' it with tar and frankincense; J.J. Keevil, Medicine and the Navy, Edinburgh and London, 1957, 1, 183.

(2) Flückiger and Hanbury, Pharmacographia, 2nd edition, London 1879, 608.

believe that ju came from India, though pine resins are mentioned in the early Indian medical treatises. There are Indian species of Boswellia in north-western and western India, but they are regarded as inferior sources of the resin (1) and seem to have been known as hsün-lu and not ju in the seventh century. The T'ang pen ts'ao of that century states:

薰陸香...出天竺國及邯鄲似松脂黃白色
天竺者多白邯鄲者夾綠色香不甚

'Hsün-lu ... comes from India and Han tan. It is like the yellow-white colour of pine resin. The Indian product is chiefly white; the Han tan one is green-streaked in colour and not very fragrant (2).'

No surviving fragment of the T'ang pen ts'ao makes any mention of ju, and I attribute this omission to the fact that the compilers were working under imperial orders in northern China and, as far as frankincense was concerned, were familiar with the resin which reached China by the overland route. Ju, a pine resin from the 'southern ocean', was probably only known in southern China in the seventh century, though by the eighth century Ch'ên Ts'ang-ch'î, also a northerner, knew of it. I

(1) The Indian frankincense comes from Boswellia serrata Rox-b. The trees in Arabia and Somaliland are B. carteri and B. frereana. On the Indian Boswellia serrata see Watt, Commercial products, 173-174.

(2) CLPT, 12, 309a. Han tan is in Hopei province, and I do not understand how it could be regarded as a source of hsün-lu = frankincense. The reference to the green streaks in its frankincense suggests that the writer had in mind the Indian B. serrata, with its greenish resin; Howes, Vegetable gums and resins, 153.

doubt, therefore, whether ju came from India as a distinct substance. Thus the range of possibilities is narrowed down to South East Asia as the only other pine-growing region which lay astride the frankincense route to China by sea and produced ju in the wake of the hsün-lu trade.

The pine most commonly found in South East Asia is Pinus merkusii Jungh (1). It grows in the mountainous regions of northern Luzon, in the mountains of western Tongking, in the southern Shan states, in the Martaban region of Lower Burma, and in northern Sumatra to about as far south as Korintji. Any of these areas could have contained the ju pine tree. But Tongking is one of the amply documented parts of early South East Asia, for it was a Chinese province until the early tenth century, and there is no evidence of any kind to associate it either with the ju tree or with the Po-ssü. Nothing is known of the early history of the Philippines, which would hardly have been on the trade route from the Indian Ocean to China. The expression Po-ssü sometimes appears in Chinese literature in connexion with Burma, though in much later records, and there is a slight possibility that ju was a Burma pine, but only if it can be shown that the western Asian trade with southern

(1) On South East Asian pine trees I have consulted Howes, Vegetable gums and resins; Dobby, Southeast Asia; Robequain, Malaya ...; Heyne, De Nuttige ...

China normally made its way through the mountain passes of Burma into China (1).

The northern Sumatran Pinus merkusii is the only South East Asian pine tree against which none of these objections are valid. It also happens to be a splendid tree. In 1924 it was studied by Dutch scientists, though only as a potential source of turpentine and not for the sake of its colophony. Nevertheless the scientists were able to report that the resin had a pale yellow colour and a sweeter smell than that of some European pine resins. They also made the significant point that it compared favourably with the American pines (2), which I assume is a reference to Pinus taeda and Pinus palustris, of the south-eastern seaboard region of the United States. These American pines have produced a colophony marketed under the trade-name of 'common frankincense' or Gum Thus on account of its resemblance to frankincense; in the nineteenth century English drug shops used it as 'common frankincense' (3). I

(1) It has been suggested that the Burma road was not open before T'ang times; W. Liebenthal, 'The ancient Burma Road - a Legend', JGIS, 15, 1, 1956, 1-15. The Kuang chih mentions a number of wild P'iu on the Yunnan-Burma frontier (TPYL, 791, 3508b-3509a) and also the P'iao, or Pyu, of Burma (CLPT, 8, 214b; PTKN, 14, 828b.) On page 333 I eliminate Burma from the po-ssu discussion.

(2) 'Terpentijn van Sumatra', Verichten van de Afdeeling Handelsmuseum van de Kon. Vereeniging Kolonial Instituut (Overdrukt uit 'De Indische Mercur' van 10 en 17 April, 1925), 5, 9, 30. Heyne sums up the nature of this pine by stating that chemically and physically it is of the same value as the American pine but that it possesses a strong and different odour; Kuttige, 1, 120.

(3) On the American pines see Flückiger and Hanbury, Pharmacographia, 2nd edition, 1879, 604-608.

suggest, therefore, that the least that can be said in favour of identifying ju with the Sumatran pine is that, as far as quality is concerned, the Sumatran pine would have had every chance of being sold as a species of genuine frankincense. The stands which attracted the attention of the Dutch botanists were in the neighbourhood of Atjeh at the extreme north of the island. These trees prefer high altitudes but have been known to grow at sea level. Junghuhn in the nineteenth century met them in the Eatak lands and in Gajoland, which are also in northern Sumatra. The continuous rainfall, humidity, and even temperature of the region seem to encourage the trees' rapid growth, with the result that there has been natural regeneration in areas burnt down for human settlement.

That a pine resin, apparently from South East Asia rather than from western Asia or India, was used by southern Chinese doctors in the sixth century as a species of frankincense seems reasonably certain. Moreover, by a process of elimination Sumatra seems to be the most likely source of supply of this false frankincense. One naturally looks for later evidence of this trade. It is hardly surprising that the later European records provide no trace of a Sumatran or any other South East Asian trade in false frankincense, for India and Europe possessed the genuine article (1). The ju trade was

(1) Tomé Pires and Marsden referred to 'pitch' and damar from Sumatra; Suma, I, 146, 148, 152, 158; History of Sumatra, 1811 edition, 158-9.

essentially part of the China trade, and as late as Sung times, when the imports of frankincense were enormous, there may still have been opportunities for a substitute. Srivijaya was then the great frankincense trade centre in South East Asia. The Hsin tsuan hsiang p'u in its notes on ju, now meaning

frankincense, contains the following quotation from Yeh T'ing-

kuei 葉庭珪 's lost Hsiang lu:

大食以舟載易他貨于三佛齊故香常聚于三佛
齊三佛齊每歲以大船至廣與泉廣泉二舟
視香之多少為殿最

'The Arabs bring their goods by ship to San-fo-ch'i (Srivijaya) and exchange them for other goods. Thus this perfume is usually found in great quantities at San-fo-ch'i. Each year great ships leave San-fo-ch'i for Canton or Ch'uan chou. At these two ports the shipping (officials) examine the amounts of perfume and establish its value (1).'

Yeh T'ing-kuei goes on to describe the 13 grades of frankincense. The best was 'the selected perfume 揀香', but some of the grades were very inferior. The ju t'a 乳榻 grade consisted of ju mixed with sand and pebbles from the ground. The Srivijayan merchants would have had every opportunity of adding pine resin to the China-bound frankincense, but by this time ju was replacing hsün-lu as the general name

(1) 1, 9b. Ju was now the general name for frankincense. On frankincense imports in Sung times see Wheatley, 'Geographical notes on some commodities ...', JUERAS, 32, 2, 1959, 47-9.

for 'frankincense' and there is no means of distinguishing the presence of pine resin in the product. There is one passage, however, in the Sung records which may conceal the existence of a persisting trade in the substitute. In 1066 the Arabs sent envoys with quantities of tribute which included 'true frankincense 真乳香' (1). Perhaps we have here a distinction between the genuine article and the substitute (2).

But with the great expansion in maritime trade during Sung times, and especially of the trade in Arab goods, there was probably less scope for the substitute. One imagines that the last phase of the Sumatran pine resin trade was as an adulterant for the cheapest kinds of frankincense rather than as a separate commodity. There was plenty of scope in the great Srivijayan entrepôt for the practice to take place. It is interesting that ju, the name of the substitute, eventually replaced hsün-lu. Perhaps this is a comment on the important part played by the Sumatran harbours in the handling of the frankincense trade.

(1) Sung hui yao kao, 醫考, 7, 7855b. In 1167 in connexion with Champa a distinction is made between 20, 435 katties of 'white frankincense 白乳香' and 80, 295 katties of 'mixed up frankincense 混雜乳香'; *ibid.*, 7864b.

(2) The Hsin tsuan hsiang p'u, 1, 10a, quotes Wen Shih on a false frankincense. 'There are many foreign drugs in Canton. Most are false. There is the false frankincense. It is produced by mixing it up with maple resin. When it is burnt the smoke disperses with much noise. This is it. True frankincense is like the fu ling fungus. When it is chewed it becomes water'

廣者蕃藥多偽者偽乳香以白膠香攪糲為之
但燒之火煙散多聲此者也真乳香與茯苓
其嚼則成水

There is one slight piece of evidence which may reflect an ancient interest in the Sumatran pine by foreigners or Indonesians in touch with foreign traders. In the Achinese region, where the pines were studied by the Dutch, the local name for Pinus merkusii is sala, though among other northern Sumatran peoples the pine is known as oajan or toesam (1). In Sanskrit sāla is more commonly used as a name for the Shorea tree (2), but it is also one of the numerous Sanskrit names for pine resin and appears in the expression sāla-vestah or 'the ^{ointment} ~~ointment~~ of the sāla tree'. It is curious that the Achinese pine tree alone should have a name derived from Sanskrit, and one wonders whether it was because of an early and Indian-inspired medical interest in this excellent tree. There are several references to pine resin in Caraka's samhitā under the names of talisa, sufadāru, devadāru, and sarala. Sarala, meaning Pinus longifolia, was, like sallaki or Indian frankincense (Boswellia serrata), a treatment for afflictions of the nostril (3).

I have tried to establish in this chapter the probability that the sea-borne frankincense trade, already under way in the

(1) Heyne, Nuttige, I, 118; Hosein Djajadiningat, Atjehsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, Batavia, 1934, II, 633.

(2) In Avinash Chandra Kaviratna's translation of the Caraka samhitā it is identified with Shorea robusta.

(3) Caraka samhitā, XXI, 648.

third century, later provoked a reaction in the form of a trade in a pine resin substitute for frankincense. The transaction was possible only because western Asian cargoes had been taking a route to China through or near some pine-growing region, a circumstance which caused the comparison to be made between the appearance and properties of frankincense and pine resin. I believe that the substitute came from South East Asia rather than from the Middle East or India and more likely from northern Sumatra than from Burma or any other pine-growing area in South East Asia. My hypothesis stands or falls on the original relationship between hsün-lu and ju. I am satisfied that, botanically and medically, ju could be regarded as a species of hsün-lu if they were pine resin and frankincense respectively. I am also satisfied that the Chinese attitude towards pine resin would have provided a favourable background in China to the substitution. Everything depends, however, on whether or not the fragments of the Chinese texts in fact distinguish between hsün-lu and ju, and it is on this point that my hypothesis must stand up to criticism. In the meantime I recapitulate the evidence which has impressed me. I have noted that ju is mentioned as a resin considerably later than hsün-lu and was never associated with either Ta-ch'in or Persia in the western regions, though hsün-lu was. Kuo I-kung knew only hsün-lu as coming from Ta-ch'in. I have seen a consistent distinction made between hsün-lu and ju by Kuo I-kung, T'ao Hung-ching, and

Ch'ên Ts'ang-ch'í, all writing before the middle of the eighth century. That something curious had happened to the maritime frankincense trade seems to be acknowledged by Ch'ên Ch'êng, writing about 1090, when he distinguishes between a 'western' ju from the land of the 'Brahmans' and a 'southern' ju from the Po-ssü country (1). The least that can be inferred from Ch'ên Ch'êng is that in his day there was still a tradition of two sources of 'frankincense', for ju had then become the general term for all kinds and grades of frankincense, and that one of these sources was from a southern and not a western country. Finally, I do not see how one can avoid the problem set by Kuo I-kung's use of the expression 'southern ocean' unless one wishes to explain it away as an interpolation. If it was in fact an interpolation, it was incorporated in Hung Ch'u's Hsiang p'ü and Ch'êng Ching's Hsin tsuan hsiang p'ü. 'Southern ocean' cannot refer to the western Indian Ocean, the cradle of the frankincense trade. It may be that an objection against my understanding of what happened, apart from the general criticism that my fragments are unreliable as historical evidence, will be that already by the fifth century grades of purity in frankincense had been noticed in southern China and that when, though only according to the Pên ts'ao kang mu, Li Hsün quotes the Kuang chih to the effect that hsün-lu was the

(1) See page 182.

scaly part of a tree bark, Kuo I-kung was referring to what is known as the 'scrape' or resinous drippings on the bark of the tree after the tree has been tapped for frankincense. Ju, or 'milk', might then represent a purer grade of resin. This argument implies that originally inferior grades of frankincense, known as hsün-lu, were exported to China and that it was only by Kuo I-kung's times that purer grades, known as ju, were coming on the market. But it is difficult to see how a dirty resin would have kept its place in the early Chinese materia medica. And why did the T'ang pên ts'ao not mention the superior ju grade? Why, too, was only hsün-lu used as the name for frankincense in the Hou Chou shu's account of the products to be found in Persia? Nor is there any reliable evidence that Kuo I-kung regarded hsün-lu as the scaly part of the tree.

I have dwelt at some length on the reasons why I think that there was a trade in an Indonesian pine resin substitute for frankincense, for they lead me to enquire whether this act of substitution was unique or a symptom of a more general commercial practice in western Indonesia before the seventh century. I shall now suggest that the sea-borne trade in western Asian myrrhs produced a similar reaction.

CHAPTER EIGHTTHE GUGGULU OF THE SOUTHERN OCEAN

There is a possibility that by about A.D. 500 western Indonesian benzoin (Styrax spp.), popularly called benjamin gum, was not only regarded in southern China as a substitute for the myrrh (Commiphora mukul Engl.), known in Sanskrit as guggulu and as bdellium in the classical world, but may perhaps have overtaken it as a superior fumifuge. There are no technical objections to this possibility, for both resins possess a powerful aroma, especially when burnt, and have therefore been regarded as suitable substances for fumigatory purposes. If the transaction took place it would mean that the maritime trade between western Asia and southern China was responsible for bringing into commerce an Indonesian resin which, unlike pine resin, was destined to become a permanent and valuable trading commodity not only in China but also, though much later, in western Asia and Europe as well.

I wish to argue this development as being no more than a reasonable possibility. The passage which provides the basis for my argument is a fragment from the Kuang chou chi of Ku Wei, preserved in a quotation by Li Hsün incorporated in the 1249 revision of T'ang Shên-wei's Chêng lei pên ts'ao. I have found it in no other text, and it is unfortunate that the

parallel passage quoted in the Pên ts'ao kang mu omits the attribution to the Kuang chou chi. The passage in the Chêng lei pên ts'ao concerns An-hsi perfume 安息香 and is as follows:

海藥謹按廣州記云生南海波斯
國樹中脂也

'Hai yao. I note that according to the Kuang chou chi it grows in the southern ocean (and that it is) the resin of a Po-ssü country tree (1).'

Several comments on this passage may be made at once.

In the first place one early translation of An-hsi perfume is available in the form of guggulu, the Sanskrit term for the bdellium - myrrh of north-western India and the Makrān coast of southern Persia. I Tsing's translation of the Golden Sutra states that An-hsi perfume is chū-chū-la 窶具摻羅, a transcription of guggula or guggulu (2). But it is equally

(1) CLPT, 13, 330b:

PTKM, 34, 1375a: 瑠白南海波斯國樹中脂

See note 1 on page 186 for my justification of this translation. Laufer, translating from the PTKM, understood the passage to mean 'the southern sea and in the country Po-se', and he thought it likely that here was a hint of the Malaya. Po-se rather than of Persia; Sino-Iranica, 465. He similarly regarded the Kuang chih's reference to ju as a reference to a Po-se country in the southern ocean; see note 3 on page 206.

(2) Tripitaka, Kokuyaku daizōkyō, 1919-23, vol. 26, 余光明最
勝王經, 55. In the Stein collection of Tunhuang manuscripts in the British Museum (Stein No. 6107) the same transcription is given. Filiozat unhesitatingly identifies guggulu with bdellium; La doctrine classique, 109-110. I identify bdellium with the myrrh resin from Commiphora mukul Engl., having consulted Howes, Vegetable gums and resins, 153; Watt, Commercial products of India, 400. According to Howes 'the various bdelliiums which resemble myrrh are believed to be derived in the main from species of Commiphora'. Commiphora is the name of the family of myrrh-producing trees. Guggulu is identified with Balsamodendron mukul (the alternative name for Commiphora mukul) in Avinash Chandra Kaviratna's translation of the Caraka saṃhitā. On these identifications see Pelliot, TP, 13, 1912, 480.

certain that An-hsi perfume has come to mean benjamin gum and nothing else (1), though it has never been established when the Chinese first transferred the name for guggulu to the resin of the Styrax tree. In the third place, one cannot easily ignore the juxtaposition of 'southern ocean' and Po-ssü in the Kuang chou chi fragment; it is not a solitary one, for it also appears in the Kuang chih's fragment on ju which was reproduced by several writers who quoted the Kuang chih (2). The 'southern ocean' in connexion with ju seems to point to northern Sumatra, and it is in fact northern Sumatra which has produced the most famous species of Indonesian benzoin (3). No explanation of the Kuang chou chi fragment which fails to take into account the reference to the 'southern ocean' can be regarded as satisfactory.

Finally, it is noteworthy that Ku Wei, unlike Kuo I-kung, refers on a number of occasions to the Po-ssü, though never again in connexion with a 'southern ocean' product. About the cummin, for example, he is quoted in the Hai yao pen ts'ao as follows:

海藥謹按廣州記云生波斯國焉芹子黑色
而重時蘇子即褐色而輕

(1) For example Read, Chinese medicinal plants ..., no. 185; Chung kuo yao hsüeh ta tz'u tien, I, 500. An-hsi perfume = benzoin was first mentioned in British pharmaceutical circles in 1862; Hanbury, 'Notes on Chinese materia medica'; Pharmaceutical Journal, 3, 1862, 423.

(2) Pages 178-179.

(3) See pages 227-8 for an account of the Sumatran benzoin trees.

'Hai yao: I note that according to the Kuang chou chi (the cummin) grows in the Po-ssü country. Celery is of a black colour and heavy. Cummin is of a dark brown colour and light (1).'

The cummin (Cuminum Linn.) is a genuinely western Asian herb, and I can see no reason why in this instance Ku Wei should not be understood to mean that he considered the cummin to grow in Po-ssü = Persia (2).

Thus, literally, the Kuang chou chi fragment refers to a guggulu which grew in the southern ocean, presumably somewhere in South East Asia, and may have been called a 'Persian' tree resin. This explanation, however, is nonsense if the resin was guggulu, for Commiphora does not grow in South East Asia. The alternative explanation which offers itself is that benzoin was already known as An-hsi perfume by about A.D. 500, but it does not explain why the perfume should have been regarded as a Persian resin.

No one has imagined that the Chinese knew of benzoin as

(1) CLPT, 9, 236b; PTKM, 26, 1204a.

(2) On the subject of cummin see Burkill, Dictionary, I, 701, who describes it as 'a native of the Levant', and Laufer, Sino-Iranica, 383-4. Laufer suggested that shih-lo 荳蔻 was derived from the Persian Zira = 'cummin' and that the loan word reached China overland. He ignored the possibility that it could have travelled along the sea route. According to Laufer cummin was known to Cyrus. Cummin seeds are today imported from Persia to Malaya; Gimlette, Dictionary of Malayan medicine, 95. Heyne states that Indonesia imports them from India; Nuttige, 2, 1212. According to Watt the cummin is probably not indigenous to India; Commercial products, 442. Laufer thought that the cummin was transmitted from Persia to India; Read, Chinese medicinal plants, no. 227, identifies shih-lo with dill, which grows wild in Persia.

early as A.D. 500. Laufer, and Fang Ch'eng-chün after him, only noted the passage as it is rendered in the Pên ts'ao kang mu, where there is no mention of the Kuang chou chi and the passage is instead attributed to Li Hsün, conventionally regarded as a T'ang writer (1). Professor Yamada observed the Cheng lei pên ts'ao version of the passage, with its reference to the Kuang chou chi, but felt that it was meaningless (2). To the best of my knowledge no one has drawn attention to the fact that the Kuang chih as well as the Kuang chou chi used the expression 'southern ocean' to describe the region which produced a Po-ssü resin.

I propose in this chapter to ignore the problem created by the description of An-hsi perfume as a Po-ssü tree resin and, instead, to consider what is known about its attributes and affinities.

An-hsi perfume, meaning guggulu-bdellium, does not come from Indonesia. It is the resin of one of the myrrh-producing Commiphora trees, sometimes known as the Balsamodendron family. These trees grow in western Asia and east Africa, and the myrrh-producing species are far more numerous than the species of Eoswellia producing frankincense. They are found in southern

(1) Sino-Iranica, 464-467; Chu fan chih hsiao chu, 100.
 (2) 'A study on the introduction of An-hsi-hsiang in China and that of gum benzoin in Europe', Report of the Institute of World Economics, Kinki University, 5, 1954, 22. Yamada considered it as a possible reference to benzoin but rejected it on the grounds that it was too early and that the text was not a safe one to use.

Arabia and Somaliland and also in the dry and rocky parts of Baluchistan and northern and central India. Their resin is accompanied by gum, and for this reason it is practicable to adulterate myrrh with inferior species. The process of adulteration is especially associated with the Indians, who mix their local Commiphora resin with the higher grades from Arabia and Africa. Pliny notes that there were many varieties of myrrh and that the adulteration most difficult to detect was that which was practised in respect of the Indian myrrh, the most inferior of all myrrhs (1). Pure and impure myrrh were distinguished in the classical world by the colour of the resin; the purer the resin, the paler it was. Dioscorides mentions a myrrh which was the colour of pitch and therefore unprofitable (3).

The myrrh of Commiphora mukul seems to have had a special reputation in the ancient world. It grows in Arabia and east Africa, but of particular interest to us is the north-western Indian representative, which Pliny calls 'the highly esteemed bdellium' from 'Bactria' (3). It flourishes on the Makrān coast of southern Persia and in Baluchistan, and it was one of the important trees of Sassanid Persia. It is not surprising

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- (1) Natural history, XII, xxxv, 71.
 (2) The Greek Herbal, 43.
 (3) Natural History, XII, xix, 35.

that in China it should have acquired the name of An-hsi, the early term for the Iranian kingdom. According to the Periplus, the Makrān coast, known as Gedrosia, contained nothing except bdellium trees (1).

Commiphora mukul has been described as 'a small tree or shrub' (2). The trees which produce benzoin are larger and grow only in parts of South East Asia and in Bolivia. In Indonesia they are Styrax sumatrana J.J. Smith and Styrax benzoin Dry. (3). The specimen which produces the best resin is S. Sumatrana; it needs fertile soil and grows only in north-western Sumatra from about 1,000 feet above sea-level and especially in the hinterland of the Tapanuli coast. This is also the camphor area par excellence, and Batak tappers have been known to put camphor in the wounds of benzoin trees in order to stimulate production. S. benzoin grows in both northern Sumatra and in the hills behind Palembang and occasionally

(1) Schoff's translation, p. 37.

(2) The Wealth of India, 2, 313-4 (Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, Delhi, 1951).

(3) On Sumatran benzoin see Marsden, History of Sumatra, 154-5; Van Vuuren, 'De handel van Baroes', Tijdschrift aard, 25, 6, 1908, 1389-1402; and especially Heyne, Nuttige, 2, 1256-1262. Heyne mentions as trading ports Sibolga and Barus on the west coast and, to a minor extent, Medan on the north-east coast. The prestige of the west coast ports has overshadowed the reputation of the north-east coast as a centre of the benzoin trade. Yet both Ma Huan and Pires comment that benzoin was exported from the Aru area; Ying yai shêng lan, 27; Suma Oriental, 1, 148.

in the extreme west of Java. Both trees grow wild, though in modern times the profits from the Sumatran benzoin trade have been so considerable that it has been worth while to introduce a plantation industry in both the north and south of the island. Heyne has described the western Javanese tree as reaching to about 18 metres and the Sumatran trees as considerably higher (1).

But though bdellium and benzoin are the products of entirely different trees they have one feature in common. Their resins are capable of providing a powerful aroma, and for this reason both trees have been famous.

No doubt it was the resin of Commiphora mukul which Alexander's soldiers used for fumigating their tents and beds (2). Guggulu, or gulgulu, the Sanskrit name, appears in the Atharvaveda as an aromatic substance suitable for driving out bad influences (3). In the more practical context of the Caraka samhita the same property of guggulu was recognised; it was one of the substances to be used for fumigating clothes and beds ~~and~~ used by newly-born babies (4). A similar reputation attached to

(1) Burkill describes Styrax as fairly tall; Dictionary, 2, 2105.

(2) Strabo, Geography, 15, 2, 3 (Loeb Classical Library, H.L. Jones' trans.)

(3) Filliozat, La doctrine classique, 109-110. Filliozat draws attention to one of the Atharvaveda hymns addressed to the 'bdellium' of Sind, but Professor Basham tells me that the word for Sind should probably be rendered as 'riverine' or 'by sea'. It is Hymn No. XIX, 38.

(4) Kaviratna's translation, XXVIII, 867-8.

myrrh lingered on in Europe, and even Culpeper regarded myrrh as a 'sovereign preservation against the pestilence' (1).

The attributes of guggulu-bdellium were also recognised in early China. Although An-hsi perfume is not mentioned in the pên ts'ao literature until the seventh century, when the T'ang pên ts'ao lists its properties, its perfume was evidently recognised as possessing magical properties as early as the beginning of the fourth century. The first reference to it so far discovered relates to the 329 - 333 period and is contained in the Chin shu. The context of the following anecdote is northern China.

石勒時襄國城水源暴竭勒問澄澄曰
當勅龍取水乃坐繩床燒安息香呪願
三日水微流有小龍五尺隨水來須
臾水大至

'In Shih Lo's time a water stream at the city of the Hsian country suddenly dried up. Lo enquired of (Fo-t'u)-têng (what should be done). Têng replied: one must first ask a dragon to obtain water. Then he sat on a hammock and burnt An-hsi perfume. He recited mantras for three days. A little water then began to flow. A small dragon, five or six ch'ih long, came with the flow out of the water, and then there was a great flow of water (2).'

(1) Pharmacopœia Londinensis, 104.

(2) Chin shu, quoted in TPYL, 982, 4347a. Shih Lo ruled in southern Hopei from 329 to 333; Eberhard, A history of China, London, third impression, 1955, 128-131. This passage appears in the biography of Fo-t'u-têng. On Fo-t'u-têng see A.F. Wright, HJAS, 11, 1948, 321-371. The monk may have learnt the art of magic spells in Udyāna.

An-hsi perfume is also mentioned in an early book on 'mixing perfumes' in order to bring out the maximum aroma. The book is quoted in the Liu Sung shu's biography of Fan Yeh 范晔, is quoted in the Liu Sung shu's biography of Fan Yeh 范晔, 甘松蘇合安恩樹金柰多和羅之屬並陳 珍於外國無取於中土

'Rosemary, storax, An-hsi, turmeric, and nai-to-ho-lo - perfumes of this kind - are all valued in foreign countries but do not count for much in China (1).'

Yet storax and turmeric had been known to the Chinese in the third century, while rosemary is mentioned in the Kuang chih (2), and because An-hsi perfume occurs in the Chin shu as early as the early fourth century I suspect that it was more familiar in southern China than the quotation in the Liu Sung shu suggests.

The properties of An-hsi perfume are not mentioned by T'ao Hung-ching, but in the seventh century T'ang pen ts'ao there is a reference which matches well the reputation of bdellium in western Asia and India as a fumifuge.

主心腹惡氣息瘴出丙戎似松脂
黃黑色為塊新者亦柔韌

(1) Liu Sung shu, 69, 20b.

(2) CLPT, 9, 236b. The Kuang chih attributes it to Ku ts'ang in Kansu.

'It works on evil air in the system and devilish (pestilences). It comes from the western Jung (barbarians) and its appearance is like that of pine resin. It is in the form of blackish yellow lumps. The fresh product is also strong and pliable (1).'

In this passage western Asia is indicated as the source of the resin. In the same century I Tsing transcribed guggulu as An-hsi perfume, and there can be little doubt that it was a bdellium myrrh which was incorporated into the T'ang pên ts'ao. According to other texts it came from Jāguda, Kebud, and Kucha (2). Kucha is in eastern Turkestan, and there An-hsi perfume was probably an import on its way to China through middlemen (3).

In Indonesia, as well as in Europe, India, and China, myrrh was known as a fumifuge. Mr. Burkill has drawn attention to the fact that the insignificant Indonesian gandarusa plant (Acanthaceae, Gendarussa Nees) has a name derived from an Indian name for myrrh (4). It is said to have vitality and ability to resist evil influences. In Malaya species with a

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- (1) Hsin hsiu pên ts'ao, I, 145; CLPT, 13, 330b. Ta Ming in the late tenth century recommended both pine resin and An-hsi perfume for expelling bad air from the system; PTKM, 34, 1352a for pine resin (除邪下氣) and 34, 1375a for An-hsi perfume (邪氣鬼魅兩 bad air and sprites).
- (2) For Jāguda; Pei shih, 97, 29b; for Kebud, TPWL, 982, 4347a, quoting the 'T'ang shu'; for Kucha Sui shu, 83, 11a. The TPHYC, 182, 11b, attributes it to Kashmir 罽賓.
- (3) There is no evidence that Commiphora grows in Turkestan.
- (4) Dictionary, I, 1065-1067.

violet-crimson sap are usually chosen for medical purposes, and sometimes its leaves are used with other medicine in cases of possession by an evil spirit. Dutch writers have reported its use in alleviating pain (1), but I suspect that it owes its 'myrrh' name to the circumstance that it is believed to expel evil influences.

But the great fumifuge of Indonesia is benzoin, which has so powerful an aroma that the Arabs, in spite of the fact that they lived in the centre of an aromatic-producing region, have honoured it with the nickname of lubān jāwī, 'the frankincense of Java' (2). In Indonesia benzoin is used internally for syphilitic ulcerations of the nose and for shingles, and externally for muscular rheumatism (3), and Marsden states that benzoin was used in Europe for 'healing green and other wounds' (4). But in Indonesia benzoin is chiefly famous for its smell. Medicinal leaves, perfumed with the sweet smell of burning benzoin, are used in the mystic treatment of serious kinds of fever. It is also used in many ceremonies. It is burnt in

(1) Heyne, Nuttige, 2, 1380-1381. For its uses also see Gimlette Malayan medicine, 62-3.

(2) There is only a little production of benzoin in the island of Java, and the extended use of the term 'Java' to mean Sumatra in Arab writings is an instance of the occasional ambiguity of the term 'Java'. Bontius, a Dutch doctor working in Java in the 17th century, knew a local species of benzoin; An account of the diseases, natural history, and medicine of the East Indies, translated from the Latin, London, 1776, 176.

(3) Gimlette, A dictionary of Malayan medicine, London, 1939, 94.

(4) History of Sumatra, 155. The 'Turlington balsam', well known in Marsden's day, was based on benzoin.

the mosque before prayers and by magicians in incantations at spirit-calling séances (1).

This brief review of the fumigatory reputation of both bdellium and benzoin suggests that there is nothing inherently improbable in the Chinese acceptance of benzoin as a form of bdellium. One is left with the impression that it can hardly be a coincidence that in China benzoin has come to have the name by which I Tsing knew guggulu - bdellium. If I am right in believing that pine resin was brought to China as a substitute for frankincense, a similar transaction involving the magnificent benzoin would certainly not be surprising. The trade which brought frankincense to southern China must have brought other resins as well; we shall see later in this chapter that other kinds of myrrh were known in southern China before the seventh century, and a reference to a sea-borne trade in patchuk before the seventh century will be noted in the following chapter (2).

But there is a difficulty in assuming that the Kuang chou chi's 'southern ocean' An-hsi perfume was benzoin. The first reasonably convincing description of the Styrax tree is as late as Tuan Ch'êng-shih 段成式 's Yu yang tsa tsu 酉陽雜俎. Tuan died in 863 (3). The passage is as follows:

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- (1) Gimlette, 116-117; Burkill, Dictionary, 2, 2104.
 (2) Page 279.
 (3) Giles' Chinese Biographical Dictionary, 788.

安息香樹出波斯國呼為辟邪樹長三丈
皮色黃黑葉有四角經寒不凋二月開花黃
色花心微碧不結實刻其樹皮其膠如
飴名安息香六七月堅凝乃取之燒之通
神明辟眾惡

'The An-hsi perfume tree. It comes from the Po-ssü country. The Po-ssü call it the tree that wards off evil influences. The tree grows to a height of thirty feet. The bark is of a yellow-black colour and the oblong leaves do not wither in the winter. It flowers in the second month of the year, and the colour of the flowers is yellow. The heart of the flower is somewhat green and does not bear fruit. When one scrapes the bark of the tree a syrup-like gum appears; it is called An-hsi perfume. It hardens in the sixth and seventh month of the year, and then it may be taken for burning in order that one may attain the potencies of the spirits and ward off all forms of evil (1).

Mr. Burkill is content to take this as a description of the benzoin tree (2). Laufer felt that it was a 'Malayan Po-se' plant but not benzoin, because Tuan Ch'eng-shih seemed to be writing of too tall a tree (3). Yet the benzoin tree is a larger tree than Commiphora mukul, the only other candidate. Professor Yamada is satisfied that the description is closer to the Styrax than to the bdellium tree, and he notes Tuan's statement that the gum hardens from exposure to the air as consistent with what happens to benzoin (4). Tuan was capable

(1) Yu yang tsa tsu, 18, 100. This passage is translated in Sino-Iranica, 466, and in Yamada's 'Study on the introduction of An-hsi-hsiang in China', 20.

(2) Dictionary, 2, 2102.

(3) Sino-Iranica, 466.

(4) 'Study on the introduction of An-hsi-hsiang in China', 21-22.

of describing Indonesian trees, for he has also given an account of the camphor tree which is similarly attributed to the Po-ssü (1). Without being completely certain, I feel that the Yu yang tsa tsu mentions Styrax.

No one is disposed to doubt that benzoin was imported into China in Sung times (2). Though a problem then arises owing to the existence of an additional name for benzoin, which I shall note below, it is usually believed that, when Yeh T'ing-kuei in the 12th century states that An-hsi perfume came from Srivijaya, he was referring to benzoin (3). This writer was concerned with incenses and only had occasion to note that benzoin was a 'fixer' used to bring out the aroma of other perfumes (4). In 1225 Chao Ju-kua, a trade official in southern China, reproduces Yeh T'ing-kuei's information and does not suggest that this perfume came from anywhere else but Srivijaya (5). It is not surprising that Li Shih-chên should have recorded it as the product of Srivijaya (6). Srivijaya no longer existed in his day, and he was merely repeating what was

(1) Yu yang tsa tsu, 18, 100.

(2) The most recent agreement has been expressed in Wheatley, 'Geographical notes on some commodities involved in Sung maritime trade', 55-59. Professor Wheatley followed Professor Yamada's study of the An-hsi perfume problem.

(3) Hsin tsuan hsiang p'u, 1, 10b.

(4) The passage is as follows:

石不宜于烧然能發衆香故多用之以此和香焉

(5) Chu fan chih, 99.

(6) PTKM, 34, 1375a. He also mentioned an 'Annam' species. I refer below to Styrax benzoides Craib and S. tonkinense Craib from mainland South East Asia.

accepted fact in his authorities. There is only one qualification concerning the usage of the term An-hsi perfume in Sung times, and it was made by Professor Yamada. Occasionally tribute came to China from Turkestan, and An-hsi perfume was offered. It is likely to have been bdellium from western Asia (1).

That An-hsi perfume eventually became the name for benzoin is not in doubt. The question is rather when this happened.

First, however, I wish to dispose of two objections against the possibility of an early trade in benzoin.

The circumstance that benzoin was ~~first~~ known in the Middle East much later than the fifth and sixth centuries is not, in my opinion, an argument that it could not have been known to the Chinese at that time. The ^{earliest} ~~first~~ reference to it in sources emanating from countries west of Indonesia seems to be as late as Ibn Battūtah in the 14th century (2) and it was known in Europe even later (3). These considerations led Mr. Burkill to conclude that benzoin came into trade late and that the Arabs

(1) 'A study on the introduction of An-hsi-hsiang in China', 2, 3. The Sung hui yao k'ao states that it was sent as tribute from Khotan in 1074 and 1077; SHYK, 蕃夷, 7, 7856a.

(2) Ferrand, Textes, 2, 438.

(3) Heyd attributes the origins of the benzoin trade in Europe to the Portuguese; Histoire du commerce du Levant, 1923 edition, Leipzig, II, 580-1.

were responsible for making it an important trading commodity (1). Professor Yamada, while suggesting that the Arabs knew of benzoin earlier than Ibn Battūṭah's time, believes that the Chinese did not know of it before the end of the eighth century and that the Arabs established a monopoly in the trade in the subsequent centuries (2). Both these views are similar in that they attribute to the Arabs the major rôle in the early benzoin trade (3). But there may be too much concentration on Arab sources as the basis for the study of early Indonesian commerce. I have already indicated my view that the first important impetus to the trade in the valuable natural wealth of western Indonesia came not from India or western Asia but as a backwash of western Asian trade with China which resulted in China's accidental interest in certain Indonesian trade products resembling those of western Asia. The origins of the pine resin trade seem to be a clear example of the process.

A more serious objection to the view that the Chinese knew of benzoin before the seventh century is that it is not mentioned by T'ao Hung-ching, the pên ts'ao writer of the early sixth century. In fact the first pên ts'ao reference to it

(1) Dictionary, 2, 2102. He followed Flücker and Hanbury's account of the history of benzoin; Pharmacographia, 2nd edition 1879, 404-405.

(2) 'A study on the introduction of An-hei-hsiang', 2, 18-29.

(3) Professor Wheatley has recently accepted Yamada's chronology of the benzoin trade; 'Geographical notes', 55-59.

is probably by Li Hsün itself, who quotes what could hardly have been very common medical uses for it; it was a remedy for women who saw demons in their dreams, for involuntary male emissions, for warming the kidneys, and as a general fumifuge. It seems to have been burnt as an incense (1). But Li Hsün's dates are uncertain; he may have been writing as late as the tenth century. If this is so, the first authentic reference to benzoin ^{may} ~~would~~ be in the Yu yang tsa tsu, whose author died in 863.

Yet the force of the objection is less than at first appears. It may originally have been valued chiefly as an incense or for bringing out the aroma of other perfumes, the functions ascribed to it in the fourth century account of Shih Lo (2) or in the book quoted in the Liu Sung shu relating to the fifth century (3). Indeed, apart from the T'ang pên ts'ao and Li Hsün, only one T'ang writer is mentioned in the Chêng lei pên ts'ao in connexion with any An-hsi perfume; he is Su Ping ^肅 火丙, author of the Ssü-shêng pên ts'ao 四聲本草 of whom nothing is known except that he lived in T'ang times (4).

(1) 婦人從夢鬼交以臭黃合為丸燒薰丹穴永斷又主男子
遺精白濁醫辟惡氣
CLPT, 13, 330b.

(2) Page 229 .

(3) Page 230 .

(4) The authority is Li Shih-chên, PTKM, 1 上, 334a. Su Ping came from Kiangsu. He wrote for students and this may suggest that An-hsi perfume was no longer an unfamiliar resin.

All that Su Ping had to say of it was that, when burnt, it 'expelled demons and brought the benevolent spirits' (1). I therefore suspect that An-hsi perfume, whether meaning bdellium or benzoin, remained on the fringe of the Chinese materia medica and was a magical rather than a medical substance. The longest description of its uses is provided by Ta Ming at the end of the tenth century:

邪氣 鬼因 鬼兩 鬼胎 血邪 辟蠱 毒霍亂 困痛 男子
遺精 白爰 腎氣 婦人 血 禁 并 產後 血暈

'For evil air, sprites, demons in the womb and foul blood, warding off poisonous cholera, pain from violent wind, involuntary emissions by males; it warms the kidneys and cures menstrual stoppages and post-natal bleeding (2).'

Another point to be borne in mind to account for the late impact of benzoin on the materia medica of China is that the compilers of the T'ang pên ts'ao were working in northern China and may have been more familiar with bdellium than with benzoin arriving in the southern ports. A northern outlook on the part of these writers is reflected in the fact that the T'ang pên ts'ao mentions only hsün-lu - frankincense and not of ju - pine resin.

(1) CLPT, 13, 330b: 燒之去鬼來神

(2) PTKM, 34, 1375a. This prescription is very similar to that contained in the Hai yao pên ts'ao, quoted above. If Ta Ming was quoting that work, it makes it almost certain that it was written in the tenth century. In the CLPT, 1, 40a, the author of the Nan hai yao p'u was thought to have been someone at the end of the T'ang period 似唐末人所作. I have given my reasons for suspecting that the Hai yao pên ts'ao was written not earlier than the tenth century; page 177.

The case against the early appearance of benzoin as a substitute for bdellium would be stronger if there was no evidence that any other kind of myrrh was known in China before the seventh century. Bdellium is only one of the myrrh resins and it is hardly likely to have come to China unaccompanied by other specimens. Fortunately there are references to ^{ordinary} myrrh ~~or bdellium~~ at this time, which make it probable that bdellium too was known.

In China today myrrh is known as the mo drug 沒 ^木 . Laufer thought that the word was derived from a Semito-Persian prototype, and he noted in this connexion the Arabic murr and the Persian mor (1). In the 13th century Chao Ju-kua described the mo drug as the product of a pine-like tree from Ma-lo-mo 麻囉抹, a name which has been reconstructed as the ancient Murbat on the southern coast of Arabia. Ma-lo-mo was certainly in that region. Chao also mentioned the Berbera coast of Somaliland as a source of supply (2). When the Chinese first knew of myrrh is unknown, and I have found no third century references to it as there are to frankincense, but it was certainly known in northern China before the seventh

(1) Read, Chinese medicinal plants, ..., no. 340; Sino-Iranica, 461. Laufer remarked that, if the transcription could be carried back to T'ang or earlier times, the assumption was in favour of an Iranian origin of the word.

(2) Chu fan chih, Feng Ch'eng-chün's edition, 95, 55. These passages have recently been discussed by Wheatley, 'Geographical notes', 73.

century. The Pei shih states that Jāguda 漚國, north of the Pamirs, had the mo drug (1). According to the T'ai p'ing huan yü chi, Kashmir 罽賓, which sent powerful perfumes as tribute in 637, also had it (2). Cosmas mentions the Persian trade in natural products of Aksum, and the mo drug of Jāguda and Kashmir probably included myrrh from Africa as well as the Middle East (3). I suspect, however, that myrrh exported to the Far East was frequently adulterated with ^{Candw} ~~La...~~ myrrh from north-western India, then controlled by the Sassanids (4).

The first pén ts'ao reference to myrrh is contained in a fragment from the Yao hsing lun 藥性論, quoted by Chang Yü-hsi 張禹錫 and preserved in the Cheng lei pén ts'ao. The author of the Yao hsing lun was Chén Ch'uan 陳權 a Sui official who lived on to the middle of the seventh century (5).

沒藥... 主打搥搥心腹血瘀復折踉跌
 筋骨痛金刃所搥痛不可忍皆以酒投飲之良

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- (1) Pei shih, 97, 29b.
 (2) TPHYC, 182, 11b.
 (3) Christian topography, 51.
 (4) In modern times attention has been called to other substances found in the mo drug reaching China; G.A. Stuart, Chinese materia medica, Shanghai, 1911, 61. Father Roi also found it difficult to determine the origin of the Commiphora which yielded the myrrh sold in China; 'Traité des plantes', 202.
 (5) Page 189, note 6. Li Shih-chên states that the Yao hsing lun was also known as the Yao hsing pén ts'ao.

'It is for breaking up blockages in the internal organs, for bloody contusions, for sprained joints and bones, for bruises and unendurable pain. For all these complaints drink it with wine (1).

Ta Ming in the late tenth century prescribes the mo drug for obstructions in the bowels, stoppages of the blood, and for dispersing poisonous contusions (2). Whether taken internally or used as an ointment it was efficacious for troubles affecting the blood, and this property was eventually summed up by Li Shih-chên as follows:

乳香活血沒藥散血皆能止痛消腫
生肌散二藥每每相兼而用

'The ju perfume (frankincense in Li Shih-chên's day) moves the blood. The mo drug disperses it. Both these substances have the power of stopping pain, removing contusions, and causing flesh to grow. For this reason the two drugs are always used together (3).'

The statement that the mo drug 'caused flesh to grow' is consistent with its being myrrh, an important styptic in earlier times. Dioscorides recommended it for its astringent qualities, for ulcers in the eye, and for removing scabies (4), while Celsus said that it 'agglutinated' wounds as well as promoted suppuration (5). Paul of Aegina noted that it

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- (1) CLPT, 13, 330a.
 (2) Ibid: 破癥結宿血消腫毒
 (3) PTKM, 34, 1373a-b.
 (4) The Greek Herbal, 43.
 (5) Of Medicine, 208.

'agglutinated' wounds (1). Centuries later the same opinions were held, and Culpeper recommended myrrh for wounds and ulcers (2). In early India, too, similar properties were associated with myrrh, though in this case it was the myrrh of the bdellium tree. Guggulu helped to cure sores created by bad blood, and one of the cures for urustambha, or 'carbuncles of the thigh', was to drink guggulu soaked for one night in cow's urine (3). The fact that the first reference in the Chinese materia medica, in the Yao hsing lun, mentions the mo drug for treating bloody contusions 血瘀 makes its identification with myrrh a safe assumption.

It is therefore not surprising that one of the vintage texts also mentions the mo drug. In the Hai yao pên ts'ao, in connexion with the mo drug, there appears the following quotation from the Nan chou chi:

海藥謹按徐表南州記生波斯國是彼處
松脂也

'Hai yao (on the mo drug). I note in Hsü Piao's Nan chou chi that it grows in the Po-ssü country. It is a pine resin of that place (4).'

(1) The Seven Books, 3, 348.

(2) Pharmacopoeia Londinensis, 62-3. The expression used by Culpeper - 'breeding flesh' - is exactly matched by Li Shih-chên's expression 生肌, which I have translated as 'causing flesh to grow'.

(3) Kaviratna's translation, Part LVI, 1779.

(4) CLPT, 13, 330a. The quotation is also attributed to Hsü Piao in PTKM, 34, 1373a.

Po-ssü here appears without any reference to the 'southern ocean' and I propose to translate it as 'Persia' (1). I have already explained why there is nothing surprising in the transcription in the fifth and sixth centuries, when the Nan chou chi was written, and no other rendering of the term in this passage makes sense. The description of the tree as a 'pine' is consistent with Chao Ju-kua's analogy, quoted above, and also with the Taoists' habit of classifying foreign styptic resins as pine resin. The myrrh in question probably came from a number of production centres in Africa, the Middle East, and northern India, but in Hsü Piao's opinion it was associated with Persia, probably because the Persians had become prominent myrrh merchants in the western Indian Ocean.

We therefore have a southern Chinese reference to myrrh as well as to An-hsi perfume, and, within the limits of this meagre evidence, one may believe that the background to the substitution of benzoin for bdellium was a resin trade from western Asia

(1) This is one of the vintage fragments which worried Laufer, and he qualified his reference to it by adding 'if we may depend on the Hai yao pên ts'ao, in which this extract is contained'; Sino-Iranica, 460. He was prepared to accept the mo drug in question as myrrh but suspected that the Chinese were incorrectly attributing it to a South East Asian people, whom he chose to call 'the Malayan Po-se'; *ibid*, 462. He was unable to believe that the Chinese at this early time knew 'Persia' as Po-ssü.

The camphor tree (Dryobalanops aromatica Gaetn. f.) is the giant of the dipterocarp jungle of western Indonesia. It grows only in Sumatra, Borneo, and southern Malaya, though its fossils have been found in western Java (1). In southern Malaya it is sometimes found today in Trengganu, Pahang, Johore, and Selangor, though it may have been more widely distributed there in ancient times (2). Owing to its great economic value as a source of camphor crystals and the wasteful process of tree felling, the areas of production have probably shrunk considerably. It is also found on the north coast of Borneo, and it was known to come from Borneo by Sung times. In Sumatra it is essentially a product of the north-western half of the island. Marsden reported that it was not found south of 3 degrees north of the equator. This is not entirely correct. A few trees have been found on the east coast and further south than Marsden indicated (3). But

(1) For information about the camphor tree I have relied on Heyne Nuttige, 2, 1099-1105; Burkill, Dictionary, I, 862-867; van Steenis, 'Hoofdlijen van de verspreiding ...', 193-208. I have also consulted Marsden and Crawford.

(2) It was described as a product of Lang-ya-hsiu 狼牙脩, which Professor Wheatley has shown was probably in the Patani area of the east coast of the Malay Peninsula; Golden Khersonese 252-265.

(3) They have been found from north of the Batang Hari river to south of the Rokan river, on Bengkalis island, on the Lingga and Riau islands, and in the Siak hinterland. For a note on the Siak tree see F. Kehding, 'Notice of Notes on the Sultanate of Siak by H.A. Hymans van Anroij', JRASB, 17, 1886, 151-7.

with nowhere in Sumatra has the production of camphor been more persistently associated than with the north-western coast between Singkel and Ayer Pangis, where the trees flourish on the hill slopes from 200 to 1,200 feet above sea-level.

The Liang shu, the records of the southern Chinese dynasty which ruled from 502 to 557, states that one of the products of Lang-ya-hsiu 狼牙脩 on the Peninsula was the P'o-lu perfume 婆律香 (1). P'o-lu is a transcription of 'Barus', a famous northern Sumatran toponym as old as Ptolemy, and it appears in the Yu yang tsa tsu of the early ninth century as part of a transcription of kapur barus, the Malay word for 'camphor' (2). That 'Barus' in Sumatra had already given its name to camphor in Chinese records of the early sixth century is shown by the fact that T'ao Hung-ching not only knew of it but also included it in his revision of the materia medica.

According to the Chêng lei pên ts'ao

海藥謹按陶景云生西海律國是波律
樹中脂也

'Hai yao: I note that according to T'ao Hung-ching it (camphor) grows in the western ocean Lu country. It is the resin of the Po-lu tree (3).'

(1) LS, 54, 18a.

(2) Yu yang tsa tsu, 18, 100. I analyse the geographical significance of the 'Barus' toponym in chapter twelve.

(3) CLPT, 13, 321b. Lu and Po-lu are both errors for P'o-lu. In T'ang times camphor was attributed to Po-ssü. If Li Hsün was in the habit of adding the word Po-ssü to all old texts, why did he not do so here? This passage not only helps to make Li Hsün's references to Po-ssü products in the vintage texts more reliable. It also illustrates his interest in early texts in addition to the vintage ones. He also quotes from Hsüan Tsang's Hsi yü chi (CLPT, 3, 966, on 藥) and from the fifth century Nan Yüeh chih (CLPT, 4, 110a.).

T'ao prescribed it as follows:

名醫別錄云婦人難產取龍腦研少許
以新汲水調服立差

'The Ming i pieh lu (written by T'ao Hung-ching and quoted in the Hai yao) states: when women are enduring difficult childbirth take a little camphor and grind it into a fine powder and swallow it down with newly drawn water. The efficacy will be immediate (1).'

The T'ang pên ts'ao also mentions camphor, (2) and subsequent references to it are unbroken. It is the earliest Indonesian trade product known to the Chinese about which the evidence is beyond doubt, and it is significant that the records about it are from the beginning of the sixth century. It cannot be convincingly argued that there were physical reasons such as difficulty of access to the jungle which make it improbable that benzoin, unlike camphor, reached China when the Kuang chou chi was written. Nor is there force in another argument advanced for the late appearance in trade of benzoin. Mr. Burkill suggests that, because benzoin extraction is a special art involving the wounding of the tree, the quantities collected would be very small (3). But camphor-extraction is also a special art, accompanied by a complicated magical procedure (4).

(1) CLPT, 13, 321b.

(2) Hsin hsiu pên ts'ao, 1, 145-146. It came from P'o-lu
婆律 country = 'Barus'.

(3) Dictionary, 2, 2102.

(4) An account of the ritual involved in the search for camphor-yielding trees is contained in J. de Ligny, 'Legendarische herkomst der Kamfer Baroes', Tijdschrift, 63, 1923, 549-555.

In spite of this, camphor was reaching the outside world by about 500. The camphor trade, on account of its satisfactory documentation, provides a chronological framework within which to assess the likelihood of an equally early benzoin trade, sparked off by the knowledge that the similarly aromatic bdellium was finding a market in southern China.

Pine resin and camphor were not, however, the only other natural products of western Indonesia to reach China by the seventh century at the latest. There was also 'unicorn desiccate' 馬其馬麟立竭. It was mentioned in the T'ang pên ts'ao, a materia medica composed under imperial instructions in northern China, which suggests that by the middle of the seventh century 'unicorn desiccate' was reasonably well known in China. Here, then, is a further circumstance which makes it difficult to believe that the 'southern ocean' An-hsi perfume was not benzoin. The Chêng lei pên ts'ao quotes the T'ang pên ts'ao as follows:

紫金針馬其馬麟...主五臟邪氣帶下止痛破積
血金腐生肉與馬其馬麟立竭二物大同也

'Lac gum (1). Unicorn desiccate ... It works on the five viscera and on evil air inside the body. It stops pain and breaks up accumulations of blood. It works on ulcers and creates flesh. Lac gum and unicorn desiccate are two very similar substances (2).'

(1) Lac gum is a product of mainland South East Asia and is discussed by Laufer, Sino-Iranica, 475-8.

(2) CLPT, 13, 320b.

'Unicorn desiccate' is today the name for dragon's blood, the resin of various Indonesian species of Daemonorhops Blume, or climbing rattans (1). They are members of the Palmae family and grow in many parts of Indonesia. Europe became interested in Indonesian dragon's blood relatively late, and it is only with Marsden's generation at the end of the 18th century that the rattan was regarded as a source of dragon's blood (2). Thereafter the east coast of Sumatra and south-western Borneo were known as the chief centres of supply (3).

Though in the seventh century unicorn desiccate was known in China as a styptic, the T'ang pên ts'ao does not state the country which produced it. Su Sung 蘇公, compiler of the T'u ching pên ts'ao 圖經本草 in the reign of the Sung emperor Jên Tsung (1023 - 1063) (4), notes that in the

(1) On this subject see especially Schafer, 'Rosewood, dragon's blood and lac', JAS, 77, 2, 1957, 129-136. There is a full description of Daemonorhops in Burkill, Dictionary, I, 747-753. (2) Tomé Pires does not mention Indonesian dragon's blood. Marsden's reference is contained in History of Sumatra, 159-160. He was sceptical about its merits and had been told by a friend that white damar was mixed with it and may have provided it with a resinous quality.

(3) Anderson, Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra in 1823 ..., pp. 204, in respect of rattans on the coast between Diamond Point and Siak; Crawford, History of the Indian Archipelago, 3, 426. Crawford noted Jambi, Palembang, and Banjarmasin as the main centres of production. Banjarmasin is in south-west Borneo. In Crawford's Descriptive Dictionary, 123, he notes that in the Jambi region it was collected by the primitive Kubu of south-eastern Sumatra.

(4) Li Shih-chên states that, for the preparation of this pên ts'ao drugs were called for from all parts of the empire; PTKM, I 上, 335.

past the countries producing this drug were not recorded (1). He himself merely stated that it came from various countries of the southern barbarians. Nevertheless he made a helpful observation:

其脂液從木中流出滴下如月膠飴狀久而
堅凝乃成血竭赤作血色故亦謂之血竭

'The resin flows from the tree (2) and drips down like sugar gum in appearance. After a time it becomes hard and forms a desiccate which is red like the colour of blood. For this reason it is also said to be blood desiccate (3).'

Thus 'blood desiccate' was an alternative name for 'unicorn desiccate' and there are several references to it in Sung records. It was sent as tribute by Srīvijaya in 1018 and 1156 (4), and in view of Su Sung's statement that it came from the 'southern barbarians' it is ^{likely} ~~probable~~ that the blood desiccate

(1) CLPT, 13, 321a: 麒麟竭舊不載所生州土今出南蕃國及廣州

This passage is omitted in the FTKM, 34, 1373b. The Hai yao pên ts'ao quotes the fifth century Nan Yüeh chih as describing 'unicorn desiccate' as the resin of the 'lac gum' tree ^{是紫釧木樹之脂也}; CLPT, 13, 321a. In fact the latter is a gummy deposit secreted on trees by the female lac insect Tachardia lacca Linn; it was later regarded as a Cambodian product; Laufer, Sino-Iranica, 475-8. The Kuang chou chi mentions 'lac gum' of 'the southern ocean'; CLPT, 13, 321a. Probably before the seventh century somethin. was known of the Indonesian dragon's blood rattan, which would explain why it was mentioned in the T'ang pên ts'ao.

(2) In fact the resin forms on the surface of the immature fruits of the rattan. It is not surprising that the pên ts'ao writers should have been ignorant of this nice point.

(3) CLPT, 13, 321a.

(4) SHYK, ^{蕃夷}, 7805a; *ibid*, 7863b.

known in Sung times included Indonesian dragon's blood as well as the Socotran product from Dracaena cinnabari Balf. f. which was said by Chao Ju-kua to come from the Arab countries (1). The Ming shih, probably incorporating material obtained during Cheng Ho's voyages in South East Asia during the first half of the 15th century, states that Banjarmasin 文郎馬神 produced blood desiccate (2). In Crawford's day this place was known to produce dragon's blood, and it may be regarded as certain that blood desiccate in Ming times and earlier was a name for the Indonesian as well as the Socotran product (3). Su Sung's identification of blood desiccate with unicorn desiccate helps to bridge the gap in references to the latter between the T'ang pên ts'ao and Li Shih-chên (4).

(1) Chu fan chih, 96. In the same passage Chao Ju-kua refers to lakawood as 'false blood desiccate 假血石' . Li Shih-chên specifically states that lakawood resin could be used as a substitute for unicorn desiccate (which is the same as blood desiccate), and here one has an example of an Indonesian substitute for an Indonesian product; PTKM, 34, 1367a. Such were the ramifications of the trade in substitutes, on which I believe was based the original Indonesian trade with China. Li Shih-chên's observation answers Professor Wheatley's criticism of Chao Ju-kua for confusing the wood of lakawood with a resin; 'Geographical notes', 111. The drugs were substitutes in spite of the fact that they came from different botanical species.

(2) Ming shih, 323, 21a.

(3) Nevertheless 'unicorn desiccate' also appears in Ming records. It was sent as tribute by Su-men-ta-la 蘇門答刺 = Pasai in northern Sumatra in 1433; Ming shih, 325, 11a.

(4) Professor Wheatley was worried by the lack of references to Indonesian dragon's blood in the works of Chou Ch'ü-fei (1178) and Chao Ju-kua (1225); 'Geographical notes', 109-111. Professor Schafer made a distinction between Socotran blood desiccate and Indonesian unicorn desiccate; 'Rosewood, dragon's blood and lac', 133. In view of Su Sung's statement that the two were the same I feel that the distinction cannot be upheld.

Professor Schafer believes that the Chinese used chieh 立固, or 'desiccate', in the name for dragon's blood because it was also a transcription of gétah, the Indonesian word for 'gum' (1). If this surmise is correct, it provides an additional reason for believing that by the seventh century, when the T'ang pên ts'ao was being compiled, this Indonesian resin was being imported by the Chinese.

I wish in parenthesis, to call attention to two details in connexion with dragon's blood not as evidence with a bearing on the remote times I am considering but as illustrations of the way in which it is possible to compare the properties of one plant with those of a completely different one. The first example links dragon's blood with myrrh and the second links it with benzoin.

At the end of the 16th century Li Shih-chên writes as follows about 'unicorn desiccate':

馬其馬麟立固木之脂液如人之膏血...乳香沒藥
 雖佳主血病而兼入氣分此則專於血分者也

'Unicorn desiccate is the resinous sap of the tree. In appearance it is like the blood of a man ... Frankincense and myrrh, although they work on diseases of the blood, also enter the breathing system. This drug (unicorn desiccate), however, specialises on the blood system (2).'

(1) 'Rosewood, dragon's blood and lac', 133.

(2) PTKM, 34, 1374a.

That blood desiccate and myrrh had something in common is also indicated in another passage by Li Shih-chên. He is writing on lakawood 降道香 (Dalbergia parviflora Roxb.)

唐慎微始增入之...云可代沒藥而渴

'...T'ang Shên-wei (writing in 1103) first added it to (the materia medica) ... It is said that it may be used as a substitute for myrrh and blood desiccate (1).'

In this example we probably have a reference to the astringent properties of myrrh, shared by dragon's blood. But the Indonesians have seen the affinities of dragon's blood in a different way. One of their nicknames for it is mĕnjam mĕrah or 'red benzoin' (2). Both dragon's blood and benzoin contain benzoic acid which is reflected in the aroma emitted from their resins. Thus the Indonesians have compared dragon's blood with benzoin, which I believe first reached the Chinese as a substitute for the myrrh known as bdellium. In a curious way dragon's blood has brought us back to myrrh in both Chinese and Indonesian associations of ideas.

I have dealt briefly with the Chinese evidence about Indonesian dragon's blood because it suggests that by the seventh century this resin was becoming known in China. When one also takes into account that the Chinese were already

(1) PTKM, 34, 1367a. T'ang Shên-wei was the author of the Chĕng Kei pĕn ts'ao.

(2) Heyne, Nuttige, 1, 354. The rattan in question is D. Chĕng. Dragon's blood is also used internally for pains of the stomach; Gimlette, Dictionary of Malayan medicine, 94.

familiar with camphor and, I have suggested, with pine resin as well, it becomes much less improbable that they knew of Indonesian benzoin in the same period and that the Kuang chou chi's reference to the An-hsi perfume of the southern ocean should be understood to mean benzoin. But the information about dragon's blood and camphor provides an even more revealing comment on the expansion of western Indonesian trade by the seventh century. It is noteworthy that, though the Chinese from early in the Christian era were receiving natural products from the Middle East, there is no evidence to suggest that they knew of the Socotran dragon's blood even as late as T'ang times. Thus they first knew of the Indonesian product in its own right and not as a substitute for a western Asian one. The same may be said of camphor; there is nothing to suggest that the Chinese ever regarded it as a substitute. I therefore believe that the evidence about dragon's blood and camphor indicates the progress being made in the sixth and seventh centuries in the range and prestige of Indonesian products known in China, and it is reasonable to conclude that the pioneering period of Sino-Indonesian trade was in the fifth century, when the frankincense trade provoked the trade in the pine resin substitute. A similar transaction in respect of guggulu-bdellium and benzoin, equally valuable disinfectants and fumifuges, should not be regarded as odd when one remembers the expansion in Indonesian trade before the seventh century.

I therefore believe that An-hsi perfume, originally the name for guggulu-bdellium, was transferred to benzoin by the southern Chinese in the fifth or sixth century. I hold to this view in spite of Professor Yamada's recent study of the benzoin trade. It is his belief that benzoin was first called An-hsi perfume in later T'ang times and that the name originally had nothing to do with An-hsi = Parthia. Instead it was an attempt to render an indigenous name, corresponding to some sound such as mēnam or kaminan from which the modern Malay word kēmenyan and similar words in mainland South East Asia are derived (1), though Professor Yamada seems to admit that the Chinese later associated their clumsy transcription of the indigenous word with 'Parthia'; this, however, was 'nothing but the product of the imagination of the learned men of China, after the establishment of this word among merchants and traders (2).' In Sung times benzoin was given a further name in the form of chin-yen perfume 金顏香. This was a new and independent transcription of the same indigenous name for benzoin, derived from the kēmenyan-type word (2).

Writers have been perplexed by the name An-hsi perfume. Chao Ju-kua tried to explain it by quoting a passage from the

(1) 'A study on the introduction of An-hsi-hsiang', 2, 1-10.

(2) Ibid, 9.

(3) Yamada was not the first to explain the derivation of chin-yen perfume. Blagden did so in 1897; JRASSB, 30, 1897, 306-7.

T'ung tien that An-hsi was the name of a kingdom of 'the western Jung barbarians' which sent tribute in the 557 - 580 and 605 - 617 periods. Because of this evidence he assumed that the resin took its name from the kingdom of An-hsi (1). But An-hsi in the sixth century only meant Bukhara, while An-hsi perfume was already known to the Chinese in the early fourth century. Li Shih-chên noted that An-hsi was the name of a country, but he preferred to give a fanciful explanation by suggesting that the name of the resin, an-hsi 安息 or 'pacifying', was derived from its power to 'drive out evil (influences)' (2). In modern times Feng Ch'eng-chün has suggested that an African myrrh was exported to China by the Persians and that it was given the name of An-hsi, but he did not explain how benzoin acquired the same name (3). Laufer suggested as a hypothesis that the name was derived from a place called An-hsi, mentioned in T'ang texts as somewhere on mainland South East Asia (4).

Professor Yamada's theory that An-hsi perfume derived its name from an indigenous word is based on his assumption that the name was given to benzoin in late T'ang times. My objection is that I do not understand why, if the Chinese were able to

(1) Chu fan chih, 99.

(2) PTKM, 1374b.

(3) In his edition of Chu fan chih, 100.

(4) Sino-Iranica, 466. No one seems to have noted the essential point that both guggulu-bdellium An-hsi perfume and benzoin An-hsi perfume have enjoyed the reputation of being potent fumifuges.

transcribe the indigenous name competently in Sung times as chin-yen, they could not render it more accurately than An-hsi in late T'ang times. I suggest that the real reason for the appearance of the name of chin-yen perfume in Sung records is simply that by then Chinese merchants were themselves travelling overseas more frequently and discovered the local name for benzoin.

There is, however, a problem in connexion with the name chin-yen for benzoin. Chao Ju-kua states that it came from both Cambodia and the Arab countries; the latter product was the inferior one and was a re-export from Srīvijaya. The better product, from Cambodia, was white and the inferior one dark (1). An-hsi perfume, on the other hand, was associated by Chao Ju-kua only with Srīvijaya, and I accept Professor Yamada's view that it was benzoin (2). Why was it that there were now two names for Sumatran benzoin, An-hsi perfume and chin-yen perfume ?

(1) The Cambodian benzoin came from S. benzoides Craib, growing in Laos. It has been suggested that the Arabs took Sumatran benzoin to the Middle East, adulterated it, and brought it back to Srīvijaya; Wheatley, 'Geographical notes', 58-59. In view of Pires' reference to 'black' benzoin, which I quote below, I believe that, though the Arabs handled the benzoin trade, Chao Ju-kua's inferior product was in fact a low-grade Sumatran benzoin.

(2) Chao Ju-kua seems to have quoted Yeh T'ing-kuei's account of An-hsi perfume; Hsin tsuan hsiang p'u, 1, 10b. For Yamada's identification of this resin with benzoin see 'A study on the introduction of An-hsi-hsiang', 2, 3. He refers to the comparison of its resin with the appearance of the edible part of the walnut, a comparison to which I return below.

I think that the answer to this question is connected with the existence of a variety of grades of Sumatran benzoin. Tomé Pires' evidence is helpful. He states that a 'very white' resin came from the northern ports of Barus, Tico, and Priaman. Another resin came from Palembang; it was 'black' and had its only market in eastern Indonesia (1). The difference in colour reflects to some extent the presence of Styrax sumatrana in the jungles of northern Sumatra but also, I think, the established practice in northern Sumatra of producing a high grade benzoin, unmixed with inferior grades of Styrax benzoin which has a reddish-brown colour (2). The name for the high grade benzoin would have been An-hsi perfume, the grade which had originally competed with bellium to which the honourable name of An-hsi stuck and the only type of benzoin mentioned in ts'ao literature. Yeh T'ing-kuei, copied by Chao Ju-kua, makes the point that An-hsi perfume resembles the kernel of the walnut in shape and colour (3), and I see here a vivid

(1) Suma Oriental, I, 161, 156. Ma Huan in the early 15th century mentions white and black grades of Chin-yin perfume 金銀香 in Palembang and also Chin-yin perfume from Aru on the north-east coast of Sumatra; Ying yai Shênghan, 17, 27.

(2) Burkill points out that benzoin represents several grades and that the Sumatran product varies more than the mainland one; Dictionary, 2, 2102. Heyne describes in some detail the process of adulteration; in Java, for example, benzoin is even mixed with damar; Nuttige, 2, 1261. In Sung times Chinese merchants travelling overseas would have become familiar with different grades of benzoin.

(3) Hsin tsuan hsiang p'u, 1, 10b: 其色类胡桃非榧

Chu fan chih, 99: 其形色类核桃襄瓜

description of high-grade benzoin with its lumpy appearance and prominent 'tears' of white resin. An-hsi perfume was probably the name of the best Sumatran product to which the name An-hsi obstinately stuck, while Sumatran chin-yen perfume was the 'black' type mentioned by Pires and was naturally inferior to the 'white' kind of chin-yen perfume which Chao Ju-kua says came from Cambodia. In Sung times Chinese merchants in South East Asian ports would have become familiar with new centres of benzoin production and also with different grades of resin.

In this chapter I have examined the possibility that benzoin was substituted for bdellium in the fifth or sixth century and that the 'southern ocean' An-hsi perfume mentioned in the Kuang chou chi should be understood to mean benzoin and not bdellium. It is true that there is no reference to benzoin in the seventh century T'ang pên ts'ao, but this may mean no more than that the compilers were interested instead in bdellium reaching them in northern China by the overland route. I took into account evidence that the Chinese have regarded bdellium and benzoin as equally admirable fumifuges, just as they considered frankincense and pine resin to have comparable styptic and fumigatory value. The background to these substitution transactions was the trade in western Asian frankincense and myrrh. An Indonesian source for both pine resin and benzoin is suggested by the expression 'southern ocean', and the suggestion becomes even more probable when one

remembers that Indonesian camphor was known to the Chinese by the early sixth century and by the seventh century dragon's blood as well. Pine resin, benzoin, and camphor are found as a botanical complex only in the northern half of Sumatra, a region which happens to lie reasonably close to the maritime trade route between the Indian Ocean and China. Geographical circumstances evidently had something to do with the origins of the trade in substitutes.

On these grounds I submit that there is every likelihood that Indonesian benzoin was being exported in small quantities to southern China by the sixth century, probably as a magical incense rather than as a drug. The Buddhists may have played their part in making it known in southern China, for they were travelling by the sea route in these centuries.

Some conclusions about the early Indonesian trade with China are now beginning to take shape. As far as the produce is concerned, the Indonesian component was probably originally less important than the western Asian one. On the other hand, the 'southern ocean' region, which must be identified with Sumatra in particular, seems to have been linked in some special way with the trade in foreign resins. It is tempting now to begin to enquire what was the significance of the term Po-ssu in juxtaposition with the 'southern ocean' of western Indonesia. But one more matter needs to be considered first. What was the conventional meaning of Po-ssu when it is used in the vintage texts to describe natural products ?

CHAPTER NINETHE 'PERSIAN' TRADE

We shall see in this chapter that, as far as the authors of the Kuang chou chi and the Nan chou chi were concerned, Po-ssü natural products normally had no connexion with Indonesia or with any other part of South East Asia. In both these texts Po-ssü is used to describe the products of western Asia. Though the Kuang chih mentions no Po-ssü product with the exception of the 'southern ocean ju', it is safe to assume that its author understood the term to have the same meaning as it had for the authors of the other two vintage texts. The two Po-ssü resins of the southern ocean therefore seem to have an unusual status in the catalogue of Po-ssü products mentioned in these texts, a status which is consistent with the view I have developed that they were at first only a by-product of a very different kind of trade.

Unless the nature of the majority of the Po-ssü products, known in the fifth or early sixth century, is taken into account a solution of the Po-ssü problem in the context of western Indonesian history is impossible. Laufer was reluctant to acknowledge the importance of any of the pre-T'ang references to Po-ssü products, and least of all the references to those which came from outside South East

Asia (1).

Laufer, concentrating on T'ang and therefore much later examples of the use of the term, which included a reference in the Yu yang tsa tsu to Po-ssü camphor, committed himself to an impossible attempt to prove the existence of a South East Asian Po-ssü country or people, whose name had nothing to do with 'Persia'. His study in 1919 gave new life to the troublesome hypothesis, already formulated nearly fifty years before him, that the South East Asian Po-ssü was an early reference to the harbour state of Pasai on the extreme northern coast of Sumatra (2).

Thus everything depends on where one considers was the normal habitat of the Po-ssü plant when the vintage texts were written, and it is not difficult to conclude that in terms of botany and also of mineralogy as well as in terms of diplomatic missions to China Po-ssü never meant anything other than 'Persia'. The botanical evidence, though not abundant or helpful in establishing the size of the Po-ssü trade, is convincing as far as centres of production are concerned.

We have already seen that for Ku Wei, author of the Kuang chou chi, Po-ssü was the name of the country which produced

(1) See pages 291-295 below for a criticism of Laufer's treatment of the Po-ssü problem.

(2) At the beginning of the next chapter I summarise earlier studies of the Po-ssü problem.

the cummin, a typical Persian plant (1). The same text also mentions the stinking elm (Ulmaceae macrocarpa Hce):

海藥謹按廣州記云生大秦國是波斯蕪莢

'Hai yao: I note that the Kuang chou chi states that it (the stinking elm) grows in the Ta-ch'in country. It is the Po-ssu stinking elm (2).'

The tree grows in China and Korea (3) but not in South East Asia. Ku Wei evidently heard that it ~~also~~ grew in the Middle East (Ta-ch'in) and was also known as the Po-ssu stinking elm. He could only have meant that it was a tree associated with the Persians.

The Kuang chou chi mentions another Po-ssu product, in this case a mineral, and Laufer chose to regard it as a South East Asian substitute for a western Asian product and therefore evidence of a South East Asian country known as Po-ssu (4).

The text, quoted by Li Hsün, mentions two kinds of alum (5):

波斯白礬廣州記云出大秦其色白而瑩淨

金線礬廣州志云出波斯國...內有金線

文者為上

(1) Page 224.

(2) CLPT, 13, 322b. Li Shin-chên makes only a passing reference to this tree under the heading of 'elm'; PTKM, 35 下, 1417. Read, Chinese medicinal plants ..., no. 607.

(3) T'ao Hung-ching knew of a Korean species; CLPT, 13, 322.

(4) Sino-Iranica, 474-5.

(5) Alum is the double sulphate of aluminium and potassium.

'The Po-ssu white alum. The Kuang chou chi states that it comes from Ta-ch'in country. Its colour is white and bright (1).'

'Gold thread alum. The Kuang chou chih states that it comes from Po-ssu country ... When its contents are striped with gold thread it is of a superior quality (2).'

Laufer thought that the Po-ssu 'gold thread' alum was an impure alum which came from South East Asia, though there is no hint in the pên ts'ao references to it that it was regarded as an inferior mineral. In fact the text I have just translated gives the opposite impression. Alum is not found in Persia, but Laufer observed that it exists in upper Burma, and here he thought was the source of the 'gold thread' alum. Pliny, however, mentions a number of sources of alum in Europe, Egypt, Armenia, and Africa (3), and it would not be surprising if the Persians imported various types of alum as dye fixers in their weaving factories. Li Shih-chên at any rate interpreted Li Hsün's two passages on alum as references to the same Po-ssu, though he does not mention the Kuangchou chi as Li Hsün's authority. According to Li Shih-chên

(珣曰) 波斯大秦所出白礬色白而瑩... 波斯又出金線...

(1) CLPT, 3, 96b.

(2) Ibid. Laufer was aware of these quotations from the KCC, which he believed was written in the Chin period (265-419), 'when the name of Persia was hardly known in China'. Po-ssu therefore referred to the 'Malayan' Po-ssu; Sino-Iranica, 475.

(3) Natural History, XXXV, LII, 184 (Loeb Classical Library, Rackham's translation).

'(Li Hsun states) that Po-ssü and Ta-ch'in produce a white alum. Its colour is white and bright ... Po-ssü also produces a gold thread (type) ... (1).'

It is true that one can be certain only that the Kuang chou chi mentioned a Po-ssü gold thread alum. The white alum, according to this text, came from Ta-ch'in. The reference to the 'Po-ssü white alum' may have been Li Hsün's, though we have seen that the Kuang chou chi said of the Po-ssü stinking elm that it came from Ta-ch'in, the Middle East. On the other hand, there is no text which associates the gold thread alum with South East Asia, and I consider that the K'un-lun 'mud alum 黑泥者', mentioned by Li Shih-chên, is more likely to be an impure alum from South East Asia (2). There is certainly no reason to suppose that the Kuang chou chi refers to a Po-ssü alum from South East Asia.

One more Kuang chou chi product is available for establishing the sense of Po-ssü. The product is sulphur. According to T'ao Hung-ching, rock sulphur 石硫黃 was produced in the Tung hai prefecture and the best kind came from there and Lin-yi, the Cham kingdom; he also knew of the K'un-lun yellow kind and one which came from foreign countries via Szechuan (3). By the eighth century the Chinese were using

(1) PTKM, 11, 707a.

(2) Ibid: 其狀如黑泥者為崑崙礬

(3) Ibid, 11, 702b.

sulphur from the western Jung barbarians (1), while centuries later Li Shih-chên, recapitulating a number of sulphur-producing countries, included P'an-p'an ^{盤盤} 's volcanoes and a volcano near Kao-ch'ang ^{高昌} as sources of supply (2). Both P'an-p'an and Kao-ch'ang appear in pre-T'ang sources as countries in the western regions.

Because sulphur was known by the eighth century as coming from both South East Asia and western Asia the following quotation by Li Hsün from the Kuang chou chi is not an unexpected one:

廣州記云生崑崙國及波斯國

'The Kuang chou chi states that it is produced in the K'un-lun countries and in the Po-ssü country (3).'

The importance of this fragment is that it distinguishes between the K'un-lun, or South East Asian world, and Po-ssü. Po-ssü could only have been Persia (4). It was the country

(1) CLPT, 3, 98a. This section of the chapter contains drugs mentioned by Ch'ên Ts'ang-ch'i, the pên ts'ao writer in the first half of the eighth century.

(2) PTKM, 11, 703a. Li Shih-chên quotes the Wei shu in respect of P'an-p'an and Chang Hua ^{張華} 's Po wu chih ^{博物志} in respect of Kao-ch'ang.

(3) PTKM, 11, 702b. This passage is not in the CLPT, which only quotes Ch'ên-ch'i on sulphur; Ch'ên lived before Li Hsün. Su Sung in the 11th century states that in his time it only came from the 'southern ocean barbarians'; *ibid.*

(4) At the end of the quotation from Li Hsün there is the statement that the ship-borne product is better than a Szechuan one. I assume that here Li Hsün and not the Kuang chou chi is being quoted. I have changed my mind on the meaning of Po-ssü sulphur since I wrote in BSOAS, XXIII, 2, 1960, 340, note 6, when I thought that it referred to the South East Asian product.

which we have seen was also associated by Ku Wei with the cum^Main, the stinking elm, and alum.

There is, however, one Po-ssü product, mentioned by the Kuang chou chi, which does not seem to conform to this pattern of nomenclature. Li Hsün is quoted in the Pên ts'ao kang mu's section on the betel plant 蒟醬:

廣州記云出波斯國實狀若桑椹紫陽色者為尚黑者是老根不堪然近多黑色少見陽色者黑中亦有形狀滋味一般

'The Kuang chou chi states that it comes from Po-ssü country. In appearance its fruit it like the fruit of the mulberry tree. The red-coloured type is esteemed. The black type comes from old roots and is inferior. But recently there are many of the black type; the red type is rarely seen. Kweichou also has them. Their appearance and taste are the same ~~of both~~ ~~names~~ (1).'

The same passage appears in the Chêng lei pên ts'ao:

海藥云謹按廣州記云波斯國文實狀若桑椹紫陽色者為上黑者老不堪黑中亦有形狀相似滋味一般...近多黑色少見陽色者也

'The Hao yao states: I note that the Kuang chou chi says that the Po-ssü country's striped fruits are in appearance like the mulberry fruit. The red-coloured type is the best. The black-coloured type is old and inferior. Kweichou province also has them. Their appearance and taste are the same ... Recently there are many of the black type; the red type is rarely seen (2).'

(1) PTKM, 14, 816a. I suspect that the quotation from the KCC ends with '... is inferior'.

(2) CLPT, 9, 229a.

The betel vine (Piper betle Linn.) likes a moist climate and flourishes in South East Asia. It is not a Persian plant. Why then, should Ku Wei have described it as a Po-ssü product? I am not certain that he was in fact referring to the betel, for he refers to 'fruits', whereas it is the leaf of the betel which has always been esteemed. Nor do I think that this unidentifiable plant grew in South East Asia; there is a passage in the T'ang pên ts'ao, quoted in later texts, which, though apparently dealing with the betel vine, mentions a plant with the same name in western Asia:

丙戎亦時將來細而辛烈或謂二種

'The western Jung sometimes also bring a small and bitter one. It is said that there are two kinds (1).'

The 'western Jung' are not likely to have traded in betel.

Though the evidence about the Po-ssü 'betel' is obscure, I do not think that it contradicts the conclusion that Ku Wei always understood Po-ssü to mean 'Persia'. In four cases he certainly did, and he therefore conforms to the usage of Hsü Piao, author of the Nan chou chi. Hsü Piao mentions the Po-ssü mo drug, or myrrh, and also another Po-ssü plant which is well known in Persia. It is the pistachio nut. In a section of the Chêng lei pên ts'ao devoted to drugs mentioned in the Hai yao pên ts'ao there appears the following passage:

(1) Ibid; PTKM, 14, 815b.

無名木皮謹按徐表南州記云生廣南山谷...
其膏號無名子波斯家呼為阿月渾狀若榛子

'I note that according to Hsü Piao's Nan chou chi (the Nameless Tree) grows in the mountains and valleys of Kuang nan (southern China) ... Its fruit is called the nameless fruit. The Po-ssü people call it a-yüeh-hun. In appearance it is like the hazel nut (1).'

The a-yüeh-hun nut is the pistachio nut, attributed by Ch'ên Ts'ang-ch'i in the eighth century to the western countries (2). Three species of Pistacia are native to Persia and grow in Sogdiana and Khorasan. Theophrastus knew of the 'Bactrian' pistachio, and there is a text of the first century B.C. which refers to 'these terebinth-eating Persians' (3). It is a well known fruit of Persia, and 'Persia' is what Hsü Piao here meant by Po-ssü.

One further illustration can be given of the same use of Po-ssü by Hsü Piao. He refers to the marking nut 波羅得 tree.

海藥云謹按徐氏云生西海波斯國似中華柳樹也

'The Hai yao says: I note that Hsü states that it grows in the western ocean Po-ssü country. It is like the Chinese willow tree (4).'

(1) CLPT, 12, 311a-b; PTKM, 30, 1294a.

(2) PTKM, 30, 1294a. Read follows Laufer in identifying this product; Chinese medicinal plants ..., no. 314.

(3) Laufer, Sino-Iranica, 246-247. 'Terebinth-eating Persians' were mentioned in the first century B.C. by Nicolaus of Damascus. Tavernier in the 17th century described the Isfahan region as the great centre of pistachio nut production; Freyer's East India and Persia, Hakluyt Society, 1909-1915; volume 2, 230, note 1. Laufer believed that Hsü Piao provided a Sassanid or early Middle Persian word corresponding to *aṅwiz etc. or 'nut of pistachio'.

(4) CLPT, 14, 358b. The PTKM, 35 下, 1411a, omits the reference to the Nan chou chi.

In this passage 'western ocean' evidently refers to Persia (1). The marking nut (Semecarpus anacardium Linn f.) is a small tree which grows in northern India and has somewhat sparingly spread eastwards of India (2). Parts of northern India were under the control of the Sassanids when the Nan chou chi was written, and Hsü Piao could not have meant anything except Persia when he mentioned the marking nut.

Indeed there can no longer be any mystery about what Ku Wei and Hsü Piao understood by Po-ssü. The term had for them the same meaning that it had for the compilers of the 'barbarian' chapters in the imperial histories. In all cases it was 'Persia' and nothing else, as Pelliot insisted (3). There is no reason to doubt that it had the same meaning for Kuo I-kung, author of the Kuang chih, and for Liu Hsin-ch'i, the author of the Chiao chou chi, who mentions the betrothal of the Po-ssü king and the Ceylon princess (4). There is also another text which conforms

(1) The TPYL, 961, 4268a, quotes the T'ang shu as describing Persia as being 'on the western ocean' in connexion with the êrh tree 兒樹. It was now in the country of the Arab king. I have changed my mind about the 'western ocean Po-ssü' since I wrote pages 340-341 in BSOAS, XXIII, II, 1960. It is true that Sumatra could also be described as being on the 'western ocean'; 'Barus' was so described. I have come to realise, however, that the vintage texts always understood Po-ssü as 'Persia'.

(2) Burkill, Dictionary, 2, 1991.

(3) Polo, I, 87.

(4) Page 157.

to the same usage. It is the Nan Yüeh chih of Shên Huai-yuan 沈懷遠, which Pelliot considered was written in the third quarter of the fifth century (1).

This list of genuinely Persian or Persian-handled products suggests why the two Po-ssü resins, growing in the 'southern ocean', were also called Po-ssü. Because there are no grounds for believing that the vintage texts understood the term to mean anything other than 'Persian', one has to continue to render the term in the same way. The two 'southern ocean' resins were originally substitutes for resins from western Asia, and I therefore believe that they represent isolated examples in an Indonesian context of an extended use of Po-ssü to mean 'Persian' in the sense of 'Persian-type' resins; the

(1) Polo, I, 456-7. See note 5 on page 181. CLPT, 4, 110a: (the Hai yao) I note that according to the Nan Yüeh chih it (銀屑 = silver leaf) comes from the Po-ssü country. There is a natural medical silver. The Po-ssü country (people) use it as a ring for testing drugs 謹按南越志云出波斯國有天生藥銀波斯國用為試藥指銀

The CLPT, 14, 346a, quotes the Hai yao as quoting Hsü Chang 徐長's Nan ching chi 南荆記 that Po-ssü had the wu-shih-tzu 無食子 (oakgalls), another typical Persian product, ascribed to Persia in the Hou chou shu. I do not know anything about this book, but Shêng Hung 成生's Ching chou chi 荆州記 is quoted in CLPT, 5, 130b. There may be an error in the text. Alternatively it could be an error for Hsü Piao 徐表's Nan chou chi 南州記. Shêng Hung is described in the Sui Shu, 23, 21b, as writing in the Liu Sung period. In either case here may be another early reference to Po-ssü = Persia; Laufer, discussing oakgalls, only quoted from the PTKM, which does not throw light on the real name of the Nan ching chi mentioned in the CLPT; Sino-Iranica, 367-369.

Chinese may even have imagined at first that these two trees were exactly the same trees which grew in Persia itself. There is nothing extraordinary in this usage, for we have seen in this chapter that the stinking elm, growing in Ta-ch'in, was the Po-ssü stinking elm. Perhaps, too, the Kuang chou chi refers to the Po-ssü white alum which came from Ta-ch'in. The term was evidently used very loosely, for it was given to myrrh, which comes from a number of regions in western Asia. The Chinese probably imagined that most valuable and interesting produce of western Asia was to be found in Persia.

Because pine resin and benzoin from the southern ocean were regarded as 'Persian-type' resins, their substitution for frankincense and guggulu-biellium had obviously succeeded. But South East Asian sulphur was known as K'un-lun and not Po-ssü, in spite of the fact that a western Asian sulphur, associated in the Kuang chou chi with Persia, was also known. Apparently the South East Asian kind of sulphur was not regarded as a Persian-type sulphur and it therefore remained merely a K'un-lun mineral. The South East Asian species was associated with the Annam coast, which has no Po-ssü associations in the vintage or any other Chinese texts. If the sulphur had come from Sumatra, perhaps we would hear of a 'southern ocean' sulphur which was 'Persian'.

We have now gone some way in defining the significance of Po-ssü in the vintage texts. It meant 'Persia', a country

which was regarded as an important producing and trading region and gave its name to the produce of western Asia in general. Ta-ch'in once had this reputation, but now Persia was considered to be the source of the wealth of the western regions. I do not suggest that every 'Persian' product was imported in quantities in pre-T'ang times; some were known only by hearsay and the information about them arrived in Chinese with cargoes of frankincense, myrrh, and luxurious manufactured goods. The produce of the factories of Persia lies outside the scope of this study, and the pên ts'ao writers were not interested in it. It is sufficient to recall that the Hephthalites gave the Liang emperor Po-ssü brocade (1). Some of the rich clothing material made in Persia and mentioned in the Hou Chou shu no doubt came with the resins to southern China.

But whatever may have been the range and scale of the imports from western Asia to southern China in the fifth and early sixth centuries, one conclusion seems certain. The fact that 'Persian-type' resins from the 'southern ocean' were recorded means that the southern Chinese recognised the existence of a specifically 'Persian' trade, to which had been assimilated western Indonesian resins. If frankincense and myrrh had not been in demand in southern China, no one would have wished to

(1) Liang shu, 54, 40b.

offer substitutes.

An objection may be raised that my definition of Po-ssū in the vintage texts as a general name for produce coming from or known to exist in western Asia does not take into account the fact that there are no referances in these texts to either a Po-ssū frankincense or a Po-ssū bdellium. How is it possible to regard the substitutes as 'Persian-type' resins if the prototypes were not associated with Persia ?

I do not think that this is a serious objection. As far as bdellium, or An-hsi perfume, is concerned, it is probable that the trade-name was established before the Po-ssū = 'Persian' trade made an impression on the imagination of the southern Chinese. We have seen that it was known in northern China early in the fourth century (1). Trade-names are not lightly abandoned, and it would have been pedantry if the Chinese had dropped the old name for Persia (An-hsi) in favour of Po-ssū as the name for bdellium. Moreover, if there was any trade in Persian goods, bdellium from the Makrān coast must have been part of it, and its substitute, which I believe was benzoin, would clearly have been a Persian-type resin. I believe that benzoin competed successfully with bdellium in the maritime trade, and this may be another reason why we do not hear of an An-hsi perfume from Po-ssū = Persia in the vintage

(1) Page 229.

texts. Only the cruder Po-ssu = Persian myrrh was mentioned.

Frankincense, though mentioned in the Hou Chou shu of northern China as a Persian product, was regarded by the southerners, Kuo I-kung and T'ao Hung-ching, as coming from Ta-ch'in, the Han name for the Roman Orient. Moreover there was another resin in addition to frankincense which the pre-T'ang Chinese associated with Ta-ch'in. This was storax

蘇合香 .

There is, I think, a straightforward explanation for the existence of Ta-ch'in products within the framework of the 'Persian' trade of the fifth and sixth centuries. Frankincense and storax, like bdellium, were known in China before there was any question of a Po-ssu trade. Storax is mentioned as a product of Ta-ch'in in the Wei Lüeh (1), and we have seen that there are several third century references to frankincense (2). Because of the great prestige which Ta-ch'in enjoyed as a source of wealth it is likely that products originally attributed to Ta-ch'in continued to be known as such. That an ancient label stuck to frankincense is not a reason for inferring that it was not also regarded as part of the Persian trade, capable of

(1) SKCWei, 30, 33b. Kuo I-kung also knew of Ta-ch'in storax; TPYL, 982, 4347a. I have formed the impression that Kuo I-kung was more of an antiquarian than either Ku Wei or Hsü Piao; he quotes, for example, from sources which must be as old as K'ang T'ai in the third century. Here may be an additional reason why he hung on to the Ta-ch'in label for frankincense.

(2) Pages 1956.

producing a 'Persian-type' substitute in the form of the pine resin from the southern ocean. Ta-ch'in frankincense and storax, like An-hsi perfume, survived merely as time-honoured trade-labels which the conservative-minded Chinese were unwilling to abandon. Po-ssu became the trade-label for products which were unknown in Han times such as myrrh (the mo drug) and the substitute resins of the southern ocean.

I am convinced by what was excluded from the list of Po-ssu goods as well as by what it contained that in the fifth and sixth centuries Po-ssu had become the trade name for western Asian produce. The term did not represent foreign maritime trade in general but probably only the cream of the trade, associated by earlier generations with Ta-ch'in. The authors of the vintages certainly use the term in an exclusive manner. The Po-ssu label was not attached indiscriminately to foreign plants.

In 1919 Laufer called attention to the fact that he did not know of any case where Po-ssu was used to describe Indian and Sinhalese goods (1). The clearest example is provided by pepper. Though the Hou Chou shu includes black and long pepper, two of the most famous Indian plants, among the products of Persia, the vintage texts never describe pepper as a Po-ssu product. The Nan chou chi merely says that black pepper grew

(1) Sino-Iranica, 487.

in a number of southern ocean countries (1) and that long pepper was produced in the southern ocean (2).

I doubt whether there was much trade in foreign peppers in pre-T'ang China. The Chinese were probably still satisfied with their own 'pepperish' plants, known as chiu 椒 and belonging chiefly to the family of Zanthoxylon Linn (3). The warming properties of the chiu were recognised in early times, and the Shên nung pên ts'ao ching states that two Chinese chiu had the power of prolonging life (4). Yet the magical qualities of the Chinese peppers were not transferred to foreign peppers, and the trade in the latter was probably boosted later simply by the pleasing pungency of pepper in food. Thus, although the Hou Han shu records black pepper among the products of India (5), T'ao Hung-ching ignores it. Black pepper made its first appearance in pên ts'ao literature in the seventh century T'ang pên ts'ao (6) and long pepper a little later in Ch'ên Ts'ang-ch'i's pên ts'ao, which attributes it to Po-ssü (7). It is not surprising that foreign

(1) CLPT, 14, 349b. This passage is omitted in the PTKM, 32, 1320a.

(2) CLPT, 9, 229a. This passage is also omitted in the PTKM, 14, 814b-815a.

(3) Laufer, Sino-Iranica, 374.

(4) Shên nung pên ts'ao ching, 43, 86. They were the Ch'in chiu 秦椒 and the Shu (Szechuan) chiu 蜀椒.

(5) Hou Han shu, 118, 16b.

(6) PTKM, 32, 1320b. 'It reduces air, warms the inside, and expels phlegm. It removes cold air from the system 不氣過

中去痰除肺腑中國治'.
(7) CLPT, 9, 228b; PTKM, 14, 815a.

peppers were excluded from the Po-ssu trade. They had not become sufficiently important to be connected with Persia.

Putchuk, or Costus (Saussures DC), is another plant which was associated with India at an early date but never regarded as a Po-ssu product. I am not certain, however, whether its exclusion from the category of Po-ssu products was because it was regarded as an Indian plant or because it was still an unimportant trade commodity in pre-T'ang times. It was known as the ch'ing mu perfume 青木香, which was attributed to India in the Nan chou i wu chih (1). Here is probably a reference to the genuine putchuk which grows in Kashmir and would therefore have been found in Sassanid Persia. Nevertheless it continued to be associated with India, for the Kuang chih states that it came from India and Tongking (2). Laufer has suggested that ch'ing mu perfume was a general name for a variety of aromatic roots, and indeed T'ao Hung-ching refers to a sea-borne trade in it and also a specimen from Yunnan (3).

The genuine putchuk grows in Kashmir and would therefore have been in the Sassanid empire. There are two other Sassanid plants which one would also expect to be called Po-ssu in the vintage texts. Nevertheless they were excluded from

(1) TFYL, 982, 4347b.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Sino-Iranica, 464; CLPT, 6, 160a.

the category, and again the reason may have been either that they were associated primarily with India or that they had not yet become sufficiently important to the southern Chinese to be classified as Po-ssü. The first of these is the myrobalan 訶梨勒 (Terminalia Linn.), described by I Tsing as abundant in India (1) and frequently recommended in the early Indian medical treatises. The Pei shih states that it was found in Persia (2), but the Nan chou chi merely notes that it grew in a number of southern ocean countries (3). The omission of a Po-ssü attribution in the Nan chou chi is interesting, for Li Hsün, who quotes this text, associates the myrobalan with Po-ssü (4). If he had special reasons for boosting Persia as a source of natural wealth, he might have inserted Po-ssü into the statement by the Nan chou chi. But he did not do so. The T'ang pen ts'ao is the first materia medica to mention this product (5).

The other plant which grew in Sassanid Persia but was not called Po-ssü is asafoetida (Ferula Linn.), which I Tsing states was abundant in the western limits of India (6). It was known to Kuo I-kung, author of the Kuang chih, as a-wei

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- (1) Takakusu, Record, 128.
 (2) Pei shih, 97, 16b.
 (3) CLPT, 14, 342b.
 (4) Ibid.
 (5) Hsin hsiu pen ts'ao, 173.
 (6) Takakusu, Record, 128-129.

阿魏, a name which Laufer believed was derived from an Iranian word angu or angwa (1). Kuo I-kung says that it came from the K'un-lun country (2). The T'ang pen ts'ao is the first text to attribute it to the 'western barbarians' as well as to the K'un-lun (3).

Black and long pepper are essentially Indian plants, and their exclusion from the Po-ssü category is the best illustration of the way the term was narrowly used. Putchuk, myrobalans, and asafoetida grow in both India and Sassanid Persia. Whether they were excluded from the category because they were thought to be on the fringe of the Persian trade or on the fringe of Persia itself is uncertain. I prefer to believe that they were not regarded as characteristic examples of 'Persian' produce. But the uncertainty about them does not affect the conclusion that Po-ssü, far from being the name for all foreign produce, was reserved for only certain items, apparently coming from regions west of the Indian sub-continent.

The final illustration of the limited scope of the definition is the way in which South East Asian plants were normally excluded from it. The Kuang chih mentions the clove, but not as a Po-ssü plant (4). The same text also mentions cubeb pepper, which grew in 'several ocean countries' (5), and

(1) Sino-Iranica, 361. Laufer ignored the CLPT reference to the Kuang chih; *ibid*, 359, note 1.

(2) CLPT, 9, 224a; PTKM, 34, 1379a. It could hardly have been asafoetida.

(3) PTKM, 34, 1379a.

(4) PTKM, 34, 1364a, quoting Su Sung of the 11th century.

(5) CLPT, 9, 235b. It was a tender black pepper.

the nutmeg 肉豆蔻, which grew in 'Ch'in country and K'un-lun
生國及崑崙 (1). The Nan chou chi mentions lakawood,
 which grew in the southern ocean (2). The Kuang chou chi
 mentions lac gum of the southern ocean (3), a product later
 associated with Cambodia. The Nan Yüeh chih mentions
 'unicorn desiccate 馬其馬鱗立' from the southern ocean (4).
 But the best example of the way an Indonesian tree product,
 though important, was excluded from the scope of the definition
Po-ssü is supplied by the camphor tree, known by about A.D. 500
 but never called Po-ssü until the Yu yang tsu tsu was written
 about 300 years later. The reason must have been because,
 together with the other non-Po-ssü products of South East Asia,
 it was never considered to be a 'Persian-type' product.

I have been concerned in this chapter with establishing
 the meaning of Po-ssü in the vintage texts. We have seen that
 in the Kuang chou chi and the Nan chou chi the term was normally
 used in connexion with articles which either came from Persia
 or from western Asia, probably from the Ta-ch'in region rather
 anywhere else. The Kuang chih only mentions one Po-ssü
 product, the pine resin of the southern ocean, but I see no
 reason for doubting that Kuo I-kung's understanding of the

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- (1) CIPT, 231a.
 (2) IBID, 12, 310a.
 (3) Ibid, 13, 321a.
 (4) Ibid, 13, 321a.

term was the same as Ku Wei's and Hsü Piao's. Indonesian pine resin and An-hsi perfume qualified as Po-ssü products merely because they resembled 'Persian' frankincense and myrrh. The term Po-ssü was not used for Indian articles such as pepper. Nor was it normally used for South East Asian ones, of which camphor is the best example.

The attribution of a variety of natural products to Persia can only mean that Persia was believed to be an important centre in western Asia where these products were to be found and from where frankincense and myrrh were despatched to foreign countries. What is not clear is the extent to which southern China traded in 'Persian' goods other than aromatic resins, though the knowledge of what Persia possessed reaching southern China is itself evidence of communications between the two regions, created by commerce. I suspect that expensive raiment came to China. We have seen how Ho-lo-tan in western Indonesia sent Gandhāra cloth in 430 (1). Asbestos, known in Han times and mentioned in the Liu Sung shu as one of the things coveted by the Chinese rulers (2), would have continued to come by sea. Amber, pearls, and the gems of

(1) Page 150.
 (2) Page 148.

the eastern Mediterranean, all attributed to Ta-ch'in in Han times, were probably exports to China. Unfortunately the Chinese expression 'precious and rare things', used in the Liu Sung shu (1), is a comment on the value and not on the contents of the trade, and we know more of the reputation of Persia as a source of wealth than of its produce which frequently reached China (2). But at least the background and the nomenclature of the trade are reasonably clear. The Liu Sung shu states that ships came to southern China because the overland trade route was blocked (3), while the resin substitutes reveal that frankincense and myrrh, though they came from a number of regions in Africa as well as in western Asia, were called 'Persian'. I do not think that it will be misleading to adopt in the remaining chapters the expression 'Persian trade' as the name for the valuable part of the southern Chinese imports during the second half of the fifth century and in the sixth century.

How, then, did the 'Persian trade' reach southern China? Were the cargoes brought by Persians operating in the Far East, by the Indians who had been trading with Ko-ying in the third century, or by the Indonesians of the southern ocean, whose jungle provided the resin substitutes?

(1) Page 148.
(2) Pages 136-137.
(3) Page 148.

CHAPTER TENTHE SHIPPERS OF 'PERSIAN' CARGOES

For nearly a hundred years there has been a fitful interest in the Po-ssü problem, and very different opinions have emerged to explain an apparent ambiguity in the term when the Chinese used it in a South East Asian context.

There have been those who believed that Po-ssü could never mean anything but 'Persia'. For them references to 'Persia' in South East Asia implied a reflection of Persian shipping activities there and perhaps even trading settlements.

Bretschneider in 1871 fathered this way of thinking when, in a comment on a statement in the Sung shih that the commercial products of Ta-shih 大食, the country of the Arabs, were brought to San-fo-ch'i or Sumatra (1), he added that it was certain that the Arabs, and also the Persians, carried on a great trade with Sumatra during the Middle Ages and probably had colonies there too (2). Bretschneider went on to say that it was therefore easy to understand the passage in the 17th century Tung hsi yang k'ao that Su-mên-ta-la 蘇門答剌,

(1) San-fo-ch'i had not yet been identified as Palembang and Srivijaya.

(2) On the knowledge possessed by the ancient Chinese ..., London 1871, 16 and note 1.

regarded in his day as Atjeh (1), was 'formerly called Ta-shih and was probably situated to the west of Po-ssu' (2). For Bretschneider, who also read the pén ts'ao, there was no doubt that Po-ssu always meant 'Persia', and in 1895 he described ju and An-hsi perfume as 'Persian' products (3). Though not everyone was prepared to believe that there were Persian colonies in northern Sumatra, Groeneveldt, Beal, Chavannes, and Takakusu consistently translated Po-ssu as 'Persian' (4). Hirth reinforced this view in 1911 when he stated that the non-Persian goods attributed to Persia in the Wei shu and Sui shu meant that Persian traders brought them to China (5).

But in 1869, two years before Bretschneider's article was written, Phillips, apparently the first to draw attention to the Po-ssu problem, had expressed a different opinion, which was to give rise to the uneasy feeling that the obvious Po-ssu = 'Persia' formula did not explain everything; Po-ssu might also be a transcription of a South East Asian toponym.

(1) Phillips had identified Su-mén-ta-la with Atjeh; 'Notes on Sumatra and the Po-szu', Notes and Queries on China and Japan, 3, 6, 1869, 90-2.

(2) Tung hsi yang k'ao, Basic Sinological Series, 1937, 4, 43:

其先為大食國蓋波斯西境也

(3) Botanicon Sinicum, Part 3, 1895, 460, 466.

(4) Groeneveldt quoted from the Sung shih. The others quoted from I Tsing's works in the seventh century. Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago, 1876, 18; Beal, 'Some remarks', 1883-6, 251-3; Chavannes, Mémoire, 1894; 116; Takakusu, Record, xxviii and note 8.

(5) Chau Ju-kua ..., 7-8, 18 note 1. On page 196, note 2, Hirth says that hsün-lu was 'brought to China on Persian ships'. Ferrand Laufer, and Hādī Hasan all regarded Hirth as the advocate of pre-T'ang Persian shipping with China; Textes, I, 1-3; Sino-Iranica, 470, note 4, and especially 487; Persian navigation, 78-83.

Phillips, quoting the Tung hsi yang k'ao, suggested that Po-ssü might be 'Pasai' on the extreme northern coast of Sumatra (1). The theory received further support in 1899 when Tsuboi Kumazö noted a Japanese text of the beginning of the 12th century which provides a list of Po-ssü numerals very similar to Malay ones; from this fact Kumazö inferred that Po-ssü meant 'Pasai' (2). In 1909 Gerini, faithful to his passion for identifying South East Asian toponyms from Chinese transcriptions, modified the Pasai theory in favour of equating Po-ssü with 'Lambesi', a village near Atjeh (3). But a more serious topographical complication had been introduced by Parker in 1893, when he discovered a reference to a Po-ssü in the Hsin T'ang shu's account of the Pyu mission to China at the beginning of the ninth century; in this instance Po-ssü was evidently in Burma (4).

It will be observed that since 1869, when Phillips inaugurated Po-ssü studies, scholars had managed to bring into play Chinese texts from an enormous span of centuries, ranging from the imperial histories referring to the sixth century to as late as the Tung hsi yang k'ao of the 17th century. It

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- (1) 'Notes on Sumatra and the Po-szu', 90-2.
 (2) Actes du douzième Congrès International des Orientalistes, II, 1899, 121, note 1. The Japanese text was the Kodansho, whose author died in 1111; JA, 1935, I, 92.
 (3) Researches on Ptolemy's Geography, 1909, 682.
 (4) Burma with special reference to her relations with China, Rangoon, 1893, 14. Laufer in 1919 made use of Parker's study; Sino-Iranica, 469.

was not until Laufer entered the field in 1919 that the discussion began to be focused^s on a narrower range of texts, chiefly T'ang and Sung. Laufer was also the first to break with the tradition that it was sufficient to provide commonsense but unargued explanations of the Po-ssü problem.

Laufer criticised the obsession of Bretschneider and Hirth with the Po-ssü = 'Persia' equation and emphasised the fact that a number of so-called Po-ssü products were in fact South East Asian in origin. He boosted the number of these products by quoting from the Yu yang tsa tsu, a T'ang text, and noted, but only casually, a few references in the vintage texts as an argument that Po-ssü was also known at an early date when it could not have meant 'Persia'. He then sought to establish two quite different meanings for the term. In addition to being 'Persia' it also meant a South East Asian country, whose people were producers in their own right. He did not attempt to reconstruct the original name or to locate it precisely; he merely suggested without great conviction that these Po-ssü may have migrated from Burma to Sumatra, for this would account for the appearance of the term in texts dealing with Burma as well as with such Sumatran products as camphor and benzoin. The text which he thought gave the chief clue to the original home of the Po-ssü was the Man shu of the ninth century, which states that Po-ssü was on the borders of P'iao; P'iao 馬西 was seventh-five days journey south of the city of Yung ch'ang

in south-western China (1).

Laufer's study has been the main event in the history of the Po-ssu discussion. Thereafter a number of scholars, though by no means all, agreed that Po-ssu could have a

(1) The title of his chapter on 'The Malayan Po-se' is misleading in view of his suggestion that a migration from Burma to northern Sumatra took place. He had to take into account the statement of Chao Ju-kua about a Po-ssu country which 'leaves no doubt that the tribe in question is one of Malayan or Negrito stock'; Sino-Iranica, 472. Yet his insistence on the Man shu as the key text for locating the Po-ssu (Sino-Iranica, 474) implies that the numerous references in T'ang texts to Po-ssu products are connected with Burma and not with the 'Malayan Po-se'. I doubt whether Laufer ever intended to achieve more than a challenge to the prevailing view that Po-ssu always meant 'Persian'. Sino-Iranica was written, as its title shows, on an entirely different subject.

double meaning (1), and Ferrand immediately revived the Pasai

(1) I shall content myself with summarising the views subsequently expressed. They are no more than comments on Laufer's work. Kuwabara in 1929 agreed with Laufer that there was a South East Asian Po-ssu but found it difficult to assign certain Chinese texts to them; 'On P'u Shou-keng', Mem. Toyo Bunko, 2, 1928, 54. Feng Ch'eng-chün in 1934 guardedly saw merit in the identification with Bassein and perhaps with Pasai; Hsi yü nan hai shih ti k'ao chêng i ts'ung, Commercial Press, 1934, 91-109. Sauvaget in 1947 was sufficiently impressed by Laufer to conclude that it was not yet possible to use the T'ang texts as evidence of Persian maritime activities in the Far East before the eighth century; Relation, xxxvi. Dr. Wang Gungwu has argued that Hirth's pre-T'ang texts could not be used to prove more than that the Persians were beginning to be the middlemen of central Asia in the China trade in respect of the products of the countries of the Arabian sea; 'Nanhai trade', Appendix B. But there have also been critics of Laufer. Chang Hsing-lan thought that he was being 'too scientific' and 'too accurate', and he doubted whether the Kuang chih was a reliable text on which to base any views of the Po-ssu; Chung hsi chiao t'ung shih liao huai pien, Peiping, 1930, 4, 188. Hādī Hasan, the historian of Persian shipping, could hardly ignore Laufer, against whom he defended Hirth on the ground that Hirth was at least aware of Chao Ju-kua's reference to a 'negrito' Po-ssu country; History of Persian navigation, 1928, 81-3. Hourani suspected that Persians sailed to China in the Sassanid period and was certain that in T'ang times Po-ssu meant 'Persian'; Arab seafaring, 46-7, 62-3. Moens, in a posthumously published article, revived the 'Persian colonies' theory and argued that Persian colonists played an important part in the development of Atjeh and Pasai in the middle ages; 'De Noord-Sumatraanse rijken', Tijdschrift, 85, 4, 1955-7, 353-5. Professor Yamada denied that Chinese scholars would have called two countries Po-ssu and regarded T'ang references as references to Persian Middlemen; for him 'Nan hai Po-ssu' (Southern ocean Po-ssu) meant the 'New Persians coming across the Malayan Sea' in T'ang and later times; 'A study on the introduction of An-hsi-hsiang', 1, 23. The latest treatment of the subject is by Professor Wheatley. He considers that Po-ssu originally meant 'Persia' but became increasingly associated with products which found their way to China along the southern Sea route, so that by T'ang and Sung times the old association of the name with the Middle Eastern country had been forgotten and it came to stand as a collective name for the countries of the South Seas and the Indian Ocean, though not for the Indian subcontinent; 'Geographical notes', 14-15. In view of this sharp difference of opinion about Laufer's views it is not surprising that Po-ssu does not appear in the standard histories of South East Asia such as Coedès' Les états and Hall's A history of South-East Asia.

theory (1). Pelliot, however, was always cautious and committed himself no further than saying that there was a Malay Po-ssü, possibly meaning 'Pasai', in Sung times but certainly not before then (2).

If Laufer had not written his chapter on the 'Malayan Po-se' the Po-ssü problem might never have matured. In the event, however, the problem was imposed on Laufer's successors, and I wish to call attention to the two assumptions which those who were influenced by him have unconsciously accepted.

The first of these assumptions was that, when the vintage texts were written, the Chinese had not yet adopted Po-ssü as the name for 'Persia' (3). Laufer regarded both the Kuang chou chi and the Kuang chih as Chin texts (265 - 420) and thought that the first example of Po-ssü meaning 'Persia' was 461 (4). Pelliot could not understand why he made this

(1) In his review of Sino-Iranica, JA, 1921, 279-93. He also thought that it sometimes meant Bassein in Burma. A few years later, however, he wrote an article which suggests that he had abandoned his earlier support for Laufer and returned his allegiance to Hirth; JA, 1924, I, 241-2.

(2) Pelliot's views are to be found in TP, 1923, 196-7; Études asiatiques, 2, 247, note 1; Notes on Marco Polo, 1, 87. I await with interest his notes on Persia in the second volume of Notes on Marco Polo.

(3) Sino-Iranica, 471 (in connexion with the Kuang chih on the oak, a doubtful passage to which I refer later in this chapter); 475 (in connexion with the Kuang chou chi on alum); 485 (in connexion with the Ku chin chu 古今註 on ebony; this is another of Laufer's Chin texts to which I refer below).

(4) Sino-Iranica, 471. He took this date from Deveria, Centenaire de l'École des Langues Orientales, 306.

assumption (1). But because of it Laufer showed little interest in the possibility that the vintage texts sometimes described plants from western Asia as Po-ssü. He ignored the passages in the Kuang chou chi about the stinking elm and sulphur and misconstrued the reference in the Nan chou chi to myrrh, which he thought was called Po-ssü because the trade in myrrh made its way to China through the Malay Archipelago (2). Surprisingly, however, he observed in a footnote that the Nan chou chi gave what seemed to be a Persian name for the pistachio nut (3), but he avoided the implications of this passage by remarking that the name must have travelled overland to China, and thus safeguarded his view that at that time Po-ssü could not mean 'Persia'; the Po-ssü even here were South East Asian and not Persian.

But Laufer's second assumption was more misleading. For him the Po-ssü problem was most susceptible to solution in terms of the evidence in T'ang and Sung texts. This has led

(1) Polo, I, 87.

(2) Sino-Iranica, 462, 480.

(3) Ibid, 248 and note 1. He qualifies his statement by saying 'if it is correct that the transcription of a-yüe-hun was already contained in the Nan chou ki (which is impossible to prove, as we do not possess the text of this work)'. Another example of his demotion of the vintage texts is provided by his treatment of the marking nut (Sino-Iranica, 482). He says that our earliest source of information is Li Hsün; only as a footnote does he observe that in the CLPT Li Hsün is quoting the Nan chou chi. My understanding of this passage is on page 170.

in subsequent studies to a neglect or suspicion of the vintage texts and a failure to examine the circumstances which originally created a Po-ssü association with South East Asia. It is as though the origins of the title of 'Roman Emperor' were studied in the period of Charlemagne and not of Augustus. The reason for Laufer's false bias in his handling of the Po-ssü problem was simply that he chose to regard Li Hsün, for him an eighth century writer, as the chief authority on Po-ssü products and a writer who 'almost invariably' referred to the South East Asian Po-ssü (1). Laufer failed to emphasize that the great majority of the Po-ssü products mentioned by Li Hsün had already been given that name by the vintage authors centuries earlier. In T'ang times, therefore, Laufer believed that there was a Po-ssü country in South East Asia, and he was able to assemble a number of miscellaneous but late Chinese references to it (2). It was natural that those who followed him should have wondered whether Bassein or Pasai was the original form of the transcription.

Some examples may be given of the difficulty which Laufer's T'ang bias caused him. We have seen that Li Hsün quotes the Kuang chou chi to the effect that the cummin grew in the Po-ssü

(1) Ibid, 384; 479-480; 483. An example of Laufer's attitude is: 'Po-se appears on the horizon of the Chinese as early as from the seventh to the ninth century under the T'ang and probably even at an earlier date'; *ibid*, 474.

(2) I mention the important later references on pages 297-300 below.

country (1). Laufer was aware of this passage and even reconstructed shih-lo 石羅 as a word derived from the Persian zira. In spite of this he concluded that the cummin in question did not come from western Asia but was a South East Asian plant, and the reason for his belief was that Li Hsün, the expert on South East Asian drugs, mentioned it (2). Myrrh, too, though grown in western Asia, was called Po-ssü in the Nan chou chi because the myrrh trade made its way to China through the Malay Archipelago (3). He also concluded that the Kuang chou chi's reference to a Po-ssü gold thread alum must have been to a 'Malaysian' product (4).

My chief criticism of Laufer is his promotion of Li Hsün at the expense of the authors of the vintage texts as the authority for the Po-ssü problem. The result has been to take the problem out of its rightful historical context. The T'ang and Sung references to the Po-ssü in South East Asia, which he cited at the beginning of his chapter on 'The Malayan Po-se and its products', are an additional problem, to be tackled only when the original usage of the term in the fifth and sixth

- (1) Page 224 above.
 (2) Sino-Iranica, 384.
 (3) Ibid, 462; 480.
 (4) Ibid, 475. Laufer here introduced the notion that the 'Malayan Po-se' was also 'the transit mart for the pure white alum brought from western Asia by way of India to China'. He thought that the mart gave its name to western Asian produce. My view is just the opposite.

centuries has been established. Li Hsün, or whoever was the author of the Hsi yao pen ts'ao, merely revived earlier references to Po-ssü products, and, because he was writing about foreign drugs, it is natural that he should have consulted the earlier texts. I reject Laufer's view that the expression Po-ssü = 'Persia' became known to the Chinese only as a result of information reaching them by means of the overland route (1). The term also reached them independently by sea. For me, as for Pelliot, Po-ssü already meant 'Persia' when the vintage texts were written.

In the previous chapter I defined the sense of the term Po-ssü as far as the vintage writers were concerned. It meant 'Persian' and was used to describe a valuable trade reaching China by sea. The trade in prototypes and substitutes was regarded as one trade, and it was natural that the name for the more important part of it, represented by goods from western Asia, should have been given to the two western Indonesian resins which the Po-ssü trade brought into commerce. I shall now, by way of hypothesis, take the definition one stage further by suggesting that the expression Po-ssü = 'Persian' was not only extended to the two Indonesian resin substitutes but that later it also became a nickname for those whom the southern

(1) Sino-Iranica, 384.

Chinese knew as prominent middlemen in the 'Persian' trade, actually bringing the cargoes to the shores of China. The trade was regarded as a single activity, though a variety of middlemen operated it, and it would have been natural for the name 'Persian' to be attached to all who were connected with it. Further, I suggest that in the Far East the middlemen came from the same region in the 'southern ocean' as the 'Persian' substitutes. This region was western Indonesia. Thus Po-ssu, originally the name of a trade, was transferred to the western Indonesians who handled the trade on the final stage of its journey to China.

In later times there was clearly a shift in the meaning of Po-ssu from the precise sense it had in the vintage texts, and Laufer's T'ang and Sung texts reflect this shift. Camphor, for example, was regarded in about A.D. 800 as a Po-ssu product (1). The shift may have occurred much earlier, for Chang Yü-hsi and the other compilers of the Chia yu pu chu pen ts'ao 嘉祐補註本草 (c.1056) state:

臣禹錫等謹按藥性論云宿沙蜜君出波斯國

'We note that according to the Yao hsing lun it is said that the cardamon (Amomum spp.) comes from the Po-ssu country (2).'

(1) Yu yang tsa tsu, 18, 100. It was also said to come from P'o-li 濠利, which I take to be an error for P'o-lu 濠律 = 'Barus', the centre of camphor production.

(2) CLPT, 9, 232a.

The cardamon does not grow in Persia, but there are a number of species in Indonesia (1). Li Shih-chen[^] considered that Chen Ch'uan[^] 甄權 was the author of the Yao hsing lun and lived in Sui and early T'ang times (2).

But the clearest evidence of a shift in meaning of Po-ssü^ü is in much later texts, and the only credible explanation of these late references is the background of an earlier 'Persian' trade, the circumstances of which had left on the minds of the Chinese the impression that the Indonesians had a special connexion with the Po-ssü = 'Persians'.

The Pei hu lu 北戶錄, written about 875 and dealing with the products of Kuangtung, Annam, and the countries south of China (3), mentions a 'crescent-shaped walnut 偏核桃' which grew in Chan-pei country 占卑; it was shaped like a half-moon and was gathered and eaten by the Po-ssü (4).

According to the Ling piao lu 嶺表錄異, written in 889 - 904, Pi-chan 畢占 (= Chan-pi) country produced it and the hu people gathered it and sent it to Chinese officials as 'curiosities 珍異' (5). These curiosities must have been sent with the embassies from Chan-pei 占卑 in 852 and

(1) Heyne, Nuttige, 1, 484-487.

(2) PTKM, 1 上, 333b.

(3) Pelliot, BEFEO, 9, 1909, 223.

(4) Pei hu lu, 3, 40: 占卑國出偏核桃形如半月狀波斯人取食之

(5) Ling piao lu 1, 中 12: 胡人多取其核遺漢官

871 (1). But the name Chan-pei appears in the Sung hui yao kao, which states that in 1082 'Srivijaya/Chan-pei 三佛齊詹畢國' sent tribute in the form of camphor and pieces of cotton (2). I think that there can be no doubt that Chan-pei, mentioned by the Pei hu lu, was Jambi on the south-eastern coast of Sumatra, whose inhabitants were nicknamed Po-ssu (3).

The same nickname seems to be revealed in a passage in the Sung shih. In 992 envoys from Shê-p'o = the island of Java arrived at Ting hai district on the Chekiang coast. They approached the Trade Superintendent Chang Su 張肅, who sent a report about them to the emperor. This was the first Shê-p'o mission since the 860 - 873 period (4), and Chang Su evidently felt it necessary to comment on the envoys in order to identify them. He said:

其使飾服之狀與嘗來入貢波斯相類

'The envoys were dressed just like those of the Po-ssu who had formerly brought tribute (5).'

(1) THY, 100, 1795, and TPHYC, 177, 15b, for 852; THY, 100, 1795, for 871. In 852 the Chinese ordered the envoys to return home because they were not happy in China: 宰相季勉魯以性不安中土言請

遣其使從之
(2) SHYK, 7, 7857b. The Ling wai tai ta, 2, 22, refers to Chan-pei 詹畢 missions in 1079 and 1088.

(3) These Jambi missions in the ninth century are important in reconstructing the history of Srivijaya. 851-870 includes the time when the Sailendra Balaputra, driven out of central Java, was ruling in Srivijaya; see de Casparis, Prasasti, 2, 293-297. It is curious that there are no records of missions from Shih-li-fo-shih = Srivijaya at any time in the ninth century. The next reference to a Srivijayan mission in 904/905 under the name of Fo-ch'i 佛齊; THY, 100, 1799. It is possible that the capital of the empire had now been transferred from Palembang to Jambi.

(4) For the 860-873 mission see HTS, 222 下, 4a.

(5) Sung shih, 489, 17a.

I cannot believe that he meant genuine Persians. A mission had come from the Po-ssu Nestorians in 984 (1), but Chang Su would hardly have been referring to them, and it is significant that Po-ssu ships are omitted from the list of foreign shipping which came to Canton in 971, when the establishment of Sung authority permitted a resumption of overseas trade (2). Much more likely is it that he was comparing Javanese clothing with the clothing of some other South East Asian envoys, and no envoys are more likely to have been called Po-ssu than those who came from the coast where Jambi lay. On this coast lay Srivijaya which sent missions in 960, 962, 971, 972, 974, 975, 980, and 983 (3).

One more reference, this time in a Japanese work, makes it certain beyond doubt that the inhabitants of the southeastern coast of Sumatra were known as Possu. Oe Tadafusa, who died in 1111, compiled a list of Po-ssu numerals which include some obviously Malay ones (4). Malay is the language of the first Srivijayan inscriptions of the second half of the

(1) SHYK, 卷 7, 7845.

(2) Sung shih, 186, 19b.

(3) Coedès, Etats, 223-224.

(4) Tsuboi Kumazo, Actes du douzième Congrès International, 2, 1899, 121, note 1. The list includes sasaa, toa, rima, namu, sa-i-bira, and these words may be compared with the Malay satu (1) dua (2), lima (5), enam (6), and sembilan (9). Laufer claimed to have identified Malay words, attributed to the Po-ssu, in the Yu yang tsa tsu's accounts of ivory and rhinoceros horn; Sino-Iranica, 473; YYTT, 16, 91.

seventh century (1).

In T'ang times ships and merchants from the Persian Gulf were also travelling to China and were known as Po-ssü (2), and there is plenty of scope for confusion about the meaning of the term (3). Nevertheless the three passages which I have just considered seem to contain recognisable references to the population of south-eastern Sumatra in the days when Śrīvijaya was the overlord on that coast. There is no evidence that there was ever a kingdom called Po-ssü in that region (4), and the explanation of the usage has to be found in the persistence of Po-ssü as a nickname for the people whose ancestors played a prominent part in the handling of the 'Persian' trade in the fifth and sixth centuries. Thus, when Laufer proposed his theory of the 'Malayan Po-se country', he was in fact failing to distinguish between two separate sources of information on the subject. There was the

(1) The YYTT, 18, 101, compares the K'un-lun and the Po-ssü lac. Laufer translated the passage; Sino-Iranica, 476-7. The K'un-lun envoys seem to have come from Chên-la = Cambodia; the country of the Po-ssü envoys is not specified, but I believe that they came from Śrīvijaya;

(2) A Tunhuang text describes how the Po-ssü sailed to the K'un-lun countries and Canton; it was written by Hui Ch'ao 慧超 about 727 and is translated by Hirth in JAOS, 33, 1913, 205.

(3) As Kuwabara said: 'On Pu Shou-keng', Mem. Toyo. Bunko, 2, 1928, 54. Li-Shih-chên's attempt to define Po-ssü as a country of the south-western barbarians is an example of the way the Chinese themselves were later confused by the double significance of Po-ssü; see page 183.

(4) In the remaining chapters I deal with the important Indonesian kingdoms from 430 to the beginning of the eighth century.

information of 'Li Hsūn', who was merely repeating the vintage texts dealing with Po-ssu in the sense of a 'Persian' trade. There was also the later information in the T'ang and Sung texts when the term meant both 'Persia' in the sense of Persian Gulf traders and a nickname which had settled on western Indonesia as a result of an indirect trade with the Persian Gulf as old as the vintage texts themselves. Laufer's attachment to 'Li Hsūn' prevented him from distinguishing his sources for the Po-ssu problem.

If my understanding of the genesis of the Po-ssu nickname is correct, the inhabitants of south-eastern Sumatra would hardly have come to be known as 'Persians' if their contribution to the 'Persian' trade had been limited to the supply of two substitute resins. Their trading rôle must have been more important than this.

It is unfortunate that there are no satisfactory references to Po-ssu ships which can be interpreted as references to Indonesian ones. Laufer notes two, but neither is helpful. In the Ku chin chu 古今註, written by Ts'ui Pao 崔豹 in the 290 - 306 period, it is stated:

烏文木出波斯國每船上將來就中烏文大爛然

'Ebony comes from the Po-ssu country. It is brought whenever a ship comes. Its black streaks (in the wood) stand out clearly (1).'

(1) Ku chin chu, supplement 附錄, 30.

But this is far too early a reference to the Po-ssu in any geographical context, and Pelliot was certainly right in regarding it as of doubtful date and authority (1). It must be excluded from the discussion of the pre-T'ang Po-ssu problem.

Laufer also noted that the Kuang chih, quoted by Li Hsün, states that the oak tree 柯 樹 grew in southern China and that Po-ssu people used oak for making ships (2). In the Cheng lei pen ts'ao, however, the passage is different. In a list of drugs mentioned by Ch'ên Ts'ang-ch'i is included oak bark, and at the end of the passage it is stated that 'the southerners use it for making their large ships (3).' Then there follows a quotation from Li Hsün:

海藥云 謹按廣志云生崖南山各臣臨海志云
是木奴樹...出故波斯家用為船材也

'The Hai yao states: I note that the Kuang chih states that it grows in the mountain valleys of Kuang nan (southern China). The Lin hai chih states that it is the mu-nu tree It came from the old Po-ssu families who used it for making ships (4).'

I take it that the Lin hai chih is an abbreviation of the Lin hai t'u shui i wu chih 臨海水土異物志, listed in the

(1) Polo, I, 102. Pelliot thought that African ebony could have come to China on Persian ships from the sixth to the tenth century. For Laufer this was an example of the use of Po-ssu as a South East Asian toponym; Sino-Iranica, 485-486.

(2) Sino-Iranica, 471. The PTKM, 35 下, 1422a, seems to attribute the statement about the Po-ssu to the Kuang chih.

(3) CLPT, 14, 361a: 南人用作大船者也

(4) Ibid.

bibliographical chapter of the Sui shu (1) and quoted in the I wên lei chū encyclopaedia, compiled between 557 and 641 (2). There is every chance, therefore, that the Po-ssu ships in question were known in the sixth century. Oak trees (Quercus spp.) grow in both Persia and Indonesia, and strictly speaking Po-ssu should here refer to the Persians, but in this instance it may be more reasonable to believe that a reference was being made to ships constructed in nearby Indonesia rather than in the distant Persian Gulf.

But this is not a convincing passage, and I believe that, when the Chinese mentioned K'un-lun ships, they were including Indonesian ones. They called them po 𠵼 (3). That they were substantial is implied in the fact that Fa Hsien's ship from Yeh-p'o-t'i to China carried over 200 persons on board (4).

Pelliot collected several references to foreign ships described by the Chinese (5). The Nan chou i wu chih speaks of them as being more than 160 feet long, capable of carrying

(1) Sui shu, 33, 22b, which adds 脫𠵼字. It was written by Shên Jung 沈榮.

(2) I wên lei chū, 82, 11a, where it is known as the Lin hai i wu chih.

(3) Thus the K'un-lun ships known to Chang Ching-chên and Wei Shou were po; pages 151 and 153.

(4) Giles' translation, page 78. This ship was also a po; Kao sêng Fa Hsien chuan, Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 51, no. 2085, 866a. Gunavarman similarly sailed on a po; Kao sêng chuan, no. 3, Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 50, no. 2059, 340c.

(5) 'Textes Chinois', 252-260.

600 to 700 men and the equivalent of more than a ton of merchandise (1). The same text also refers to their four sails, which enabled them to tack with the winds and sail swiftly (2). One cannot be sure that these third century descriptions included Indonesian ships, though it has been pointed out that Wan Chên's statement that 'seen from afar they resemble covered galleries 望之如閣道 (3)' is similar to Marryat's description of the Sea Dyak war boats of Borneo, which had 'a flat strong roof, from which they fight' (4). One would, however, be happier if the descriptions contained some reference to the outrigger which distinguishes Indonesian craft (5).

But Pelliot also called attention to the K'un-lun po 崑崙山月白, mentioned in Hui-lin 慧琳's I ch'ieh ching yin i 一切經音義, compiled in 817 (6). Ku-lun is said in the

(1) 'Textes Chinois', 255-6, quoting TPYL, 769, 3412a.

(2) Ibid, 255-257, quoting TPYL, 771, 3419a.

(3) TPYL, 769, 3412a.

(4) Christie, 'An obscure passage from the Periplus', 349.

Christie quoted from F.M. Marryat's Borneo and the Indian Archipelago, London, 1848.

(5) Paris believed that he had discovered a reference to the Indonesian outrigger in Strabo; 'Notes sur deux passages de Strabon et de Pline dont l'intérêt n'est pas seulement nautiques', JA, 239, 1951, 22-25, Strabo, Geogr. XV, 115.

(6) 'Textes Chinois', 257-260.

same text to be the current form of K'un-lun 崑崙, the word which I Tsing in the seventh century used to describe the language used in Srivijaya. The passage to which I wish to draw attention is as follows:

亦曰崑崙船運重此船多骨論為水匠...張
帆使風亦非人力能重也

'These ships are also called K'un-lun po. The crews who man them are for the most part Ku-lun Sails are hoisted for using the wind. Mere human strength cannot move these ships (1).'

Pelliot concluded that in T'ang times these ships, no matter whether they were owned by Indians, Persians, or Chinese, were manned by Indonesians (2), and I consider that Hui-lin's passage throws light on the identity of the shippers who were most active on the run from Indonesia across the South China Sea to China in the fifth and sixth centuries. They were the Indonesians themselves, and their seamanship is reflected in K'ang T'ai's fragments about the off-shore islanders of Chu-po in the eastern Archipelago who sailed with their cargoes 800 miles and more to Funan in the third century (3).

Nevertheless, in spite of Hui-lin's evidence, the Chinese references to Indonesian ships and crews are unsatisfactory, and I intend to defend on other grounds my hypothesis that the

(1) 'Textes Chinois', 257-260.

(2) Ibid, 257.

(3) Pages 89-90.

Indonesians were ^{called} Po-ssu because they were prominent middlemen during the early 'Persian' trade with China in the fifth and sixth centuries. First, however, I wish to indicate within what limits I believe that the Indonesian trading contribution should be sought.

If the Indonesians had an active share in the trade, it would have been on account of their ships, for their resin substitutes were too few to win them the name of 'Persians'. Their contribution in the early days of the trade would have been in the form of transport facilities for other peoples' produce, and for this reason I shall refer to them as 'shippers'. They may often have carried foreign traders on board, and this possibility should not be excluded (1). Even the occasional Persian or Persian subject may have travelled on them. It is also possible that foreigners sometimes chartered Indonesian

(1) References have been made in the past to an Arab colony in Canton in the fourth century; for example, Van Leur, Indonesian trade and society, III. He quotes Hornell, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, VII, no. 3, 1920, 199. No authority is ~~quoted~~ for this statement. It may be derived from the Nan fang ts'ao mu chuang, written about 304, which states that there were hu from Ta-ch'in in Canton. But this text is believed to contain interpolations; Arousseau, BEFEO, 14, 1914, 10. Dr. Wang Gungwu notes that this evidence is not confirmed in other information of this period; 'Nanhai trade', 44, note 53. The Ku chin chu, quoted by the TPYL, 961, 4268a, refers to people coming from the Po-ssu country to Hu chou in order to get the bark of the chih tree. 制木. I cannot trace this passage in this text or in its supplements; Ku chin chu, Chung hua ku chin chu. Su shih yen i, Commercial Press, 1956. According to the Tz'u hai Hu chou was a Sui dynasty (589-618) toponym in Chekiang province.

ships and crews (1). But in spite of these reservations the Indonesian ships would have been indispensable in the conduct of the early Persian trade, just as the camels were in Turkestan.

I shall now consider how far my hypothesis of the Indonesian shipping rôle in the fifth and sixth centuries makes sense in the light of what is known about shipping in the Far East in the fifth and sixth centuries. It is especially important to consider what is known about the extent of genuinely Persian shipping activities in this period, and the evidence makes it impossible to believe that Persian ships were yet sailing to China. 'Persian' produce must have been carried on the ships of others. Otherwise, why should Cosmas, drawing on his experiences between 522 and a few years later, have emphasized the 'central position' of Ceylon in the trade between the western Indian Ocean and the Far East, a position which made it an important centre for the exchange of goods (2) ? The explanation can only be that it was common commercial knowledge that in Ceylon goods were available from many parts of southern Asia. Ceylon was the entrepôt where these goods were trans-

(1) Pelliot called attention to a passage in the fifth century I yuan 伊 元, in which there is mention of ship-hiring by the Funanese; 'Textes Chinois', 254-55. It is clear from Fa Hsien's account that sometimes considerable numbers of merchants were travelling on a single ship. There would have been profits in making shipping space available.

(2) Cosmas, Christian topography, 365-366.

shipped. But if Persian ships sailed beyond Ceylon, it would surely have ceased to be so famous an entrepôt[^].

Procopius provides an even clearer indication of the limits of Persian shipping activity in the Sassanid period. According to this writer, who though he did not travel as far as Ceylon was writing on a subject of grave moment to Justinian, 'Persian merchants' did not go further east than the ports used by 'Indian' ships. Nor does he suggest that the Aksumite allies of Justinian were expected to sail to China to fetch silk. Procopius even explains why the Persians had a monopoly of the 'Indian' trade; they enjoyed the geographical advantage of living in a country close to the harbours which received the silk cargoes (1). But if Persian merchants were content to buy from 'Indians', it is impossible to believe that Persian ships were more adventurous and were sailing to the Far East.

Hirth did not quote the evidence of Cosmas and Procopius when he argued in 1911 that the Persians were middlemen in the South East Asian trade with China in the sixth century (2). Hādī Hasan referred to the Byzantine evidence but ignored its implications (3). Instead he noted a number of Arabic words, believed by Ferrand to be of Persian derivation and connected with

(1) Procopius, History of the Wars, I, xx, 12 (Loeb Classical Library, Dewing's translation).

(2) Chau Ju-kua ..., 7-8.

(3) Persian navigation, 68-69.

shipping and Far Eastern place names (1), as evidence that Sassanian navigation extended to China (2). I cannot see the force of this philological argument which, as Sauvaget has pointed out, means no more than that Persians were sailing in the southern seas in the ninth century when Ferrand's texts were written (3). It is surprising that Hādī Hasan should have confessed that 'why it was left to the Sassanians to push ahead to China has not yet been investigated (4).' There is in fact no evidence that they did, and Hādī Hasan posed an unreal problem.

The evidence of the Byzantine writers about the limit of Persian shipping in the early sixth century becomes especially significant when one recalls that the 'Persian' trade, reflected in the vintage texts, was already established by 521, the last possible date for the Kuang chih. This implies that others than Persian shippers must then have been bringing ^{it} ~~the Persian~~ ~~goods~~ to southern China. The southern Chinese heard of the 'Persian' trade well in advance of any Persian ships reaching China and probably at a time when the Persians themselves were still making an effort to obtain the chief share of the maritime trade in the western Indian Ocean.

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- (1) Textes, I, 1-3.
 (2) Persian navigation, 77.
 (3) Relation, xxxv.
 (4) Persian navigation, 85.

The improbability that Persian ships were reaching China in the first half of the sixth century is strengthened by evidence which Dr. Wang Gungwu has rightly stressed in his criticism of Hirth (1). During the fifth and sixth centuries Sassanid envoys visited southern China on only three occasions, all during the 530-535 period and coinciding in time with Justinian's attempt to persuade the Aksumites to compete with the Persian merchants in Ceylon (2). During these years the northern Wei had lost control of eastern Turkestan, and it was temporarily possible for missions to travel overland to southern China (3). It is likely that the Sassanid envoys took this route, for them the conventional one to China. If they went by sea, why is it that Persian missions did not visit the southern dynasties more frequently ?

There is, in fact, no evidence of any kind for the presence of Persian shipping in the Far East when the 'Persian = Po-ssü' trade was first known to the southern Chinese, and one

(1) 'Nanhai trade', 124-127.

(2) These missions are mentioned in Liang shu, 3, 16a; 17a; 54, 44b; 'Nanhai trade', 125-126.

(3) Dr. Wang Gungwu thinks that the Persians originally meant to visit the Wei court but went south on account of the struggle for power among Wei princes and generals. Other missions from central Asia were visiting the Liang in this period, and it is in conceivable that they went by sea. The Liang shu mentions, for example, Turfan 高昌 in the ~~521-522~~ period (54, 40b), Kucha 龜茲 in 521 (54, 42b), and Tash-kurghan 渴盤陁 in 535 (54, 43b).

has to look elsewhere for the shippers who handled it east of Ceylon. I think that the Chinese themselves can be safely eliminated from the search. Scholars sometimes quote Tabari, who mentions 'the ships from China' at Ul-Uballah at the time of the Moslem conquest, but the expression can equally well mean 'ships on the China-run', or, perhaps, ships with China-type merchandise (1). Fa Hsien would certainly have mentioned Chinese merchants or ships at Ceylon, yet it was only a silk fan which made him homesick. Chang Ching-chên^A and Wei Shou met K'un-lun and not Chinese ships. But the clearest evidence that the merchandise was brought to China by foreigners rather than fetched by the Chinese is provided in the passage from the Liu Sung shu, quoted in an earlier chapter, which states that because the emperor wanted valuable goods

'ships came in a continuous stream and merchants and envoys jostled with each other (2).'

To this passage may be added a similar one, describing the situation at the beginning of the 502 - 519 period:

常有高涼生口及海舶每歲數至外國晉人以
 通貨易舊時州郡以牛價就市又置而即賣其
 利數倍歷政以為常

(1) Hourani has dismissed the alleged evidence for Chinese shipping in the Persian Gulf in pre-Moslem times; Arab seafaring, 46-50.

(2) Page 148. Hirth's translation of this passage (China and the Roman Orient, 46) led Hourani to conclude that Chinese shipping went as far as India; Arab seafaring, 48. I examined Hirth's translation in note 1 on page 148.

(At the Nan hai prefecture = Canton) there were often Kao-liang live produce (1) and ocean vessels which came several times each year. Foreign merchants came to trade. In former times the local officials bought the (foreign) goods at half-price and then sold them, and their profits were several times more (than the market price would otherwise have allowed). Under the previous régime this was normal practice (2).'

It is evident that China attracted shipping rather than sent it out in the fifth and sixth centuries, and even the Sui envoy Ch'ang Chün 常駿 in 607 - 610 went no further overseas than western Indonesia (3).

The Arabs are sometimes thought to have been adventurous Far Eastern sailors in ancient times, and not everyone has noted Pelliot's correction of Beal's translation of 薩 灣 as 'Sabaeans' (4). The passage occurs in Fa Hsien's account of Ceylon, and sa-po means no more than sāṛthavāha or 'chief of the merchants'. But Indian and Sinhalese ships may have

(1) The population of Kao-liang are described by Dr. Wang Gungwu as Yüeh people from the district west or south-west of Canton; 'Nanhai trade', 49. This passage does not lead one to suppose that Yüeh shipping was going overseas at that time.

(2) Liang shu, 33, 2b-3a. The passage appears in the biography of Wang Sêng-ju, who was the prefect of Canton for a short time in the 502-505 period; my translation is slightly different from Dr. Wang's on page 49 of the 'Nanhai trade'.

(3) I consult Ch'ang Chün's evidence in the following chapters.

(4) For speculation about Sabaeen activities in South East Asia see Braddell, JMBRAS, 20, 2, 1947, 1. Pelliot's correction is in EEFEO, 4, 1904, 356, note 1, and repeated in TP, 13, 1912, 456. Pelliot pointed out that sa-po often appeared in Buddhist texts in connexion with merchants. Hourani quoted Fa Hsien in support of Sabaeans in Ceylon; Arab shipping, 38. Tibbetts points out that by Fa Hsien's time southern Arabian trading was on the decline; 'Pre-Islamic Arabia', 203.

been sailing across the Bay of Bengal and perhaps as far as China. In T'ang times Sinhalese ships had a reputation for being large (1), and Cosmas remarks that Ceylon sent ships out (2). Yet recent studies of early Sinhalese shipping and trade reveal no evidence which leads one to suppose that in the fifth and sixth centuries the island had become an important shipping centre in its own right (3). Indian shipping was probably more active, and one cannot ignore the fact that Procopius refers to 'Indian' ships in his account of the Persian silk monopoly at Ceylon. But would Procopius have known the real identity of the shippers arriving in India from the Far East (4)? Moreover the Chinese, while mentioning K'un-lun ships, do not refer to Indian ones. And if the Indians had the

(1) T'ang kuo shih pu, Ku tien wên hsüeh ch'u pan shê, Shanghai, 1957, 下, 63.

(2) Christian topography, 365.

(3) Nicholas, 'Sinhalese Naval Power', University of Ceylon Review, 16, 3-4, 1958, 78-92; Perera, 'The foreign trade and commerce of ancient Ceylon', The Ceylon Historical Journal, I, 2-4, 1951-52.

(4) It has been said of Procopius that he had a real knowledge of current affairs and fundamental ignorance of matters long known to Roman merchants (i.e. the geography of the Red Sea). His account of Justinian's policy in negotiating with Aksum is partial and superficial, but correct in intention; Sidney Smith, 'Events in Arabia in the 6th century A.D.', BSOAS, 16, 3, 1954, 427-428. I consider that Procopius knew Justinian's objectives but little about the way silk reached the ports of India and Ceylon. Gunavarman sailed to China from Shê-p'o with the merchant called 'the Indian Nan-t'i'; Kao sêng chuan, no. 3, Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 50, no. 2059, 340c. The passage is:
 隨商人竺難提船
 In chapter 13 we shall see that Indonesian kingdoms in the same century sent 'Indian' envoys to China, and Nan-t'i and these envoys may have been of alleged Indian descent. But Nan-t'i is described as a merchant and not as the captain of the ship. If he was really an Indian, he may have hired the ship. This passage is certainly not evidence that Gunavarman sailed to China on an Indian ship.

greatest share of the Persian carrying trade in the Far East, one would expect Indian pepper and other trading articles to have been dubbed Po-ssū.

There is one more reason for believing not only that Indian ships were not very active in the 'Persian' trade east of Ceylon but that Persian and Indian merchants sailing on foreign ships were also not numerous. Otherwise one would expect the merchants who took benzoin and camphor to China to have brought them westwards too. The contrary happened. The benzoin trade was only with China, and it is unlikely that great quantities of camphor came west.

Evidence about the adoption of camphor as a drug provides a useful guide for checking the direction of Indonesian trade in the fifth and sixth centuries. Camphor is briefly mentioned in the sāhitas attributed to Caraka and Suśruta and may have been known in India on a small scale in the early centuries of the Christian era (1). For this reason one would expect that, as a result of the medical exchanges between the Indians, Persians, and Nestorian Syrians at Jundi-Shapur, exchanges traditionally ascribed to the sixth century, camphor was made

(1) Pages 128-130.

known to Persian and Greek doctors (1). Yet it seems that even in the later Sassanid period camphor was still chiefly regarded as a rare perfume for the imperial palace rather than as a drug in common use (2). It is true that the Greek doctor Aetius of Amida (502 - 578) refers to camphor in a decoction for the shoulders and ears, a treatment unknown to the Indians, but it is surely significant that he adds 'if an abundance is available' (3). An Arab in the sixth century also knew of it,

(1) The biographer Ibn Abi-Osaibi has written about the knowledge brought by Indian doctors to Jundi-Shapur in pre-Islamic times; Filliozat, 'Médecine Énôoue', Histoire générale de la médecine ..., I, Paris, 1936, 487-8. Also see E.G. Browne, Arabian medicine, being the FitzPatrick Lectures ..., Cambridge, 1921, 21. I am aware of no Persian materia medica for this period. There is the Syriac Book of Medicines, which shows great familiarity with camphor; E.A. Wallis Budge, Syrian Anatomy, Pathology, and Therapeutics or 'The Book of Medicines ..., 2 vols. London, 1913. But the text at present available is undated, and Budge, who picked it up by chance, believed that it was a 12th century manuscript.

(2) Camphor is also mentioned in the Qur'an, but only as a luxurious article. 'The righteous shall drink of a cup tempered at the Camphor Fountain, a gushing spring at which the servants of Allah will refresh themselves'; N.J. Dawood's translation in the Penguin Classics, 1956, 18. References to camphor in the imperial palaces at the end of the Sassanid period are contained in Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sassanides, 471.

(3) Aetius Amidenus, Ἀετίου Ἀμιδηνού βιβλίων ἰατρικῶν τόμος 4 τοῦτεστι βιβλίου 3κτω 7α πρῶτα, Venetiis, 1534, I, 1026. I have used the Latin translation, which is '... si caphurae copia fuerit'. The passage occurs in the Tetrabilion IV, sermo 4, chapter 114. Schoff has discussed the diffusion of knowledge about camphor among the Byzantine doctors; 'Camphor', JAOS, 42, 1933, 355-370. He mentioned four doctors 'in the fourth to the sixth centuries', though in fact only Aetius lived in this period. I note the other doctors below

for the Hadramaut poet Imru al-Kais, who was summoned to court by Justinian for service against the Persians, mentions it in a poem (1). He died between 530 and 540. On the other hand, the Arabs who sacked Madan on the Tigris in 638 mistook the quantities of camphor among the treasures of Chrosoes II for salt and found it insipid in their food (2). And after Aetius there is a long silence concerning camphor among the Greek doctors. Paul of Aegina (615 - 690) does not mention it (3). The next reference is by Leo Medicus, a shadowy figure who may have lived in the eighth century. He prescribes it once in connexion with complaints of the eyes (4). Then there is further silence until the time of Symeon Seth in the middle of the 11th century, who prescribes for several diseases (5). But by then the Arab doctors had made it well known. Already

(1) I have been unable to check the reference and have had to rely on Flückiger and Hanbury, Pharmacographia, 1879 edition, 511 where they refer to Sprenger's information about a description of Arabia by Ibn Haqik el Hamdany, f. 170 of a manuscript at Aden.

(2) G. Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen, Mannheim, 1846, I, 75.

(3) Schoff (page 359) seems to be mistaken in believing that Paul mentioned camphor. In Adams' translation, Sydenham Society, 1844-7, volume 3, 427-9, camphor is mentioned, but only in a discussion by Adams of the 'substances introduced into the Materia Medica by the Arabians'. There is no indication that Paul himself mentioned it.

(4) F.Z. Ermerins, Aecdotia medica Graeca e codicibus mss expromit, Lugduni Batavorum, 1840, 129. For Leo's period see F.L.E. Brunet, 'Les Médecins Grecs', 452. Leo is another of the Greek authors invoked by Schoff as evidence for camphor from the fourth to the sixth centuries.

(5) Simeonis Sethi, Syntagma de alimentorum facultatibus, Lipsiae 1868, 61. Brunet notes his borrowings from the Arab doctors; 'Les Médecins Grecs', 457-8.

in the writings of Serapion in the tenth century there is an account of the Sumatran camphor tree and the properties of its crystals (1). Thereafter the fame of camphor gradually grew until it reached the medical schools of Salerno and Paris several centuries later.

Aetius' mention of camphor may be less significant than its absence in the works of Alexander of Tralles (525 - 605), another famous Greek doctor. The latter mentions a number of eastern drugs, and he may have dedicated his essay on fevers to Cosmas Indicopleustes (2). Cosmas, like Alexander, is also silent on the subject of camphor, and his failure to mention it is perhaps the most eloquent argument for believing that it was still a relatively unimportant item of trade between Indonesia and western Asia in the early sixth century. The volume of Indonesian trade westwards could not therefore have been greatly stimulated by the trade which passed through Indonesia from Ceylon to China, and this suggests that traders

(1) Ferrand, Textes, I, 112-3.

(2) Brunet, Oeuvres médicales d'Alexandre de Tralles. Le dernier auteur classique des grands médecins Grecs de l'antiquité four volumes, Paris, 1933-7. For Brunet's discussion of the problem of the identity of 'Cosmas', mentioned by Alexander, see *ibid*, I, 34-5. Camphor is not mentioned in Justinian's Law Digests, though a number of oriental articles are listed in connexion with customs duties; Corpus Juris Civilis (Mommsen's edition, Berlin, 1889), I, 606 (Digestae xxxviii, 4, 1617).

operating in western Indonesia were not specially concerned to expand their trade with Indian Ocean countries. Otherwise we would hear more of camphor and something of benzoin in Byzantine literature at that time. In China camphor was known as a product of 'Barus' in the sixth century and had been incorporated in the materia medica, but for Cosmas the range of the trade-goods coming to Ceylon from the east seems, as far as tropical produce is concerned, like a continuation of the trade between Indonesia and India in the third century:

'And from the remotest countries, I mean Tzinista and other trading places, (Ceylon) receives silk, aloes, cloves, sandalwood, and other products (1).'

None of this evidence suggests that Persian or Indian merchants played a prominent part in the Po-ssu trade in western Indonesia (2).

The trade in substitutes is the final consideration which leads me to believe that the 'Persian' middlemen were not Persians or Indians. It is hardly likely that either of these

(1) Christian topography, 365-6.

(2) This interpretation of the early western Indonesian export trade can be compared with the trade during the period of the East India Companies. In both cases China was the chief market for Indonesian produce. European interest was limited primarily to cloves and nutmegs and bulky wood for ballast in the spice ships on their homeward journey. As far as resins and peppers were concerned Europe had sources of supply nearer at hand than Indonesia. The chief motive of the Europeans in South East Asia was to get a share of the valuable trade between South East Asia and China.

would have taken the initiative in bringing into trade rival sources of supply from a country much nearer to China, thereby reducing the value of western Asian produce.

The southern ocean 'Persians' were certainly not the Persians themselves. They may sometimes have been Indians, though the exclusion of Indian produce from the definition of 'Persian' goods arriving by sea, in spite of the fact that pepper was associated with Persia in the Hou Chou shu of the northern Chinese, and the lack of evidence that the 'Persian' commerce with China was accompanied by a corresponding expansion in the range of Indonesian goods traded westwards make it difficult to assign to the Indian merchants a prominent share in the 'Persian' trade which reached southern China.

Inevitably one looks for the southern ocean 'Persians' in South East Asia. I ignore without hesitation the possibility that traders from mainland South East Asia, such as the Funanese, participated in the trade in Indonesian waters. The Funanese would have been too far from their home bases to protect themselves from the retaliation of the Indonesians, which an attempt to share this profitable trade would have provoked. Moreover in the later years of the fifth century the Funanese were being attacked by the Chams and had lost touch with Tongking (1). One turns, therefore, to the Indonesians and

(1) See page 325 below.

recalls the concentration of pine resin, benzoin, camphor, and eventually dragon's blood in western Indonesia and especially in Sumatra. I conclude that the 'Persian' middlemen came from that region and not from Persia, India, Ceylon, Funan, or China. This is the only conclusion consistent with the evidence, and I propose that it is with the western Indonesians, and especially with the coastal Malays of south-east Sumatra, speaking the language of the seventh century Srīvijayan inscriptions and nicknamed Po-ssu in T'ang and Sung texts, that the 'Persian' shippers of the fifth and sixth centuries should be identified.

In additional support of this conclusion I wish to cite one piece of evidence, hitherto neglected by scholars, which seems to contain a specific reference to Indonesian traders and shipping in China in this period.

We have noted several times that by 414, the year when Fa Hsien left Indonesia for China, merchant ships were sailing from Ceylon to Indonesia and from Indonesia to China. We have also noted that in 430 an Indonesian diplomatic mission was sent to China from Ho-lo-tan ^{何羅單} in Shé-p'o ^{舍波} or 'Java', and that the tribute included cloth from India and Gandhāra, which may suggest that the ruler was advertising the range of his trading connexions. This mission arrived in the fourth month (1). But in the seventh month of the

(1) Page 150. The month is given in the Liu Sung shu, 5, 9b, and the transcription is ^{詞羅單}.

same year a kingdom called Ho-lo-t'o 訶羅陀 also sent tribute (1). Pelliot considered that this name was an erroneous duplication for Ho-lo-tan and that there was only one kingdom, whose real name was Ho-lo-tan (2). No more is heard of Ho-lo-t'o, and I believe that Pelliot was right. It would not be the only instance when the final character in the transcription was changed; the Sui shu states that Ho-lo-tan 訶羅旦 was south of Ch'ih T'u 赤土, and in the T'ung tien the name is given as Ho-lo-chieh 訶羅月 (3). Ho-lo-tan was also called Ho-lo-chün 訶羅軍 (4). Moreover, though this is not a decisive argument, the ruler of Ho-lo-t'o in 430 and of Ho-lo-tan in 436 sent an envoy with the same name; he was P'i-na 毗訶, described in 436 as a very loyal man (5).

I regard Ho-lo-t'o as a variant of Ho-lo-tan, a kingdom

- (1) Ho-lo-t'o's mission is recorded in Liu Sung shu, 5, 9b (訶羅陀), and 97, 4a.
- (2) Polo, I, 439.
- (3) Sui shu, 82, 3a; T'ung tien, 188, 1009.
- (4) Liu Sung shu, 5, 14a, in connexion with an embassy in 434.
- (5) Liu Sung shu, 97, 5a; 7b. We shall see that Ho-lo-t'o needed help from the emperor, and this may explain why two missions were sent in four months. The identity of the two toponyms could be settled beyond doubt if we knew the name of the ruler of Ho-lo-tan in 430. In that year the ruler of Ho-lo-t'o was Chien-kan 堅幹; Liu Sung shu, 97, 5a. In 433 the ruler of Ho-lo-tan was P'i-sha-pa-ma 毗沙摩 (the last two characters representing -varman); *ibid*, 6a. An illustration of the confusion arising from these similar names is provided in TPYL, 924, 4103b, which quotes the Nan shih in connexion with a mission from Ho-lo-t'o in 430. The details of the tribute show, however, that the name of the kingdom in both the Liu Sung shu and the Nan shih was Ho-lo-tan; Liu Sung shu, 97, 5b-6a; Nan shih, 78, 11b.

of She-p'o and therefore in Indonesia. The ruler in 430 sent a letter to Wên Ti, the Liu Sung emperor, in which the following passage appears:

國先時人衆殷盛不為諸國所見陵迫今轉
 衰弱鄰國競侵伏願聖王遠垂覆護并市易反不
 為禁閉昔見哀念願時遣還令此諸國不見
 輕侮亦令大王名聲普聞扶危救弱正是今日
 遣二人是臣同心有所宣啓誠實可信願勅
 廣州時遣船還不令所在有所陵奪願自今以後
 易年年奉使...

'Formerly my population was numerous and prosperous. Our country was never bullied by other countries. But now the situation is different and we have become weak. Our neighbours vie with each other in attacking us. We beg Your Majesty to extend your protection from afar. We also hope that there will be no trading restrictions which will affect the coming and going (of our merchants). If you pity us we hope that you will send missions ordering these countries not to maltreat us so that Your Majesty's reputation as the protector of the weak will be known everywhere. We are now sending to you two trustworthy officials. We hope that you will instruct the Canton officials to send back our ship and not permit them to rob and hurt (our ship). We wish hereafter to send missions every year ... (1).'

This is an important passage for two reasons. In the first place, it is a hint of a disturbed political situation among the western Indonesian kingdoms at that time, and I

(1) Liu Sung shu, 97, 5b.

suspect that competition for commercial supremacy in the 'Persian' trade was one of the causes. I believe that Ho-lo-t'o was Ho-lo-tan and therefore in She-p'o, and confirmation of this kingdom's difficulties may be provided by the fact that in 424 the king of She-p'o sought advice from the pilgrim Gunavarman on the action he should take in dealing with attacks from his enemies (1). She-p'o's difficulties evidently continued (2). It is not surprising that Ho-lo-tan sent no more missions after 452 (3), though we shall see that this toponym persisted into the seventh century. But even more interesting is the evidence that this kingdom, at the time of its first mission, was apparently already trading with China and sending ships there. The reference to the fear of trading restrictions can hardly be interpreted as implying that only in 430 did the trade begin. Much more likely is it that the trade was already under way, that it had been the experience of the ruler that difficulties were sometimes put in the way of his merchants, and that he now decided to make a direct request to the emperor that measures be taken to prevent

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- (1) Kao sêng chuan, no. 3, Tripitaka Taishō, vol. 50, no. 2059, 340B; 吐蕃之隣兵犯境王言謂跋摩曰外賊恃刀欲見侵侮若與鬪戰復殺必死如其不拒危亡將至今唯歸命師尊不知何言
- (2) In 436 P'i-sha-pa-ma reported to the emperor that his son had seized the kingdom and sought help from China; Liu Sung shu, 97, 7b. The ruler's reliance on China is consistent with the request of the ruler of Ho-lo-t'o in 430; on both occasions it would appear that in Ho-lo-tan/t'o there was hope that China would be a benefactor in times of trouble, though the ruler in 436 was not the same man as the ruler in 430.
- (3) Liu Sung shu, 5, 33b.

this vexation.

The rivalries among the Indonesian kingdoms and the corruption of Chinese officials in Canton at the expense of Indonesian merchants are what one would expect in times of flourishing trade, and I conclude that early in the fifth century Indonesian shippers were already sailing to China and providing the last link in the chain of communications between western Asia and China. I would not be surprised if both Fa Hsien and Gunavarman sailed on their ships. The middleman trade would have continued throughout the fifth century until the time came when the middlemen were able to insinuate into it two of their own resins and also camphor. It has been suggested by one scholar that, while this trade flourished at the beginning of the century, it fell off later as a result of piracy and that the ancient trade route across the Peninsula and through Funan picked up again (1). This is most improbable. There is no reason to believe that Fa Hsien was

(1) L.P. Briggs, The Ancient Khmer Empire, Philadelphia, 1951, 23. He relied on Fa Hsien's statement that there were pirates in the Bay of Bengal; Giles' translation, 77. Dr. Wang Gungwu associates himself with this view; 'Nanhai trade', 56. The latter writer also believes that the account of Tun-sun, the flourishing entrepôt at the head of the Malay Peninsula, should be assigned to the fifth and sixth centuries; *ibid*, 53-4. In chapter two I gave my reasons for believing that the description of Tun-sun was based on early third century conditions, probably known to K'ang T'ai. The trade between Ho-lo-tan/t'o and China, as well as Fa Hsien's voyage, clearly contradict the statement in the Liang shu about Tun-sun that ships did not cross the South China Sea.

referring to pirates in the neighbourhood of the Straits of Malacca, and anyhow piracy is a symptom of flourishing trade. Moreover there is evidence that in the fifth century it was Funan and not the western Indonesian kingdoms which was losing contact with China. Funan had sent a mission at the beginning of the 357 - 361 period (1). The next one did not come until 434 (2). It was followed by further missions in 435 and 438 (3), but after that there was a long interval until 484 (4). In 484 the motive was to obtain help from the Ch'i dynasty of southern China against the Chams (5), and it is significant that, according to the Nan Ch'i shu, Funan was being often attacked by the Chams in this period (479 - 502) and was therefore not in safe communication with Tongking (6). It is unlikely that Funan was in a position to trade regularly with China in the fifth century, and the activities of the Chams off the coast of Annam provide the most likely

(1) Chin shu, 97, 10b.

(2) Liu Sung shu, 5, 14a.

(3) Ibid, 15a; 16b.

(4) Nan Ch'i shu, 58, 11b.

(5) The long petition presented through the Buddhist monk Nagasena, contained in the Nan Ch'i shu, was translated by Pelliot in 'Le Fou-nan', 257-260.

(6) Nan Ch'i shu, 58, 15a-b:

常為林邑所侵擊不得與交州通故其使空至
交州斗絕

explanation (1). But the route across the South China Sea from Indonesia would have given the Chams a wide berth (2). In comparison with the Funanese record the list of missions from western Indonesia is impressive. Between 430 and 473 there were ^{twenty} ~~seventeen~~ of them (3).

(1) Nothing is known of internal conditions in Funan between the accession of Kaundinya II early in the fifth century, and Nagāsena's petition in 484; Coedès, États hindouisés, 97, 99-100, Bhadravarman's Cho-dinh inscription, usually attributed to the fifth century, comes from as far south on the Annam coast as Cap Varella; Maspero, Royaume de Champa, 63, note 2. The same ruler's name appears on inscriptions in the Tra-kieu area near Hué, which is much further north. Here may be evidence of the growing power of the Chams on that coast, bringing with them a threat to coastal shipping. It will be recalled that the Liu Sung dynasty felt it necessary to chastise this turbulent people; page 154.

(2) There is one instance of the way in which ships from Indonesia sought to avoid sailing close to the Cham coast, though it belongs to a later period. The Brunei ruler of northern Borneo sent envoys in 977 and promised to send them every year. 'But when I do so, I fear that my ships may occasionally be blown to Champa and I therefore hope Your Majesty will send an edict to that country with orders that, if a ship of Hiang-ta (the Brunei ruler) arrives there, it must not be detained'; Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago, 110, quoting the Sung shih, 489, 19b.

(3) I have here drawn from Dr. Wang Gungwu's useful list of missions; 'Nanhai trade', 120-121. I realise, of course, that I am at present begging the question that Ho-lo-tan, P'o-ta, P'o-huang, Kan-t'o-li, and P'o-li are western Indonesian kingdoms. I hope to succeed in establishing their right to be regarded as such in the following chapters. For the present it is sufficient to note that Professor Wheatley, in his recent and extremely thorough study of the historical geography of the Malay Peninsula (Golden Khersonese), has found no evidence of any kind to indicate that they were on the Peninsula. The coasts of Funan and Champa, the other possible sites for these kingdoms, are relatively well-documented in Chinese sources, and none of the kingdoms I believe to be Indonesian have ever been placed on the Annam coast. There has been general agreement that they were in Indonesia; the debate has been whether they were in Sumatra, Java, or Borneo.

It therefore seems certain that western Indonesian ships were sailing to China early in the fifth century. They are the only foreign ships for which there is any evidence at that time, apart from the occasional Funanese ones, and I believe that western Asian cargoes were on board. Indonesian ships need not have been the only ones engaged in the trade, but in the course of time the scale of their activities became sufficient to earn them the nickname of 'Persians'.

What had happened to bring the Indonesian shippers to the fore? The evidence at present available does not enable us to do more than guess when the first Indonesian voyages to China occurred, and we certainly do not know what were the circumstances in Indonesia itself which led to this initiative. We only know that voyages to China were not undertaken in the first half of the third century A.D., when Ko-ying was flourishing. Nor are they likely to have taken place as long as the Chin dynasty controlled northern as well as southern China and enjoyed access to the overland trade route. This brings us into the fourth century. I suspect that it was during the second half of that century that the needs of the Eastern Chin empire began to attract the first Indonesian middlemen to China. By that time, one supposes, they had already become accustomed to sailing to India and especially to Ceylon (1).

(1) Fa Hsien describes how Ceylon had become an important trading centre 'with merchants going backwards and forwards'; Giles' translation, 66-67. In the T'ang hui yao, 99, 1769, there is a brief section on Ceylon, embodying Fa Hsien's account of the wonderful jewel which attracted traders to the island; these merchants were said to come in merchants ships from the 'islands'
 商於洲上商船
 This may conceal a reference to Indonesians from the Archipelago.

If the reference in the Chiao chou chi to the king of Po-ssu^U = Persia and the Sinhalese princess can be assigned to the early fifth century (1), it is possible that by that time the southern Chinese were beginning, through Indonesian middlemen, to be aware of the Persian presence in the western Indian Ocean. Perhaps, if the Persians were then becoming interested in the Ceylon entrepôt[^], the volume of the trade was increasing and could no longer be handled by Indians alone. Alternatively Indian shipping activities may have dwindled. One has to take into account the fact that the way to China now lay not only across the Peninsula but also through the Straits of Malacca into Indonesia and thence to China. The latter itinerary meant that Indian ships, carrying their valuable cargoes, would have been at the mercy of the coastal Malays cruising among the islands at the southern entrance to the Straits. One is not being uncharitable to the Malays if one imagines that they were not prepared to allow most of the profits of shipping goods to China to remain in foreign hands. Foreigners would have been at their mercy, and for this reason Indian merchants may have chosen to hire space on Indonesian ships, at least from Indonesia to China. If 200 merchants wanted to sail from Ceylon to Indonesia with Fa Hsien, there must have been

(1) Page 157.

a demand for shipping, and it is here, as I have already remarked, that I see the chief contribution of the Indonesians to the 'Persian' trade. I certainly cannot imagine that Indian sailors pioneered the voyage across the South China Sea.

Whether the Indonesians first became aware of new trading opportunities with China from their contacts with Indians and Sinhalese or with the southern Chinese themselves is also something which cannot at present be known. Buddhist pilgrims in India and traders in Funan, familiar with the situation in Tongking, may have been sources of commercial intelligence. Much, in fact, remains to be established, but I think that it is safe to believe that Indonesians were carrying western produce to China some time before the trade they represented acquired the name of Po-ssü.

I have now proposed a timetable for the expansion of early Indonesian commerce. As late as the first half of the third century A.D. there was still no question of Indonesian trade with China; Indonesians were trading with India alone. But during the fourth century, when southern China was settling down under the Eastern Chin, Indonesian ships were probably pioneering the voyage across the South China Sea; their cargoes were of foreign origin, and some of the passengers may have been foreigners too, but the ships and crews were Indonesian. This voyage was becoming habitual in the early fifth century and was available to pilgrims from India. By 430 Ho-lo-tan/t'o

was one of the western Indonesian kingdoms benefiting from the trade, and we have seen that its tribute that year included foreign goods and that it was being attacked by its neighbours. The carrying of the western trade was probably becoming a source of friction among competing harbours in the region. Meanwhile the Liu Sung dynasty was increasing the momentum of the trade, and at the end of the century a 'Persian' trade was recognised in southern China. By 521, the last possible date for the composition of the Kuang chih, Indonesian middlemen had established a market for Sumatran pine resin as a species of frankincense, and there are reasons for believing that by about the same time they had also introduced the Chinese to Sumatran benzoin as a substitute for bdellium. The China trade in Sumatran camphor was certainly launched by then. The fifth century would therefore have been a time when western Indonesian commerce made a leap forward, benefiting from circumstances beyond the control of the Indonesians themselves but also by putting their seamanship to good use.

Such, then, are the general conclusions to which I have been led by examining what is known about Ko-ying in the third century, by analysing the Po-ssū products in the vintage texts and identifying the 'Persian' trade, and by considering shipping evidence in the fifth century. None of the sources I have used ever describe these developments in an unmistakably

clear way, but I hope that I have interpreted the evidence on reasonable lines.

In the concluding chapters an attempt will be made to define and describe the Indonesian coast from which the middlemen sailed. This enquiry will provide an opportunity for evaluating the impact of the 'Persian' trade on the general historical development of the region. I shall be concerned with a number of kingdoms which sent tribute to China in the fifth and sixth centuries and with the events which preceded the emergence of Srivijaya in the second half of the seventh century. But where were these kingdoms? Their location is a problem as old as the Po-ssu problem.

CHAPTER ELEVENTHE EARLY 'TRIBUTARY' KINGDOMS OF WESTERN INDONESIA

The search for the bases in the southern ocean, where the 'Persian' trade was handled, is a search for harbours and coasts and not, as Laufer thought, for a kingdom with an indigenous name from which Po-ssü was derived. It is true that in 1178 Chou Ch'ü-fei mentioned a Po-ssü country which was not 'Persia', though he gave no geographical details which help to identify it, but he was writing 600 years later than the 'Persian' trade with which we have been concerned (1). Nor is it possible to take seriously the suggestion that Po-ssü is a transcription of 'Pasai' in northern Sumatra. The Po-ssü term in the fifth and sixth centuries always meant 'Persia', nor is there even any confirmation that Pasai existed as a toponym before the first half of the 14th century. Moreover when the kingdom later known as Pasai is first mentioned by the Chinese in 1282 it is called Su-mu-tu-la 蘇木都剌 (2). Similarly Ferrand's suggestion that Po-ssü might represent the

(1) Ling wai tai ta, 3, 28. Chao Ju-kua makes use of this passage in his Chu fan chih of 1225; Feng Ch'eng-chün's edition, 74.

(2) Yüan shih, 210, 18a. Blagden made this point; 'Some remarks on Chau Ju-kua's Chu fan chi', JRAS, 1913, I, 168. Pelliot was prepared to consider the possibility that in Sung times Po-ssü was a transcription of Pasai; Polo, 1, 87.

relatively recent name of 'Bassein' in the Irrawaddy delta of Burma can be ignored (1). Chinese texts dealing with Burma mention a Po-ssü (2), but they are not earlier than T'ang times, and I find it impossible to believe that the 'Persian' trade in pre-T'ang times, attracting to itself Sumatran resins, made its way through the Pyu settlements on the Irrawaddy and then into the tribal 'no man's land' on the fringe of south-western China (3). No rich trade would have survived the dangers of the journey (4).

(1) Professor Hall has drawn my attention to the fact that the first European references to Bassein in the early 16th century call it 'Cosmin'. Bassein is derived from the Burmese 'Pa-thein' and must therefore be late. 'Cosmin' is thought to be a corruption of its classical name Kusima.

(2) Laufer quoted from the Man shu; Sino-Iranica, 468. The name also occurs in the HTS, 222 下, 6b. It is clear that the Chinese believed that there was a Po-ssü toponym connected with the territories of the P'iao 馬勞, the Tibeto-Burman language speaking Pyu of early Burma.

(3) According to Liebenthal, the Burma Road was not opened to traffic until between 791 and 858; 'The ancient Burma Road - a legend?', JGIS, 15, 1, 1956, 1-15.

(4) My colleague, Mr. H.L. Shorto, has supplied me with a note on Burmese aspects of the Po-ssü toponym. The Kalyani inscription (second half of the 15th century) and other later Mon texts mention a Basi, later Pasi, which was a district headquarters and the titular seat of a prince in the Pegu kingdom of lower Burma; it was probably approximately in the same region as Twante and Hmawbi in the Irrawaddy delta. There may also have been a Basi/Pasi in the region of the Chiengmai border. The explanation for the T'ang period Po-ssü in a Burma context may be found in a similar toponym. Pashu is a Burmese word for 'Malay'; it is a loan-word, and its origin has never been explained. The Mon Pase (= the Burmese Pathi) are modern words for 'Moslem' but may have some antiquity. It is tempting to guess that they are derived from 'Pasai' in northern Sumatra, an important trading and aggressively Moslem centre in the 14th century, which had contacts with trading ports in Burma. This is only surmise, though Mr. Shorto does not reject the possibility.

Po-ssu in the context of pre-T'ang South East Asia was the name given to a trade, and notices in the chapters of the imperial histories about a South East Asian kingdom of Po-ssu are therefore inevitably absent. Nevertheless, these same histories, in their accounts of South East Asian 'tributary' kingdoms on the sea, supply a few details which seem to me to be significant against the background of the 'Persian' trade. In the fifth and sixth centuries there were two kingdoms which were anxious to maintain or develop their trade with China. One of them was Ho-lo-tan, which we have already met (1). The other was known as Kan-t'o-li 干陀利 (2). The former is mentioned for the first time in 430 and the latter in 441. In the same two centuries four other kingdoms are also mentioned. They are P'o-ta 波達, P'o-huang 波皇, P'o-li 波利, and Tan-tan 丹丹 (3). All of these six tributary kingdoms, with the exception of Tan-tan, are generally considered to have been in Indonesia. If they were indeed in this region, the fact that the Chinese did not hear of them before the fifth and sixth centuries would not be surprising, for the western Asian trade through Indonesia led to the first regular Indonesian contacts with southern China. The coincidence of the first missions

(1) See page 321 above, where I suggested that Ho-lo-t'o and Ho-lo-tan were the same kingdom.

(2) I give the trading information in connexion with Kan-t'o-li on page 344 below.

(3) Variant forms exist for all these names. In order to avoid burdening the text with an intolerably long note I have listed and discussed the variants in Appendix 'B'.

from these kingdoms with the development of the Indonesian middleman trade with China suggests that the 'Persian' trade was making some kind of impact on Indonesia. But were these kingdoms in Indonesia? In my opinion all of them were, and I wish to indicate briefly why I think so. I shall consider later to what extent they may be plotted on the map.

A location in Indonesia for Ho-lo-tan, P'o-li, and Tan-tan can hardly be in doubt. The capital of Ho-lo-tan was stated in the Liu Sung shu to be in Shê-p'o (1), and there is no Chinese text which gives any reason for believing that this toponym, meaning 'Java', was elsewhere than in the Archipelago. The position of Ho-lo-tan is also indicated by the statement in the Sui shu that it was south of Ch'ih T'u (2). Ch'ih T'u has been satisfactorily identified with the north-eastern corner of modern Malaya (3), and Ho-lo-tan's southern position in

(1) Liu Sung shu, 97, 5b: 呵羅單國治閩波洲
Kao noted that the contemporary Sung Yüan Chia ch'i chü chu (TPYL, 787, 3487a) records this as 'Shê-p'o chou, Ho-lo-tan country 呵羅單國治閩波洲', while the Nan shih, 78, 11b, has 'Ho-lo-tan country, capital Shê-p'o chou 呵羅單國都閩波洲'; 'A primary Chinese source', JMBRAS, 29, 1, 1956, 164. In view of these passages I think that it is right to assume that the Liu Sung shu indicates that Ho-lo-tan ruled in and not over Shê-p'o. Shê-p'o = 'Java' is a region and not a kingdom, and I doubt whether any king would have pretended to the Chinese that he ruled the whole of 'Java'.

(2) Sui shu, 82, 3a: 南詔羅日國

(3) Professor Wheatley has studied exhaustively the Ch'ih T'u evidence; Golden Khersonese, 26-36. His reasoning, based on the details of Ch'ang Chün's voyage to and also from Ch'ih T'u, is convincing.

respect of Ch'ih T'u is a straightforward reference to a kingdom in the Archipelago. The clearest evidence concerning P'o-li and Tan-tan is provided by the seventh century pilgrim, I Tsing, who lived for some years at Srivijaya in Sumatra and can be presumed to have first-hand knowledge of the region. He gives a list of islands in the southern ocean enumerated from the west 從西盡之, which I shall frequently consult (1). The first toponym in this list is 'Barus' in north-western Sumatra (2), and it is followed by Mo-lo-yu 末羅遊 = Malayu. I am not disposed to disagree with the universally held view that 'Malayu' is synonymous with Jambi, a town not very far up the Jambi river on the south-eastern coast of Sumatra and a little further north of the Musi river, on which Palembang lies (3). Srivijaya is not given as a specific location in I Tsing's

(1) Nan hai chi kuei nei fa chuan, Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 54, no. 2125, 204b; Takakusu, Record, 10. My translation of this passage is on page 389 below.

(2) Map 4 contains I Tsing's toponyms. I discuss 'Barus' on pages 389-392 and 395-408

(3) The study which led to the identification of 'Malayu' with Jambi was Rouffaer's 'Was Malaka emporium vóór 1400 A.D. genaamd Malajoer?', Bijd., 77, 1921, 11-19. Rouffaer noted that the Tanjore inscription of about 1030 described 'Malaiyur' as being on a hill; there is a hill at Jambi, on which a palace once stood. Near this hill is Solok village, where an inscription of 1064 has been found and also Buddhist remains. On pages 297-8 I quoted Chinese references to Chan-peih 𣎵 and similar transcriptions, beginning with the ninth century, which have been taken to be 'Jambi'. On page 449 I note (I Tsing's) account of a voyage from Srivijaya to Kampe, a little south of Kedah and on the north-eastern coast of Sumatra, which is consistent with I Tsing's Malayu's being at Jambi.

list, and I have come to the conclusion that the reason was that the pilgrim, writing this passage in the city of Śrīvijaya itself (1), automatically began his list of countries with those to the 'west' of where he was living and thought it unnecessary to mention Śrīvijaya, either because he was living there or because it was too well known to need geographical identification. I am convinced by the evidence of the earliest Śrīvijayan inscriptions and by I Tsing's own evidence that in the 671-695 period the city of Śrīvijaya was at Palembang (2). I Tsing's list therefore places Tan-tan and P'o-li vaguely east of 'Barus', Malayu-Jambi, and Śrīvijaya-Palembang, and I hope to succeed in establishing the truthfulness of I Tsing's sequence of toponyms, including Tan-tan and P'o-li, as a description of the political nomenclature of the eastern coast of Sumatra and the northern coast of Java in the second half of the seventh century. I am satisfied that both Tan-tan and P'o-li lay considerably deeper in Indonesia than Malayu-Jambi and Śrīvijaya-Palembang.

The evidence concerning Kan-t'o-li, P'o-ta, and P'o-huang is much more meagre. None of them are provided with any form of geographical description which helps to fix their position.

(1) On the dating of I Tsing's Record and Memoirs see Takakusu, Record, liii-lv.

(2) Pages 451-454 .

Kan-t'o-li's claim to be in Indonesia rests on a passage in the Ming shih which states that it was formerly called San-fo-ch'i 三佛齊, the Sung and Ming name for Srīvijaya (1). This is obviously a flimsy basis for establishing the identity of Kan-t'o-li, nor is it greatly strengthened by Ferrand's discovery in the Hāwiya of Ibn Wājid in 1462 that the port of Sinkel, on the north-west coast of Sumatra, was called Sinkel Kandāri, which Ferrand construed as 'Sinkel of the country of Kandār = Sumatra (2). Kan-t'o-li is an acceptable transcription of Kandāri, but the Liang shu merely says that it was on an island in the southern ocean (3). P'o-ta is the most obscure of all these countries and only sent missions under that name in 449 and 451. It may have been the same kingdom described in the Liu Sung shu as Shē-p'o-p'o-ta 闍婆達 which sent a mission in 435 (4). In the Nan shih Shē-p'o-p'o-ta is written as Shē-p'o-ta 闍婆達 (5). Perhaps P'o-ta was another abbreviation. I have wondered whether the real name known to the Chinese was Shē-p'o-ta 闍婆達, meaning

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- (1) Ming shih, 324, 24b: 三佛齊古名干陀利
 (2) JA, Sept.-Oct., 1919, 238-241. Ferrand wrote in error that Singkel was on the north-eastern coast of Sumatra. Pelliot never doubted that Kan-t'o-li was in Indonesia; BEFEO, 1904, 401-2; TP, 1923, 244, note 2.
 (3) Liang shu, 54, 16b: 在南海洲上
 (4) Liu Sung shu, 97, 9a.
 (5) Nan shih, 78, 12a. In the two accounts the names of the ruler are given as 師黎達摩 (LSS) and 師黎達摩 阇維跋摩 (NS), which makes it certain that there was only one ruler in question.

'a capital city in Shê-p'ô' (1). The ruler of P'ô-ta was recognised as 'king' by the Chinese emperor in 449 (2). The kingdom could hardly have become suddenly important, and its prestige in 449 is consistent with its having sent an earlier mission in 435 under the names of Shê-p'ô-p'ô-ta and Shê-p'ô-ta. If I am correct in believing that P'ô-ta was in Shê-p'ô, it would, like Ho-lo-tan, have been in 'Java' and therefore somewhere in Indonesia (3).

P'ô-huang, the sixth of these tributary kingdoms, may mean 'Bawang'. The T'ai p'ing huan yü chi, referring to a kingdom called Chin-li-p'î-shih 金利昆逝 known in the seventh century, mentions the toponym of To-lang p'ô-huang 多郎渡黃 (4), which Ferrand suggested meant 'Tulang Bawang' on the south-eastern coast of Sumatra and south of the Palembang river.

(1) I am on weak grounds in regarding -ta 達 as a transcription of thāna = 'capital'. The sound used for that purpose was -tan (A ㄊㄢˊ); see Feng Ch'eng-chün's Hsi yü ti ming under Bajistan, Cinasthana, Gostana etc.) All that is possible is that the n was lost. Dr. de Casparis notes that in Old-Javanese the negative particle tan seems to be a more recent form than ta; Prasasti, 2, 22, note 25.

(2) Liu Sung shu, 97, 8b, in connexion with P'an-ta 盤達; Nan shih, 78, 12a, in connexion with P'ô-ta.

(3) In the ruler's name in 435 there appear the two characters P'ô-ta 渡達. I have wondered whether the name of the kingdom was included in the king's name. Ferrand noted this usage in connexion with the name of the Sriyijayan ruler in 1017; 'La plus ancienne mention du nom de l'île de Sumatra', JA, 1917, 331-335; 'L'empire Sumatranais', 19, note 3. The name was Haji Sumatrabhūmi 霞遲蘇勿吒滿迷 and appears in Sung shih, 489, 14a.

(4) TPHYC, 177, 13a.

I remain open-minded concerning this identification. ~~We should~~
~~not~~ ~~think~~ The little known about To-lang-p'o-huang is not
 inconsistent with its being in south-eastern Sumatra (1). On
 the other hand 'Bawang' is a common Indonesian place-name,
 while today Tulang Bawang is not a particularly important part
 of Sumatra. Like P'o-ta, P'o-huang does not figure prominently
 in this study, though we shall see that during its short
 career in the middle of the fifth century it sent numerous
 missions to China.

One general reason may be given for regarding these
 kingdoms as Indonesian ones, and it is not so unsubstantial as
 may at first appear. As a result of the interest of the
 Chinese in the third century in the international trade route
 through South East Asia, and also because their Tongking
 province was continually being harried by the Chams, they
 came to acquire reasonably accurate geographical knowledge of
 the leading countries on the coastline of mainland South East
 Asia as far west as the northern head of the Malay Peninsula.
 Moreover, they knew something of the Peninsula as well. We
 noted their interest in it during the third century (2), and

(1) Pages 443-444 below.

(2) In chapter two, I discussed the circumstances of their
 interest in the coast of mainland South East Asia.

in the fifth and sixth centuries they were in communication with P'an-p'an 安南 and Lang-ya-hsiu 狼牙修. In later records these two kingdoms are described with sufficient precision to justify their inclusion on the map of the Peninsula (1). Unless, therefore, one looks towards the Archipelago, it is difficult to see where the six tributary kingdoms I am discussing could have been. Moreover I hope to show that some of them were not insignificant places, to be squeezed faute de mieux into some part of the mainland coast unoccupied by Champa, Funan, P'an-p'an, and Lang-ya-hsiu.

The origins of these Indonesian kingdoms are unknown. Their history begins only when the Chinese first heard of them. We have seen that Ho-lo-t'o/tan claimed in 430 to have been in the past an important country (2). Nothing is known of the antecedents of P'o-ta, Kan-t'o-li, P'o-huang, and Tan-tan. When the Chinese enquired about the origins and age of the ruler of P'o-li they were told that there were no records, though it

(1) I again refer the reader to Professor Wheatley's Golden Khersonese, 47-51 (P'an-p'an) and 253-267 (Lang-ya-hsiu = Langkasuka) and also his map on 290, which includes, however, Tan-tan on the Peninsula. Tan-tan is the only one of my six kingdoms which Professor Wheatley has appropriated. For what it is worth, it may be noted that the ruler of Shé-p'o-p'o-ta in 435 felt that he was a long way from China: 'although we are cut off from you by the sea, we feel, at a distance, that we are your vassals 雖隔巨海常逢臣屬'; Liu Sung shu, 97, 9b. Similarly the emperor Wen Ti seems to connect Ho-lo-tan, P'o-ta, and P'o-huang with distant countries when he says of them: 'they have continually crossed the distant sea 頻越遠海'; ibid, 8a.

(2) Page 322.

was said that the Buddha's mother came from that country (1). The first mission came from P'o-li (transcribed as 婆利 and 婆梨) in 473, but Pelliot drew attention to evidence and 婆梨 showed that the kingdom was known to the Chinese before 443 (2). It would be misleading to assume that any of these six kingdoms acquired importance only when the Chinese first received missions from them.

Yet their recorded history begins with their missions. In the years from 430 to 466 Ho-lo-tan, P'o-ta, and P'o-huang regularly paid their respects to the Liu Sung emperors. Ho-lo-tan sent tribute in 430, 433, 434, 436, 437, and 452, and received imperial recognition in 449. After 452 no more is heard of this faithful vassal until it is mentioned in the early seventh century, though not in connexion with a mission (3). P'o-ta rendered its duty in 435, 449, and 451. P'o-huang's short record is more impressive; its missions arrived in 442, 449, 451, 455, 456, 459, 464, and 466. Thereafter no more were ever sent. Kan-t'o-li started its career as a tributary

(1) Liang shu, 54, 20a: 問其先及數不能記焉而言曰淨王夫人
即其(國)女也

(2) TP, 1919, 1920, 267 and 433. Pelliot called attention to a passage in Hui-yen's biography in the Kao sêng chuan (Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 50, no. 2059, 368a) about a man of P'o-li 婆利 who came to China in Hui-yen's lifetime. Hui-yen died in 443.

(3) For references to these missions the reader may consult Dr. Wang Gungwu's helpful list in 'Nanhai trade', 120-122. I have added the Kan-t'o-li missions of 441 and 560 (TFYK, 968, 11381b and 11387a) and the Tan-tan missions of 666 and 670 (TFYK, 970, 11401b).

kingdom in 441; another mission was sent in 455, and then there was an interval until 502. Further missions were sent in 518, 520, 560, and 563. P'o-li began later. Its first mission was not until 473, followed by further ones in 517, 522, 616, and 630. Finally there was Tan-tan, whose first recorded mission is as late as 530. In the following years, however, it was the most prominent of the tributary kingdoms, sending missions in 531, 535, 571, 581, 585, 617, 666, and 670.

The catalogue of 29 missions between 430 and 473, involving five kingdoms, is impressive, and I have already compared it with Funan's faltering tributary record in the same period (1). In these years P'an-p'an on the Peninsula sent only two missions (2), while Lang-ya-hsiu, also on the Peninsula, sent none. The suddenness and persistence of the Indonesian missions suggest that there were special circumstances accounting for them.

Historians have always regarded missions from South East Asia as important evidence, if only because the names of the kingdoms and their rulers and the accurately recorded dates are a valuable reinforcement of the cadre historique, based on inscriptions. I think, however, that one should be cautious in explaining why they were sent. Ma Tuan-lin,

(1) Page 315.

(2) In 455 and in the 457-464 period; Liu Sung shu, 6, 11a, and Liang shu, 54, 15a.

early in the 14th century, commented that the foreign countries sent tribute because they wanted trade and imperial presents, and there may be a tendency to assume that missions were normally instruments of commerce (1). It is true that the years when these numerous Indonesian missions came coincide with a period when Sino-Indonesian trade was getting into its stride. Most of the missions took place after 439, the year when the Northern Wei captured Kansu and deprived the Liu Sung ruler of his last access to the overland route, and to this extent it is possible to explain the active Indonesian diplomacy as a response from the rulers to growing opportunities of profitable trade with China. On the other hand, only two of these kingdoms can confidently be regarded as interested in trade. They are Ho-lo-t'o/tan, whose ruler in 430 was concerned to avoid trading difficulties (2), and Kan-t'o-li.

In 502 the ruler of Kan-t'o-li had a dream, and a Buddhist monk appeared and gave him advice:

中國今有聖主十年之後佛法大興汝若遣
使貢奉敬禮則土地豐樂商旅百倍

'In China there is now a holy ruler. In ten years' time the Law of the Buddha will prosper. If you send envoys with tribute and pay your respectful duty, your land will become rich and happy and merchants and travellers will multiply a hundredfold (3).'

(1) Wen hsien t'ung k'ao, 331, 2602. Groeneveldt thought that this was a 'sensible observation'; Notes on the Malay Archipelago 61, note 1. Groeneveldt believed that missions were normally trading measures; *ibid*, 4.

(2) Page 322.

(3) Liang shu, 54, 16b-17a.

Kan-t'o-li began its 'tributary' career in 441. In the closing years of the fifth century the short-lived and weak Southern Ch'i dynasty ruled in southern China, and the volume of trade may have declined. 502 was the year when the Liang dynasty succeeded the Southern Ch'i. Wu Ti, the founder of the new dynasty, was a fervent Buddhist as well as the head of a government which for some years was able to take the offensive against the now weakened Northern Wei empire. There was every promise of stability in southern China, and with stability would have come a resumption of the prosperous trading conditions of the Liu Sung dynasty in the first half of the fifth century. We have seen how in the first years of the Liang dynasty ships were coming regularly to Canton (1). Though the circumstances of the Kan-t'o-li ruler's dream are unknown, the Buddhist monk seems to have played the part of a soothsayer, and his advice is unambiguous; the sending of tribute would lead to increased trade for Kan-t'o-li. Missions from this kingdom continued in 518, 520, 560, and 563, and I think that one can safely assume that it remained an important trading country during most of the sixth century. Its mission in 560 may have been to enable the ruler to pay his respects to the new Ch'[^]en dynasty in southern China.

The rulers of Ho-lo-tan and Kan-t'o-li were definitely interested in trade, but there is no evidence about the motives

(1) Page 312.

of the rulers of P'o-li and Tan-tan, who were also sending missions in the sixth century. The absence of such evidence becomes more significant in view of the fact that the rulers in question sent long letters to the emperor in which their commercial aspirations could have been reflected. Our knowledge that Ho-lo-t'o/tan and Kan-t'o-li were trading kingdoms is contained in similar letters. But the only topic on which the rulers of P'o-li and Tan-tan were concerned to ^{write was} praise of the Chinese emperor for his Buddhist zeal (1). I have considerable doubt whether these kingdoms were associated with the middleman trade in these centuries. The map of western Indonesia which will emerge later shows that both of them lay on the confines of the Indonesian world known to the Chinese. They may represent an extension of the trading coast, but this cannot be proved. I therefore prefer to make a distinction between those 'tributary' countries which are known to have traded with China and those whose rulers' intentions in sending envoys are undisclosed. The motives of the latter are likely to be explained in terms of general political developments in western Indonesia as a whole, no doubt stimulated by increasing foreign contacts and the

(1) Groeneveldt has provided a translation of the P'o-li ruler's letter in 518; Notes on the Malay Archipelago, 81-82. The Liang emperor would have been delighted with this obsequious memorial, and the embellishments were probably supplied by Chinese civil servants. To judge from its contents, China must have seemed a magnificent country to the ruler of P'o-li.

circulation of wealth which accompanied the growth of trade with China. The earliest Indonesian inscriptions of the fifth and perhaps the sixth century indicate that this was a time when some kings were winning supremacy over their neighbours (1), and it would not be surprising if successful overlords wished to cap their achievements with recognition of their status by the Chinese emperor. Not only would they thus be demonstrating their political importance; they may also have been safeguarding themselves from future attack against their neighbours, for it will be remembered that the Ho-lo-t'o/tan ruler hoped that the emperor would at least give him moral support in his difficulties with his neighbours. China was still unfamiliar to the Indonesians, and the emperors were probably invested with a certain amount of glamour and felt to be a new and important factor in the affairs of the region. The fifth and sixth centuries seem to have been a time of innovation in Indonesia, when the inscriptions indicate that Brahmans were now in the service of the kings. Recognition of the rulers' titles by the emperors would have been yet another means of enhancing royal power and prestige.

I am therefore reluctant to explain every mission as being in aid of commerce. I am also reluctant to assume that when a trading kingdom was not sending frequent missions its

(1) Pages 484-485 .

trade with China was declining. The contrary assumption seems more likely. Ho-lo-t'o/tan began to send its missions only when it was in trouble, and it is likely that the cessation of its missions in 452 was because it had lost its independence. By now Kan-t'o-li was the only recognisable commercial kingdom in the field, and I imagine that it was so powerful that it could trade with China without much interference from its rivals and therefore had no need to remind the Chinese of its existence by frequent missions. In the last chapter of this study I shall compare the situation after the first half of the fifth century with the situation after the first half of the seventh century, and we shall see that both these periods are conspicuous for their lack of missions. Yet they had been preceded by some decades when a number of kingdoms were sending envoys to China. In the second half of the seventh century Śrīvijaya established itself as the dominant trading power in western Indonesia, and it is reasonable to suppose that in the second half of the fifth century Kan-t'o-li enjoyed a similar position.

Thus, if my understanding of the significance of the mission sequences is correct, it means that the principal objective in describing the historical geography of western Indonesia in the fifth and sixth centuries must be to discover the location of Ho-lo-tan and especially of Kan-t'o-li. These two kingdoms are the only ones whose fortunes can with assurance be connected with the development of the 'Persian' trade.

This is not, however, the limit of the usefulness of the missions in throwing some light on the impact of the 'Persian' trade on Indonesia. With the missions went tribute, and, though the imperial histories give very few details about the nature of the tribute, we have seen that its contents reflect a connexion between Indonesia and western Asia; Ho-lo-tan in 430 sent cloth from India and Gandhara, and P'o-huang in 449 sent bezoar stones and turmeric (1). There are also references to 'local products 方物', and in 449 P'o-huang sent no less than 41 kinds (2). But in the early sixth century a new and significant term is used in connexion with the tribute from Indonesia. 'Perfumes and drugs 香藥' were now being sent. In 520 Kan-t'o-li sent 'various perfumes and drugs' (3). In 522 P'o-li offered 'several tens' of goods which included manufactured articles and 'perfumes and drugs' (4). In 528 Tan-tan sent manufactured goods and perfumes and drugs (5).

In 527 P'an-p'an on the Peninsula sent gharu wood and sandalwood (6). The tribute from Lang-ya-hsiu in 515, 523, and 531 is not specified, though the produce of this country

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- (1) Page 150.
 (2) Liu Sung shu, 97, 8a: 方物四十種
 (3) Liang shu, 54, 18a: 雜香藥
 (4) Ibid, 20b-21a: 量十種
 (5) Ibid, 16b.
 (6) Ibid, 16a.

in the southern Malay Peninsula was said to be similar to that of the 'south' and included much gharu wood and camphor (1). Both these countries, and also Lin-yi on the Annam coast, had access to rich supplies of gharu wood (Aquilaria spp.), a famous aromatic tree which had been known to the Chinese in Tongking early in the Christian era (2). One can therefore imagine that P'an-p'an and Lang-ya-hsiu made much of their gharu wood when they sent tribute. But what would have been the 'perfumes and drugs' from the Indonesian kingdoms? I believe that the term represents Persian and Persian-type resins, including frankincense, myrrh, and storax from western Asia and also pine resin, benzoin, and camphor from western Indonesia. They were sent as tribute because it was known that they were valued in China and would please the emperor.

There is one detail about Kan-t'o-li, a supplier of 'perfumes and drugs', which is particularly significant in suggesting the nature of some of the trade goods which it handled. The bibliographical chapter in the Sui shu reveals that two medical books were written in China about 'Kan-t'o-li's

(1) Ibid, 18a.

(2) See Wheatley, 'Geographical notes', 68, for a map of the gharu wood regions of South East Asia known to the Chinese in Sung times.

methods of expelling demons' (1). The only other place which might have been meant by Kan-t'o-li would be Gandhāra, but Gandhāra was never transcribed with a -li 利 at the end of the name; instead -lo 羅 was used (2). I see no reason why these medical books should not have been written about fumigatory practices used in Kan-t'o-li, of western Indonesia, and made known to the Chinese when the western Asian and Indonesian resins were brought to China by traders from Kan-t'o-li. We have seen in earlier chapters that both pine resin and benzoin were regarded as fumifuges. T'ao Hung-ching noted that frankincense (hsūn-lu) expelled evil air and that pine resin (ju) had the same properties (3). And in the T'ang pen ts'ao's analysis of An-hsi perfume (bdellium) there appears an attribute which resembles the titles of the two books written about Kan-t'o-li's medical practices:

(1) Sui shu, 34, 32b. Their titles were: 乾陀利治鬼方 in ten chapters; 新錄乾陀利治鬼方 in four chapters. Ch'ên Pang-hsiān considered that these books, with other ones mentioned in the Sui shu bibliography, were evidence of Indian and Buddhist influences on Chinese medicine; Chung kuo i hsūeh shih, 151. Pilgrims were passing through Indonesia in these centuries, and it is likely that Buddhist influences were extended to matters of medicine. But I am more concerned with the mechanism of trade which brought both commodities and cultural influences from western Asia, via Indonesia, to China in the fifth and sixth centuries.

(2) I have consulted Feng Ch'eng-chūn's Hsi yü vi ming 西域
地志, Commercial Press, 1957, 29-30. It is true that Kan-t'o- is transcribed as 乾陀 and not as 斤陀 or 干陀 the characters used in the imperial histories for Kan-t'o-li, but I regard the presence of -li and not -lo as the fact which determines the identity of this name.

(3) ITKN, 34, 1371b.

主心腹惡氣免症

'It works on evil air in the system and devilish pestilences (1).'

I have suggested that by the end of the sixth century Indonesian benzoin, an equally famous fumifuge associated with the mystic treatment of fever and used in incantations, had overtaken bdellium in importance in the maritime trade of southern China. For these reasons I am inclined to regard the two books mentioned in the Sui shu as a comment on the fame one of the Indonesian kingdoms enjoyed in the sixth century in providing southern China with aromatic resins.

The notices about the 'perfumes and drugs' sent by the tributary kingdoms deserve to be emphasized, for they are consistent with the existence of the 'Persian' trade and are a significant feature of the accounts of Indonesia in the imperial histories of the fifth and sixth centuries. The appearance of 'perfumes and drugs' in the tribute of P'o-li and Tan-tan, though not evidence that these kingdoms were directly concerned in the trade with China, suggests that the merchandise in the China trade was circulating in Indonesia and that these rulers were aware of its importance to the Chinese emperors, whom they wished to please.

Where, then, in western Indonesia were the tributary

(1) CLPT, 13, 330b.

kingdoms ? Where were the coasts from which the 'Persian' traders operated ?

If there is any activity which exposes one to the danger of being banished to the lunatic fringe of early Indonesian studies, it is the attempt to draw a detailed map of Indonesia on the basis of the information in the Chinese imperial histories. One illustration will reveal the extraordinary diversity of opinions which have been held by scholars working in this field. P'o-li has been located in Borneo by Bretschneider (1), on the northern coast of Sumatra by Groeneveldt (2), and at Asahan on the north-east coast of Sumatra by Schlegel (3). Pelliot identified it with Bali (4), Gerini with the west coast of the Malay Peninsula (5), Moens with southern Sumatra and also with Java (6), Obdeijn with Bangka off the south-eastern coast of Sumatra (7), and Hsü

(1) On the knowledge possessed by the ancient Chinese ..., 1871, 18.

(2) Notes on the Malay Archipelago ..., 80. On page 84 he observed that all Chinese geographers understood P'o-li to be there.

(3) 'Geographical notes', TP (old series), 9, 1898, 276.

(4) 'Deux itinéraires', 283. He seems to have been influenced by the sound of the name. Pelliot never made another suggestion in respect of P'o-li, and Bali has remained the respectable identification; Coedès, États, 92. Coedès notes, however, that Pelliot regarded Borneo as the next best choice. Pelliot corrected an error of translation by Schlegel, who had said that Kaling (Holing) was 'east' of P'o-li, TP (old series), 1898, 273-4, quoting the Chiu T'ang shu. In fact P'o-li was 'east' of Ho-ling. For Pelliot Ho-ling was in Java.

(5) Researches on Ptolemy's Geography ..., London, 1909, 494.

(6) 'Srivijaya, Yāva en Katāha', JEBRAS, 17, 2, 1940, 28ff. For Moens the P'o-li of the sixth century was in Sumatra and of the seventh century in Java.

(7) 'Gegevens ter identificering van oude Sumatraansche toponiemen', Tijdaard, 44, 1944, 50.

Yün-ts'iao with Panel on the north-eastern coast of Sumatra (1). Sir Roland Braddell identified it with Borneo (2) and thus completed the cycle of identifications where Bretschneider began as long ago as 1871 (3).

What is the explanation of the elusiveness of early Indonesian historical geography in comparison with the much more confidently plotted map of the coastline of mainland South East Asia and the Malay Peninsula which scholars have reconstructed in the last sixty years? The explanations are simple ones. In the fifth and sixth centuries the imperial histories provide no geographical details at all. In the seventh and eighth centuries there is some information, but

(1) 'Notes on Tan-tan', JMBRAS, 20, I, 1947, 55. He had in mind archaeological remains in the hinterland of Panel.

(2) 'A note on Sambas and Borneo', JMBRAS, 22, 4, 1949, 1-15.

(3) Of the six tributary kingdoms only P'o-li has attracted this amount of interest, and the reason has been that in T'ang sources its 'western' neighbour is said to be Ho-ling. Ho-ling was an important kingdom, sending missions in the eighth and ninth centuries when the Chinese sources are silent about Śrīvijaya. P'o-li has therefore benefited from the interest scholars have shown in Ho-ling. There has been much less study of the other kingdoms except among those, like Gerini and Moens, who have used translations from the Chinese sources to reconstruct maps of South East Asia and Indonesia on an extravagantly ambitious scale. Gerini placed Ho-lo-tan on the west coast of the Peninsula, Kan-t'o-li on the east coast of the Peninsula, and Tan-tan off the west coast of the Peninsula or on the east coast of Sumatra; Researches, 469; 603; 585. Moens placed Ho-lo-tan on the north-east coast of Malaya and Kan-t'o-li at Atjeh; 'Śrīvijaya ...', 18-19. 'De Noord-Sumatranse rijken', 342-345. Hsü Yün-ts'iao, followed by Wheatley, places Tan-tan on the north-east coast of Malaya; 'Notes on Tan-tan', 63; Golden Khersonese, 55. I shall not analyse every study ever undertaken on the historical geography of early Indonesia but shall limit myself to those which I think have a fruitful bearing on the subject.

it is vitiated by the circumstance that no geographical feature has been identified with complete confidence as a fixed point or landmark which helps to supply even an approximate position for the other toponyms. In the study of mainland South East Asian historical geography Tongking, Lin-yi, Funan, and the Malay Peninsula are all recognisable in the Chinese sources, through which other places mentioned in connexion with them cease to be entirely meaningless. For Indonesia, on the other hand, the situation is entirely different. The break between the Peninsula and the Archipelago is an obvious one on the map, but it was not mentioned by the Chinese until about A.D. 800 (1). By this time the names of the tributary kingdoms of the fifth and sixth centuries had disappeared from Chinese records. Nor is Shê-p'ô an alternative fixed point. Ho-lo-tan and possibly P'ô-ta were in Shê-n'ô, and P'ô-li in later records was said to be east of Ho-ling, a country whose alternative name was Shê-p'ô. Pelliot long ago confirmed that Shê-p'ô was a transcription of 'Java' (2). Ferrand, however, showed that, among Arab writers, Zābāg, derived from 'Java', meant the island of Sumatra rather

(1) See page 396 below.

(2) 'Deux itinéraires', 287-288.

than of Java (1), and Pelliot thereafter was content to render Shē-p'ō as 'Sumatra-Java' (2).

Studies in early Indonesian historical geography do not make for exciting reading. The earliest ones, more than fifty years ago, lacked a background of Indonesian history provided from other sources of information, and when one reads them today they seem fanciful. A place of honour must be reserved, however, for Groeneveldt, who in 1876 translated and published numerous long passages from the Chinese histories and geographies (3). Not all his identifications are acceptable; nevertheless scholars have gratefully used his translations. But in the early years the favourite technique was to search modern maps for names which seemed to correspond in sound with the Chinese transcriptions. Schlegel (4) and Gerini (5) were conspicuous

(1) 'L'empire Sumatranais', 170-177. Ferrand pointed out that the Arabs called the Sumatran empire of Srivijaya Zabāg. Yet he does not seem to have been so convinced that the Chinese word Shē-p'ō invariably meant Sumatra. Ho-ling, also known as Shē-p'ō, was central Java; *ibid*, 37.

(2) 'Textes Chinois', 1925, 250.

(3) Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese sources, Batavia, 1876. He also published 'Supplementary jottings to the "Notes on the Malay Archipelago"', TP, old series, 7, 1896, 113-134.

(4) Schlegel published several articles in TP/ⁱⁿ~~between~~ 1898 and 1899. I list them in the bibliography.

(5) Gerini, Researches on Ptolemy's Geography ..., London, 1909. A curious feature of an altogether curious book is the scant use Gerini made of Pelliot's 'Deux itinéraires', published in 1904. He preferred to quote from Groeneveldt and from Hervey de Saint-Denys' translations from Ma Tuan-lin's Wên hsien t'ung k'ao, Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine, Genève, 2, 1883.

practitioners of this technique. Pelliot's approach in 1904 was immeasurably superior (1). He collected all the texts he could find and contented himself with explaining their geographical implications with scholarly caution. Only on the subject of She-p'o and Ho-ling was he emphatic; the former was the island of Java and the latter was on the same island. In subsequent decades, when further progress was made in the study of early Indonesian history from inscriptions, scholars have often consulted Pelliot's pioneer work (2). But Pelliot's translations have also created the opportunity for speculation, and Moens made the most of it by reading into them ingenious implications (3). Sir Roland Braddell, the descendant of an East India Company merchant, introduced a more practical approach by stressing the importance of navigational questions such as trade winds, a line of enquiry which led him to give prominence to Borneo as the island which he believed was often

(1) 'Deux itinéraires'. This is unquestionably the most important study ever made of the Chinese geographical sources relating to early Indonesia.

(2) Ferrand's study in 1919 is probably the most important successor to 'Deux itinéraires'; 'Le K'ouen-louen et les anciennes navigations', JA. Some of my conclusions are similar to Ferrand's.

(3) 'Çrīvijaya, Yāva en Kaṭāha', Tijd, 77, 1937, 317-486. (I have used the abbreviated translation in JMERAS.) This is a patchy and often irritatingly aggressive study, but I have found myself in agreement with Moens on two important points. 'De Noord-Sumatraanse rijken der parfums en specerijen in Voor-Moslimse tijd', Tijd (Madjalah), 85, 4, 1955-7, 325-364. A feature of this study is the importance Moens attached to evidence about the aromatic products of northern Sumatra. His approach to the subject was excellent but he distorted Pelliot's translations to suit his own purposes.

concealed by the Chinese toponyms (1). Finally in recent years M. Louis Damais, an Old-Javanese scholar as well as a sinologue, has been producing valuable results by investigating the indigenous words represented by the Chinese transcriptions (2). His interests are not limited to geographical terms but also include the titles of officials.

The record of the study of early Indonesian historical geography is therefore a long one, and I do not pretend to have succeeded in solving for all time the mysteries which have worried my predecessors. I have certainly not attempted to plot all the kingdoms on the map with exactness. Only inscriptions will enable us to do this. I have, however, tried to break new ground in several directions.

In the first place I have investigated some Chinese geographical passages of the third century, based on K'ang T'ai's writings. K'ang T'ai visited Funan and, if not a visitor to Indonesia, probably met those who traded there. His fragments have not hitherto been used in the context of early Indonesian history. By using this evidence it is possible to invoke a span of information from the third to the eighth century which

(1) 'Notes on Ancient times in Malaya', JMBRAS, 24, 1, 1951, 18-27.

(2) 'Review of Poerbatjaraka, Riwayat Indonesia', BEFEO, 48, 2, 1957, 607-649; 'Etudes Sino-Indonésiennes', BEFEO, 50, 1, 1900, 1-35. I have been able to borrow a manuscript by this author on the subject of the kingdom of Ho-ling, to which I refer on page 428, ~~and~~ note 1 .

deals with several parts of the region. The results show that there is unlikely to have been a shift in the location of the chief harbours during this long period. In this way one is on good ground when one eliminates certain areas as the ^{Sites} ~~region~~ of the trading kingdoms in the fifth and sixth centuries. If in both the third and the seventh century the prominent trading centres were in approximately the same place, it is unreasonable to suppose that in the intervening period they had languished.

In the second place, I have paid particular attention to three of the tributary kingdoms whose names survive into the better documented records referring to the seventh century. They are Ho-lo-tan, Tan-tan, and P'o-li. I have noted that the information about Tan-tan and P'o-li reveals a surprising degree of consistency. This consistency, reinforced by the fact that some of the passages in question owe their origin probably to Ch'ang Chün and others certainly to I Tsing, has encouraged me to describe with some confidence the region in western Indonesia represented by Tan-tan and P'o-li. Both Ch'ang Chün, who visited Indonesia between 607 and 610 (1), and I Tsing, who was there at intervals between 671 and 695, were eye-witnesses, and the coherence of their information is an aspect of the evidence which deserves attention. These two

(1) On Ch'ang Chün 常 駿 see page 362.

writers seem to me to provide the fixed point on the map from where one can proceed with more assurance in narrowing down the possibilities for the remainder of the tributary kingdoms. I have come to have a high regard for the accuracy of I Tsing's evidence.

In the third place, I have called attention to two vintages of information about Ho-ling, a toponym which co-exists with the last references to P'o-li and Tan-tan and therefore cannot be excluded from the subject. The location of Ho-ling may have a bearing on the location of one of the tributary kingdoms of the earlier period.

The consequence of these lines of enquiry is an outline map of western Indonesia as it was known to the Chinese in the fifth and sixth centuries (1). It is not the map which I imagined would emerge when I first became interested in the subject, for it includes Java and I had not imagined that Javanese kingdoms sent tribute to China in that period. On the other hand, the map does not contradict the impression created by the examination of the 'Persian' trade, which was that Sumatran ports flourished on account of the trade which made its way to China close enough to the jungle areas of northern Sumatra to stimulate a trade in substitute resins. This is the

(1) My conclusions are summarised in Map 3 at the end of the study.

geographical conclusion which seems to have the chief bearing on the origins of Srivijaya, a problem with which the remaining part of this study will be increasingly concerned.

The early historical geography of western Indonesia is largely a study of coasts, and I shall be dealing with the following coasts: those of northern and western Borneo, both of which had access to the South China Sea, while the west coast of Borneo is only about 400 miles from the southern entrance to the Straits of Malacca; the coasts of northern Sumatra, by which I mean the west coast of the island north of the equator, the northern coast from Atjeh Head to Diamond Point, and the east coast on the Straits of Malacca; the southeastern coast of Sumatra south of the Straits; and the northern coast of Java (1). In the following chapter I deal with the coasts of Borneo and northern Sumatra, and I have come to the conclusion that in the fifth and sixth centuries they were inhospitable ones, unlikely to have provided harbours for the 'Persian' trade. I shall first consider the evidence about Borneo.

(1) The reader can refer to Map 1 which contains modern place-names.

CHAPTER TWELVEINHOSPITABLE COASTS IN WESTERN INDONESIA IN THE
FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES

Two Chinese travellers, one in the third century and the other at the beginning of the seventh, have described what they believed lay east of the Malay Peninsula, and a comparison of their evidence leads to the impression that none of the tributary kingdoms ^{WEWE} ~~lay~~ on the coast of Borneo.

The seventh century description is clearer and more convincing. In 607 Ch'ang Chün ^{常 馮 公}, an envoy of the Sui emperor Yang Ti, was sent to South East Asia to 'open up communications ^{通 絕 域} ' on behalf of the dynasty (1). His first port of call was on the coast of Ch'ih T'u ^{赤 土}, a kingdom which Professor Wheatley has convincingly located as being somewhere south of Patani on the south-east coast of the Malay Peninsula (2). Ch'ang Chün, who did not return to China until 610, visited other parts of South East Asia south of Ch'ih T'u, and we shall have occasion to consult further records which may be attributed to his expedition (3). The Sui shu contains a long account of Ch'ang Chün's visit to Ch'ih T'u,

(1) Sui shu, 82, 4a

(2) Golden Khersonese, 26-36.

(3) As a result of the mission there appeared the Ch'ih T'u kuo chi ^{赤 土 國 記}, in two chuan; HTS, 58, 19a. It is ascribed to Ch'ang Chun and others.

and it is to the envoy that I attribute the following passage:

東波羅刺國西漢羅婆國南訶羅旦國
北拒大海也

'To the east (of Ch'ih T'u) is the country of Po-lo-la, to the west that of P'o-lo-so; and to the south that of Ho-lo-tan. To the north it borders on the sea (1).'

Later texts, reproducing this information, give slightly different transcriptions of Po-lo-la: Po-lo-ch'a 波羅刺 (2) P'o-lo-la 漢羅刺 (3). Since Po-lo-la appears in the earliest source, it is the form I shall use.

Ch'ang Chün's itinerary to the Peninsula has been recorded. He sailed down the Annam coast and his last glimpse of land was at Ling-ch'ieh-po-pa-to 陵伽鉢拔多, facing Champa on the west, and taken to be a transcription of Lingaparvata island (4). Po-lo-la could therefore not have been on or off the mainland coast, for it was not included in Ch'ang Chün's itinerary to Ch'ih T'u. Instead it must have been in an eastern direction from the Peninsula, and a glance at the map suggests that in fact it lay to the south-east (5). Po-lo-la

(1) Sui shu, 82, 3a.

(2) T'ung tien, 188, 1009.

(3) TPYL, 787, 3487a, quoting the Sui shu. P'o- and Po- are sometimes interchangeable in transcribing foreign place-names. The TFYK, 968, 11381a, renders Shê-p'o as Shê-po. T'ao Hung-ching, quoted by Li Hsün, rendered P'o-lu ('Barus') as Po-lu; CLPT, 13, 321b. There is no aspirate in the Indonesian languages and P'o instead of Po would have no significance.

(4) Ferrand, JA, volume 13, 1919, 308.

(5) In note 1 on page 473 I observe how in a carefully plotted itinerary Java is said to be 'east' of the southern end of the Malay Peninsula. I believe that the Chinese conventionally regarded western Indonesia as lying due 'south' of China and that their geographical orientations should therefore be tilted accordingly. 'East' in connexion with Chin-li-p'i-shih seems to be 'south-east' rather than 'east' of the southern Malay Peninsula.

could only have been the Anambas or Natuna islands or on the western coast of Borneo. It was not, however, the only place known to be 'east' of Ch'ih T'u. There was also Chin-li-p'i-shih 金利昆逝 which appears in the T'ai p'ing huan yū chi as follows:

金利昆逝國在京西南四百餘里...東去至物國
二千里西去赤土國千五百里南去波利國三千里
北去柳衛國三千里其國有城邑庭舍衣朝霞
白^白與^與每食先泥上鋪席後坐國王知本物揚牙
前有隊仗甲鑿甲用貝物植^植及其國信物
產^產與^與真^真月^月降^降同

'Chin-li-p'i-shih is more than 40,000 li south-west of the capital (of China) ... To its east is Chih-wu, 2,000 li away. To its west is Ch'ih T'u, 1,500 li away. To its south is Po-li, 3,000 li away. To its north is Liu-ch'u. In this country (Chin-li-p'i-shih) there are cities and houses. The clothes worn (?) on top of their white cloth are the colour of the morning clouds. For every meal they first lay a mat on the ground, on which food is spread, and they then sit down. The name of the ruler is P'en-to-yang-ya. Soldiers march in front of him. They have weapons, armour, and helmets. The utensils (of the people of this country) are mostly made of tree bark. Their customs and products are similar to those of Chên-la (Cambodia) (1).'

(1) TPHYC, 177, 13a-b. In this passage there is also an alleged itinerary from Chin-li-p'i-shih to China. I translate it on page 433, where its contents are more suitably discussed. The T'ang hui yao, 100, 1791, transcribes the name of this kingdom as Chin-li-p'i-chia 金利毗加, but Pelliot considered that the account in the TPHYC was the more accurate one; 'Deux itinéraires' 324, note 5. It is tempting to regard Liu-ch'u 柳衛 as a reference to the Liu chui islands called in the Sui shu Liu-ch'iu 流求. Is P'en-to 本物 in the ruler's name connected with the Indonesian title dapunta hiyau, which occurs for example in the Kêdukan Bukit inscription of Srivijaya in 683 ?

Scholars have sometimes seized on a casual suggestion by Pelliot that Chin-li-p'i-shih was a transcription early in the seventh century for 'Śrīvijaya', or Palembang, before Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 was adopted (1). If this is true, the statement that Chin-li-p'i-shih was 'east' of Ch'ih T'u has to be ignored, unless one wants to argue that Śrīvijaya was originally in Borneo. The necessary emendment of the position of Chin-li-p'i-shih to read 'south' instead of 'east' must also be reconciled with the circumstance that the Sui shu in fact mentions a country which was south of Ch'ih T'u; it was Ho-lo-tan (2). I cannot see why the straightforward position of Chin-li-p'i-shih, probably supplied by Ch'ang Chün himself, should not be accepted, and I find myself in agreement with Moens on the direction where it should be found, though he ventured a specific location for this kingdom, called by him Girivijaya, in the country known today as Sarawak (3). It is true that p'i-shih 毗訶 is a transcription of

(1) 'Deux itinéraires', 324-5, note 5; Ferrand, JA, Mars-Avril 1919, 293; Luce, JBR, 14, 1925, 176; Coedès, États, 138.

(2) Sui shu, 82, 138.

(3) 'Śrīvijaya, Yāva en Katāha', 32-33.

'Vijaya' (1), but I am satisfied that this 'Vijaya' was the name of a kingdom which had no connexion with the famous Śrīvijaya. The proof, which Moens also noted, is that later in the same century I Tsing mentions a 'Vijayapura' under the form of Fo-shih-p'u-lo 佛逝補羅 (2). The ~~name~~ name occurs in his list of countries 'enumerated from the west', beginning with 'Barus' and Malayu in northern and south-eastern Sumatra respectively (3). Vijayapura and Śrīvijaya therefore co-existed in western Indonesia. (Chin-li-p'i-shih and Fo-shih (-p'u-lo) both contain 'vijaya' in their name; Chin-li 金利 is probably the honorific Śrī and p'u-lo certainly merely means 'city'. I therefore regard them as two separate transcriptions of the same name. And any remaining doubt that this is so is removed by the circumstance that, according to the T'ai p'ing

(1) P'i 兒 is used to supply the v sound in Chinese transcriptions of foreign sounds: e.g. Chia-p'i-li 加毗黎 = Kaveri in Liu Sung shu, 97, 10b. The ruler of Kan-t'o-li in 518 was P'i-hsi (ia)-pa-mo 毗耶摩 跋摩 which is usually rendered as 'Vijayavarman'; Coedès, Etats, 95, P'i 兒 is in fact a closer rendering of vi- than the fo- 佛 in the name of the famous Śrīvijaya, where the vi- sound seems to become bu by a process of labialisation; Coedès, BEFEO, 18, 6, 1918, 24. Shih 逝 appears in the transcription of the Palembang Śrīvijaya. I Tsing uses it for je in jeta and ji in ojjihane. Chin-li 金利 is probably Shih-li 舍利, and where Chin 金 has been confused with Shih 逝. These transcriptions were exhaustively discussed by Coedès, in his pioneer study of 1918, when he identified the real name of Shih-li-fo-shih as 'Śrīvijaya' and, following Pelliot's hint, regarded Chin-li-p'i-shih as an earlier form of the name; ibid, 23-25.

(2) Nan hai chi kuei nei fa chuan, Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 54, no. 2125, 205b; Takakusu, Record, 10. The characters Fo-shih are those used in the name of the famous Śrīvijaya. P'u-lo is the conventional transcription for -pura, of which several examples are given in Feng Ch'eng-Chūn's Hsi yū ti ming: e.g. under Isanapura, Anandapura etc.

(3) The text is given on page 389.

huan yū chi, P'o-li 波利 (= P'o-li 婆利) (1) was situated close enough to Chin-li-p'i-shih to be chosen to describe the region south of it, while in I Tsing's list from 'west' to 'east' P'o-li 婆利 is separated from Fo-shih-p'u-lo only by Chüeh-lun 掘倫, a word which was not a toponym but an ethnic term referring to a primitive population east of P'o-li (2). It is true that I Tsing does not describe P'o-li as 'south' of Fo-shih-p'u-lo, but the sequence of his toponyms makes it reasonably certain that I Tsing was referring to the place known as Chin-li-p'i-shih in the T'ai p'ing huan yū chi as 'east' of the Malay Peninsula. The consistency between the two statements about this 'Vijaya' country is too close for there to be much doubt that the same 'Vijaya' was being described. If the parallelism in these two groups of evidence is rejected, it is unlikely that any map of western Indonesia in the seventh century will be reconstructed on the basis of the

(1) I follow Pelliot in accepting Po-li in this passage as the equivalent of P'o-li; 'Deux itinéraires', 326, note 5. It is unthinkable that there should have been two countries with such similar names; one also takes into account the fact that P'o-li had an existence at least as early as the first half of the fifth century and would have been a well known toponym.

(2) The significance of Chüeh-lun becomes clear when one notes that other accounts of P'o-li state that 'east' of it was the country of the Lo-ch'a 羅利 = rākṣasas = primitive people. I Tsing elsewhere uses Chüeh-lun as an ethnic term for the more primitive population of the Archipelago. The consistency of the evidence about the population beyond P'o-li is therefore complete. This is another and the last point where I find myself in agreement with Moens; 'Śrīvijaya, Jāva en Katāha, 36-37. I discuss this matter further on pages 421-5.

Chinese evidence so far available (1). For me, this place was somewhere in western Borneo, and I shall henceforth refer to it by I Tsing's name of Vijayapura in order to distinguish it from the famous Śrīvijaya at Palembang.

There is no reference to any embassy to China sent by Vijayapura, in spite of the fact that it was apparently the chief kingdom known to Ch'ang Chūn in the region lying east of

(1) The clarification of the historical geography of early western Indonesia depends, in my opinion, on the recognition of the existence of Vijayapura somewhere in western Borneo. As a result one can identify most of the toponyms which occur from 430 to the end of the seventh century with either Borneo, Java, or Sumatra and thus bring to an end a situation in which P'o-li, for example, has been identified with the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Bali, and Borneo. It will be observed that I agree with Moens' understanding of the Chin-li-p'i-shih evidence, and it may be asked why his conclusion has not been recognised by other scholars. One reason, perhaps, is because Moens reconstructed his map on the basis of other scholars' translations, but I fear that the chief reason is that Moens has never been taken very seriously. 'Śrīvijaya, Jāva en Katāha' contains some fantastic notions such as the transfer of the capital of Śrīvijaya from the Malay Peninsula to two centres on the east coast of Sumatra. His work abounds in hypotheses and is often so unreal that one becomes suspicious and abandons it. I have to confess that I did not realise that he had anticipated me in connexion with Chin-li-p'i-shih until I had formed my own conclusion. It is a pity that Moens spoilt his article by including in it fanciful reconstructions.

the Malay Peninsula (1). From this I infer that as late as about A.D. 600 rulers in Borneo had no direct contacts with the Chinese emperors (2). I do not, of course, suggest that there had been no commercial or cultural developments in Borneo by that time. There are Sanskrit inscriptions of fifth century vintage found as far away as Kutei in eastern Borneo (3). In the ninth century Po-ni 勃泥, or Brunei in northern Borneo, was a trading centre, and in 977 it sent its first mission to China (4). Obviously there must have been

(1) It is uncertain for how long Ch'ih T'u was known to the Chinese by that name. Though I Tsing mentions Lang-ya-hsiu as Lang-chia-shu 郎加休, he does not mention Ch'ih T'u, which was only a little way south of Lang-chia-shu. Ch'ih T'u sent missions in 608, 609, 610. Attention has been called to a statement in the Yu hai, 16, 6, concerning the Chu fan hsing chi 諸蕃行記, written in the 674-5 period and purporting to be an account in one chapter of a Chinese mission under Hung T'ung 弘通 which travelled from Ch'ih T'u to Ch'u-na-? 辰那 and visited 36 countries; H. Wada, 'A Chinese Embassy to the southern sea countries at the middle of the 7th century', Toyo Gakuho Reports of the Research Department of the Oriental Society, Tokyo, 33, 1, December, 1950, 64-74. Professor Wheatley does not quote this reference to Ch'ih T'u. I Tsing, who would have been Hung T'ung's contemporary, does not mention Ch'ih T'u, though he knew of Lang-chia-shu, Ch'ih T'u's neighbour. I feel that Ch'ang Chun, who is known to have visited Ch'ih T'u, is the only certain source of information about this country and the neighbouring regions. He spent three years overseas and wrote a book when he returned; this book is mentioned in the Hsin T'ang shu. For me any reference to Ch'ih T'u is probably a reference to information of the 607-610 period.

(2) The first half of the seventh century was a time when a number of missions were sent from South East Asian states, yet none came from Vijayapura. I mention these missions, together with the trading background, on pages 503-516.

(3) I mention the Kutei inscriptions on page 484.

(4) The 977 mission is in Sung shih, 489, 19a. This account says that in former times missions had not been sent and as a result Po-ni was not mentioned in the histories 前代未嘗奉朝貢故史籍不載; ibid, 19a. For the identification of Po-ni, with Brunei, see Pelliot, Hōja, 267, note 346.

steady progress for centuries on the coasts of Borneo. Moreover on the Kapuas (Kapoeas) river in western Borneo Hindu and Buddhist remains have been found; the Buddhist relics have been described as unlike Javanese art, though later than the Kutei remains. Pallava-type inscriptions have also been found on the Kapuas river. Unfortunately, it has been impossible to date any of these pieces of evidence (1). The Kapuas is a navigable river, and it would be surprising if its inhabitants did not trade with the outside world. I do not think, however, that it traded with China in the fifth and sixth centuries. Its produce would have been re-exported through the more advanced centres in the region.

In view of the evidence about Po-lo-la and Chin-li-p'i-shih I am unable to accept Sir Roland Braddell's view that early foreign references to 'Java' included western Borneo, even though harbours on that coast were close to the trade route from the Straits of Malacca to China. Sir Roland was impressed by the mineral wealth of Borneo, the archaeological discoveries, and Mr. Grimes' meteorological reconstruction of Fa Hsien's voyage which seemed to place Yeh-p'o-ti in western Borneo (2).

(1) The Kapuas remains are discussed in Krom, Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis, 75-76. Remains have also been found at Sambas; see several articles in JMBRAS, 22, 4, 1949, by Nilakanta Sastri and others. These remains are at present under examination in the British Museum, and I understand that they may be later than the period with which I am concerned.

(2) Sir Roland's views are contained in 'A note on Sambas and Borneo', JMBRAS, 22, 4, 1949, 1-12, and 'Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya', JMBRAS, 24, 1, 1951, 18-27.

For me the absence of missions from the region 'east' of Ch'ih T'u is the decisive argument against believing that any of the tributary kingdoms of earlier times were on that coast.

My impression of the relative backwardness of this region is not contradicted by the Chinese evidence of the third century. Though there is no evidence that K'ang T'ai actually visited the Malay Peninsula, he knew something of Chū-li on the isthmus of the Peninsula and not very far north of the country later known as Ch'ih T'u (1). Chū-li was a Funanese dependency, and K'ang T'ai must have spoken to Funanese merchants acquainted with Chū-li (1). To some extent, therefore, both K'ang T'ai and Ch'ang Chūn were describing South East Asia as known from the same coast. According to K'ang T'ai's Fu nan t'u tsu

拘日利正東行極山崎互有海邊有居人人皆有尾
五六寸多謂羅中國其倍食人。

'One goes due east of Chū-li. If one goes to the end of the rugged headlands (one will find) that there are inhabitants on the sea shore. These people have tails five or six ts'un long. The place is called P'u-lo-chung. It is the custom of the people (there) to eat human beings (2).'

The reference to the inhabitants' 'tails' does not discredit this passage. An explanation is available in the ceremonial dress and bird plumage worn by the men depicted in the famous

(1) Chū-li 拘利 is the place known in the Nan chou i wu chih
 (1) Chū-li 拘利 is the place known in the Nan chou i wu chih
 as Chū-chih 拘利 . See page 79, note 1.
 (2) TPYL, 787, 3485a.

bronze drums of early South East Asia (1). There may be a connexion between the bird plumage and the practice of head-hunting (2). The people of P'u-lo-chung were said to be cannibals, and one of the motives of cannibalism in Indonesia has been to acquire the spiritual power reposing in the head.

Students of the scenes on the bronze drums have also taken note of the similarity between the ships on the drums and the Borneo Dayak 'ships of the dead', wall-paintings of which have recently been found in a Sarawak cave (3). The Dayaks have been headhunters, though by no means the only ones in South East Asia. K'ang T'ai's description of the people of P'u-lo-chung is therefore not inconsistent with their being in Borneo. Both P'u-lo-chung and Po-lo-la were said to be 'east' of more or less the same part of the Malay Peninsula. In neither case does the accompanying detail suggest that the region was particularly advanced.

Professor Stein has argued that P'u-lo-chung may have been Pulo Condore, a small island off the coast of Cochin-China.

Hou Han shu, 116, 23b-24a, says of the Ngai-lao 哀牢 barbarians of south-western China: 'They tattoo their bodies with patterns like those on dragons and their clothes all have tails 種人皆刻畫其身象龍文衣服皆著尾'.

(2) Schuster, 'Head-hunting symbolism on the bronze drums of the

ancient Dongson culture and in the modern Balkans', Actes IV Congr. intern. Sc. Anthropol. et Ethnol., 1952, II, 1955, 278-282.

(3) See Tom Harrison, 'The Caves of Niah: A History of Prehistory', The Sarawak Museum Journal, 8, December, 1958, 549-595 and especially 588-590.

His translation of the K'ang T'ai passage is thus:

'... quand on va droit à l'Est de Pao (木) faute graphique pour kiu (木) ou (木)) -li on atteint comme pointe extrême une montagne isolée (K'i-t'eu, une île-montagne escarpée). Les habitants au bord de la mer ont tous une queue de 5 à 6 pouce. (L'île) s'appelle Royaume de P'ou-lo-tchong ...' (2).

His understanding of the location of P'u-lo-chung was influenced by his conclusion that Ptolemy's Cattigara, 'the port of the Sinai', was in the neighbourhood of Cap St. Jacques near Saigon, for he saw a special significance in the word 木₃₂ as meaning 'un pole, l'extrémité d'un orient', and wondered whether the term could be explained by the fact that Cattigara was at the very edge of Ptolemy's map and therefore the 'extreme point'. By a complicated process of reasoning he was led to enquire whether P'u-lo-chung, with its tailed men, was Ptolemy's 'Three Islands of the Satyrs', situated in front of Cattigara and therefore Pulo Condore, not far from Cap St. Jacques.

This is an interesting theory, but it does not convince me. I do not wish to comment on Professor Stein's views about Cattigara, but K'ang T'ai obviously knew very much more about South East Asia than Ptolemy did. No foreigner, whose records survive, knew more of Funan than he did. One therefore asks why should K'ang T'ai have described Pulo Condore, a little group of islands lying east of Cochin-China, in terms of their

(1) 'Le Lin-yi', 115.

location from the Malay Peninsula and not from Funan. Pulo Condore could hardly have been a sailors' landmark on the route across the Gulf of Siam to Oc-Eo, on the west coast of Cochin-China and perhaps the most important of the Fujianese harbours. Instead I prefer to identify P'u-lo-chung as lying in a south-eastern direction from Chū-li, just as Po-lo-la in fact lay in a south-eastern direction from Ch'ih T'u. P'u-lo-chung could have been the Anambas or Natuna islands or western Borneo itself. Perhaps the 'rugged headlands' were these islands, with P'u-lo-chung lying beyond on the Borneo coast.

The horizon east of Chū-li was certainly a bleak one. Nowhere comparable with Ko-ying or Ssū-t'iao was known there, and the continued isolation of the area as late as Ch'ang Chūn's time is not surprising. This part of Indonesia is in fact mentioned in early Chinese records only because two Chinese visited South East Asia. When Ch'ang Chūn went home, the curtain again fell on Borneo until the island began to be known in the ninth century. The tributary kingdoms and Po-ssū bases were not there.

I shall now examine the evidence about the coasts of the northern half of Sumatra. The northern and north-western coasts of this island lie on the Straits of Malacca, while the jungle in the interior contains trees whose aromatic resins found a place in the 'Persian' trade. For these two reasons alone these coasts would appear to have enjoyed commercial advantages

in early times. Yet this was not so.

In later and better documented centuries trading centres grew up on three parts of the northern coasts of Sumatra. During the period extending from the time of the ninth century Arab writers until that of Tomé Pires early in the 16th century there are continuous references to the most northern part of the island from Atjeh Head to Diamond Point. The Arabs knew of Rāmnī, which was bounded by two seas; the sea of Harkand and the sea of Salāht. The former was the Bay of Bengal and the latter is believed to be derived from the Malay word selat or 'Straits'. Rāmnī therefore seems to be a general name for the extreme north of Sumatra (1). The name survived and eventually had a more restricted meaning, for Sulaymān al-Mahrī in the first half of the 16th century refers to 'the port of Pedir under the Lāmuri mountain' (2). Lāmuri is one of the names for which the Arab Rāmnī is an equivalent. Tomé Pires is even more specific and tells us that 'Lambry is right next

(1) It was probably a fairly large area because it was said to have several kings; Sauvaget, Relation, 4. The same paragraph gives its position between the two seas. For the equivalents of Rāmnī in other languages see note 2 on page 37 of Sauvaget's study and also Cowan, Bijd, 90, 1933, 421-424.

(2) Ferrand, 'L'empire sumatranais', 102. Yet Buzurg in the tenth century refers to 'the valley of Lameri', which suggests a specific region; Le livre des merveilles de l'Inde, Van der Lith (French translation by Devic), 66.

to Achin' (1). There are numerous references to the Lāmuri name. Ilāmuridēśam was raided by the Tamils in 1025 (2). Chou Ch'ū-fei in 1178 and Chao Ju-kua in 1225 mention Lan-li 藍里 and Lan-wu-li 藍無里 respectively, and according to Chou Ch'ū-fei Chinese ships wintered there; by that time it must have been an important trading centre (3). Marco Polo in 1292 mentions Lambri among a number of places in northern Sumatra (4), while the Javanese poem Nagarakrtāgama describes Lamuri as a dependency of the Javanese kingdom of Majapahit (5). Early in the 15th century Ma Huan knew of Nan-p'o-li 南浦里 and said that it was where 'the western ocean actually began' (6). Ma Huan also knew of Su-mén-ta-la 蘇門答刺, or Samudra-Pasai further east on the same extreme north coast of the island. Finally Pires mentions a number of centres on the same coast. Fedir had once been important, but in his day Pasai was the chief port (7).

There is a similar continuity of notices about centres on the north-eastern coast of Sumatra from Diamond Point to the southern entrance of the Straits of Malacca. In the 16th

(1) Suma Oriental, I, 138. 'Achin is the first country on the channel side of the island of Sumatra'; *ibid.* Thus Pires knew Atjeh and Lambry as being on the Straits of Malacca, the Salāht sea of the Arabs.

(2) Hultzsch, South-Indian inscriptions, II, 105; Epigr. Indica, IX, 231.

(3) Ling wai tai ta, 2, 23; Chu fan chih, 20.

(4) Moule and Pelliot, Marco Polo, 1, 376.

(5) Pigeaud, Java in the 14th century, The Hague, 11.

(6) Ying yai shêng lan, 32-33.

(7) Suma Oriental, I, 135-145.

century none of them were as important as Atjeh on the extreme northern coast, and very little is known of them before that time. This coast corresponds to the country known to the Arab writers as Salāht, which, according to Ibn Khurdādbih, was a centre for sandalwood, Indian nard, and cloves (1). The Tamils in 1025 raided Pannai, which has been taken to mean Panai on this coast (2). Chao Ju-kua mentions Pa-t'a 拔朥 possibly meaning the Batak lands known to Conti as 'Bateth, the man-eaters', and to Pires as Pata on the same coast (3). Chao Ju-kua also mentions Chien-pei 監裴, which seems to correspond to the Nampe of the Nagarakrtāgama and the Kan-pei anchorage 甘杯 of the Wu pei chih 武備志 sailing charts, identified with Aru Bay (4). Ma Huan mentions Aru 亞魯, while Wang Ta-yüan in 1349 mentions Tan-yang 淡洋, believed to be the mouth of the Tamiang river just north of Aru (5). Finally Pires mentions Aru, Arcat, Rokan, and Siak as well as Pata on this coast (6).

(1) Ferrand, Textes, I, 28. Ibn Roste, writing about 903 and perhaps basing his information on a more complete form of Ibn Khurdādbih's work, says that cubeb was one of the perfumes of this island; Textes, I, 79. On Ibn Roste see Sauvaget, Relation, xxiv.

(2) See note 2 on page 376 above. Pane is mentioned in the Nagarakrtāgama.

(3) Chu fan chih, 13; Suma Oriental, I, 145-146.

(4) Chu fan chih, 13; Pigeaud, Java in the 14th century, 11; for the reference in the Wu pei chih I am grateful to Mr. J.V. Mills.

(5) Ying yai sheng lan, 26; Rockhill, TP, 16, 1951, 143. Aru is also mentioned by Rasid ad-Din in 1310; Ferrand, Textes, 2, 361.

(6) Suma Oriental, I, 145-150.

There is an equally continuous string of references to the west coast of Sumatra from Atjeh Head southwards, but this coast seems to have become a prominent trading region later than the other two coasts I have just described. In the ninth century the Arabs knew of Fansur as a famous camphor-producing area and one of Buzurg's informants, an Oman merchant, visited it in the first half of the tenth century and reported that tailed man-eaters lived between Fansur and Lamuri (1). Fansur is almost certainly the name of the village of Pansur, in the immediate hinterland of Barus on the north-west coast (2). The Arabs seem to have regarded Fansur merely as an appendage of Rāmnī and in a wild area. Pansur rather than Barus is the name which appears in most of the accounts of Sumatra before Pires' Suma Oriental. Chao Ju-kua speaks of PIn-su 賓 寧 (3), Marco Polo of Fansur (4), while the Wu pei chih sailing directions, probably compiled on the basis of Cheng Ho's voyages in the first half of the 15th century (5), mentions Pan-tsu 班 土 卒 in a long list of landmarks known

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- (1) Le livre des merveilles de l'Inde, 125. For the dating of Buzurg's informants see Sauvaget, 'Sur d'anciennes instructions nautiques arabes pour les mers de l'Inde', JA, 236, 1948, 11-20.
 (2) For the geography of this region see Van Vuuren, 'De handel van Baroes', Tijd. aard, 24, 1389-1402.
 (3) Chu fan chih, 91, in connexion with camphor.
 (4) Moule and Pelliot, Marco Polo, 1, 376.
 (5) According to Mills this map indicates the sea-routes taken by the ships of the imperial fleets sent out by the early Ming emperors; J.V. Mills, 'Chinese coastal maps', Imago Mundi, XI, 1954, 154.

to mariners on the west coast of Sumatra (1). The toponym 'Barus' is far less certainly used. Ibn Khurdādhbih states that Kilah, on the west coast of the Peninsula (2), was two days from 'Balus', inhabited by man-eaters and a source of excellent camphor (3), but this reads more like an alternative name for northern Sumatra as a whole than a reference to the port today called Barus and near Pansur. The Nagarakṛtāgama mentions 'Barus' as a dependency of Majapahit (4), but in this case it may mean in fact the Pansur region as distinct from Lamuri further north, which is mentioned in the same source.

Evidence of an early trading settlement on the north-western coast is very indistinct. Buzurg's informants visited it but did not describe any important centre there. The Tamils do not claim to have raided it in 1025, for neither Pansur nor Barus appears in the list of 13 places attacked that year. In 1088, however, a Tamil trading corporation erected an inscription inland of Barus, which suggests that by that time foreign merchants were visiting it more frequently (5). But it is only with Pires that one has the first authentic account of a flourishing port on the north-west coast of Sumatra (6).

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- (1) I am again grateful to Mr. Mills for this information.
 (2) Professor Wheatley has located Kilah, usually known as Kalah, on the Tenasserim coast; Golden Harsonese, 223-224.
 (3) Ferrand, Textes, I, 27.
 (4) Pigeaud, Java in the 14th century, 11.
 (5) Nilakanta Sastri, 'A Tamil merchant-guild in Sumatra', Tijd, 72, 1932, 314-327.
 (6) Suma Oriental, I, 161-2. 'Sumatra calls it Baros', whereas, according to Pires, the foreigners called it Panchur.

I do not deny the possibility of occasional visits by foreign ships to this coast of man-eaters, behind which grew the camphor and benzoin trees,^{though} ~~but~~ I suspect that the port known today as Barus became busy only when the Menangkabau country in the highlands to its south-west was developing. Pires implies that Barus, Priaman, and Tico were important because they gave access to the Menangkabau (1). But the chief conclusion which I draw from these scanty references to the north-west coast is the absence of certain evidence before the 16th century that 'Barus' was the name of a port there. The Ming sailing chart is especially significant on account of its wealth of topographical detail.

The picture which has emerged of the trading coasts of the northern half of Sumatra from the ninth century onwards therefore suggests that the extreme north coast contained the chief harbours, that there were also some centres on the north-east coast, but that the north-west coast, though occasionally visited by enterprising foreigners, was better known as a camphor-producing area than because it possessed an

(1) Ibid. 'These three kingdoms ... are the key to the land of Menangkabau, both because they are all related, and because they possess the sea coast ...' The origins of the Menangkabau kingdom in the interior of central Sumatra are unknown. There is an inscription of 1286 of Padang Rocho on the upper Batang Hari which refers to the country of Malayu; Krom, Versl. en Med. Kon. Akad. Wetens., Letterk., 5, 2, 1916, 306. Deutz relates the tradition that Hindus were established at Barus first and succeeded in the area by Bataks. Later Malays came and founded a village at Barus; Tijdschrift, 22, 1875, 157.

important harbour. This picture has to be borne in mind when we consider what is known of northern Sumatra before about A.D. 800. Until that time foreigners seem to have been aware of only two trading centres. Where were they? To what extent were they trading with India and China in the fifth and sixth centuries?

The earliest reference to northern Sumatra is contained in Ptolemy's Geographia. Ptolemy, probably drawing on the experiences of Indian merchants, records the existence of the man-eaters of the 'five Barousai islands' and the 'three Sabadibai islands', two areas which would have been avoided when the Indians made their way to the civilised region of Iabadiou (1). In Ptolemy's book the 'Barousai islands' appear as the most western toponym which can be associated with Indonesia, though it is not mentioned in the list of place-names in the Niddesa commentary, probably because it was not somewhere sought out by merchants intent on gain.

The T'ang sources make it clear that the 'Barus' toponym continued to be identified with northern Sumatra, but first I wish to consider a much earlier Chinese reference to northern Sumatra, though not under the name of 'Barus'. In an earlier chapter I observed the way the Ptolemaic picture of western Indonesia corresponded with that revealed in the Chinese records of the third century (2). In both cases the prosperous

(1) Book VII, chapter 2, section 28; Renou's text, 59.
 (2) Pages 103-104.

region, visited by Indians, was conceived as being at the western end of Iabadiou and the Ko-ying - Ssü-t'iao complex respectively. The same correspondence may now be taken a stage further. Not only did Ptolemy know of savage lands which lay between the Indian Ocean and Iabadiou. K'ang T'ai also seems to have heard of northern Sumatra in similar terms, for the following passage appears in the T'ai p'ing yū lan. The first part of it is a repetition of part of the information about P'u-lo-chung quoted earlier in this chapter.

扶南土俗傳曰拘利東有瀾羅中人人皆有尾
長五六寸其俗食人按其地並西南瀾羅
蓋尾濮之地名

'(K'ang T'ai's) Fu nan t'u tsu chuan. East of Chū-li are the P'u-lo-chung people. They all have tails five or six ts'un long. Their custom is to eat men. I note that this place (P'u-lo-chung) and also the south-western P'u-lo are probably place-names of the Mei-(tailed) p'u (1).'

Who wrote 'I note'? The T'ai p'ing huan yū chi reproduces the same passage, including the 'I note (2)'. Both this work and the T'ai p'ing yū lan were written in the 976 - 983 period of the Sung dynasty and, in the absence of any evidence that the authors of either of these works borrowed from the other, it seems that they were independently quoting K'ang T'ai on the 'south-western P'u-lo'. The section in the T'ai p'ing yū lan in

(1) TPYL, 791, 3508b.
(2) TPHYC, 179, 15a-b.

which the passage occurs deals with wild tribes on the frontiers of China, and the compilers may have felt that it was appropriate to mention K'ang T'ai on P'u-lo, whose inhabitants, like those living much nearer to China itself, had tails and therefore resembled the 'Tailed P'u', one of the tribes on the south-western border of China (1).

But what did K'ang T'ai mean by the expression 'south-western' P'u-lo? Professor Stein, who was unable to decide who wrote 'I note' in the T'ai p'ing yū lan passage given above, translates this passage as follows:

'Je note: ce territoire est englobé dans le Sud-ouest (entendez: dans le classement des barbares, section Sud-ouest). P'ou-lo est sans doute un nom de lieu des P'ou à queue (2).'

Ping 平 becomes a verb 'to be comprised in', 'south-west' is detached from P'u-lo and understood to mean a category of 'barbarians', while P'u-lo is taken to be a shortened form of P'u-lo-chung, which is mentioned at the beginning of this passage. In support of Professor Stein's translation it may be observed that, in the following passage in the encyclopaedia, Liang

(1) I am not considering the possibility that K'ang T'ai compared his P'u-lo people with the Wei-p'u, though it is curious that both the TPYL and the TPHYC give this passage in identical language, including the expression 'I note 按'. I have not found, however, any other K'ang T'ai fragment where it can be shown that K'ang T'ai is quoted as 'noting'.

(2) 'Le Lin-yi', 114-115.

Tsu's Wei kuo t'ung 魏國統 is quoted as saying that 'in the south-west there are barbarians who are called Tailed P'u' (1). Here 'south-west' is certainly an orientation from some centre in Yunnan, and in the same chapter of the encyclopaedia the Kuang chih describes the 'Black P'u 墨獠' who were 'south-west' of Yung ch'ang (2).

Yet I prefer to render ping 並 and kai 兼 as 'and also' and 'probably' and to believe that K'ang T'ai left ^a ~~some~~ record of P'u-lo, which he describes as being 'south-west' of some place. Since he has already supplied what lay east of Chū-li in the form of P'u-lo-chung and also mentioned Ko-ying, known to Wan Chên as south of Chū-chih = Chū-li, it would not be unexpected if he completed his account of the environs of Chū-li with a reference to somewhere south-west of it. Further, if I am correct, he must have said that the P'u-lo people had tails and possibly that they were man-eaters as well, and for this reason the compilers of the T'ai p'ing yū lan and the T'ai p'ing huan yū chi seized on his information and added it to their accounts of the 'Tailed P'u'. The fierce population of northern Sumatra were sufficiently well known to find a place into Ptolemy's Geographia, and K'ang T'ai is as likely to have heard of them (3).

(1) TPYL, 791, 3508b: 西南有夷名尾獠

(2) TPYL, 791, 3509a.

(3) References to 'tailed men' in northern Sumatra are not unknown in later literature; Yule's Marco Polo, 2, 1871, 241ff.

I have a further reason for believing that P'u-lo 蒲羅
represented an ancient Indonesian toponym. As long ago as
1897 Lévi discovered a passage in Kālodaka's translation of the
Shih êrh yu ching 十二遊經 of 392 (1). It is as follows:

海中有二千五百國百八十國○取五穀三百三
十國取魚龜鼈五國王一王主五百城等
一王名斯黎國土地盡事佛不事衆邪等二王名
迦羅土地出七寶等三王名不羅土地出四十二
種香及白珠玉膏等四王名醫耶土地出華菱
胡椒等五王名那安夏土地出白珠及七色玉
五大國城人如黑短小相去六十五萬里
從是但有海水無有人民

'In the sea there are 2,500 countries, of which 180 feed on the Five Cereals (? I have a civilised diet.) 330 countries eat fish and tortoise. There are five rulers of kingdoms, and each ruler rules over 500 cities. The first ruler is called (the king of) Ssu-li country. This land is very faithful to the Buddha and does not serve the gods of the heretics. The second ruler is called (the king of) Chia-lo. This land produces the Seven Jewels. The third ruler is called (the king of) Pu-lo. This land produces 42 kinds of perfumes and white glass. The fourth ruler is called (the king of) She-yeh. This land produces long pepper and black pepper. The fifth ruler is called (the king of) Na-o. This land produces the white pearl and glass of seven colours. The people in the cities of these five great kingdoms are generally black and short in stature. These countries comprise 65,000 li of space. Beyond them there lies only sea and no people (2).'

(1) JA, 1897, I, 24. He returned to this passage in 'Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyana', JA, 1918, I, 82-84. Pelliot noted it in TP, 22, 1923, note 1, and 104-106.

(2) Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 4, no. 195, 147b. Lévi's translation is in 'Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyana', JA, Jan-Fév., 1918, 83.

It will be observed that these five kingdoms were maritime ones and their population were dark and short. Lévi was certainly right to regard them, with one exception, as South East Asian countries. His exception was Ssu-ló, which he understood to be Ceylon, the equivalent of Cosmas' Sieleidiba and obviously a devout Buddhist country (1). Chia-lo, or Kāla may represent the place later known to the Arabs as Kalah on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula (2). Lévi had no suggestions for Pu-lo, but he thought that Shē-yeh, with its peppers, was a confusion for 'Java'. Shē-yeh transcribes literally Ya-ya, and Lévi's reconstruction seems reasonable.

The sequence in which these names appear is significant. First comes Ceylon, then a country on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, and then Pu-lo and Shē-yeh. If one is prepared to identify K'ang T'ai's 'south-western P'u-lo', somewhere in northern Sumatra, with Pu-lo the list of names reads like an itinerary from Ceylon into Indonesia. The botanical wealth attributed to Pu-lo is consistent with its having access to the aromatic trees of northern Sumatra, and so is its position between Chia-lo and Shē-yeh.

The same toponym, with a similar location, may even appear in the Mahāniddeśa commentary. In that commentary appears

(1) Christian topography, 363. Cosmas says that this is the Indian name for Taprobane.

(2) The Arab toponym Kalah is discussed by Wheatley, Golden Kheronese, 216-224.

Maranapura, but Lévi pointed out that the manuscripts also give the name as Pūrapura, Parapura, Parapūra, and Parammukha (1). This place comes in that list immediately after Kālamukha, which is similar in name to the Chia-lo 迦羅 = Ka-la of the Shih êrh yu ching, and two places before Java (2). There is also a sixth century glossary, the Fan fan yu 番梵語, which explains Pu-lo 不羅, appearing in a lost sūtra, as meaning 'city' 城, which is the equivalent of pura (3). It is therefore possible that Pu-lo, if it in fact conceals pura, corresponds to Pūrapura and the alternative names in the Mahāniddeśa commentary. Whether K'ang T'ai, when he mentioned the 'south-western P'u-lo 蒲羅, was also referring to this place must depend, however, on whether one is prepared to overlook the different sounds of P'u 蒲 and Pu 不 (4). But one thing seems likely. K'ang T'ai, as well as Ptolemy and the authors of the Mahāniddeśa commentary, realised that before one

(1) 'Ptolémée, Le Niddeśa et le Bṛhatkathā', 25. Lévi had made no suggestions about this toponym.

(2) Ibid, 23-25. The Fan fan yu glossary of the sixth century, referring to Chia-lo and Pu-lo mentioned in the lost T'ai tzū wu meng ching 太子五夢經, states that Chia-lo means 'black', which indicates that it was thought to be derived from kāla = 'black'; Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 54, no. 2130, 1011c. Lévi discussed this glossary in JA, 1915, I, 200.

(3) Fan fan yu, 1011c.

(4) Pu 不 = *piug/piu; P'u 蒲 = *b'wo/b'uo. I have followed Karlgren's reconstructions. It should be remembered, however, that Pu is found in a Chinese translation of a Sanskrit sutra, while P'u may be K'ang T'ai's crude attempt to transcribe a place name mentioned by Funanese informants. One is tempted to think that somewhere in these transcriptions appears the Malay word pulau = 'island'.

reached the civilised land of Ko-ying-Ssu-t'iao (= Iabadiou and 'Java') one had to pass a much wilder territory somewhere in northern Sumatra.

But, whatever the meaning of P'u-lo and Pu-lo, it cannot have been a transcription of the region known to Ptolemy as 'the Barousai islands' unless one ignores the second syllable of 'Barus'. The earliest Chinese transcription of 'Barus' appears in the Liang shu in the expression P'o-lu perfume 波律香, or the perfume (camphor) of 'Barus' (1). T'ao Hung-ching also refers to 'Barus' in his references to the resin of 'the Po-lu tree 波律樹' (2). It is curious, however, that K'ang T'ai does not mention 'Barus' but only P'u-lo, which cannot mean 'Barus'.

Thus by about A.D. 500 two toponyms, both apparently associated with the northern half of Sumatra, were known to foreigners. There was 'Barus', mentioned by Ptolemy, ~~the~~ ~~Barus~~ and the Liang shu. It was a cannibal area west of Iabadiou, but by the sixth century associated with camphor. There was also P'u-lo, possibly also known as Pu-lo, which was for K'ang T'ai another cannibal land 'south-west' of Chū-li on the Malay Peninsula, though in the Shih erh yu ching it appears as a centre of perfumes and one of the five kingdoms (3). But

(1) Liang shu, 54, 18a.

(2) CLPT, 13, 321b. On page 363 note 3, I gave another example of how Po has sometimes been used for P'o.

(3) I have no suggestion to make in connexion with Ptolemy's 'Sabadibai islands'.

neither of these places can be identified with any of the tributary kingdoms, and I conclude that their camphor and 'perfumes' found their way to the outside world through other ports in the civilised region of Indonesia, known to Ptolemy as Iabadiou, to K'ang T'ai as the Ko-ying - Ssu-t'iao complex, and to the pilgrims of the fifth century as She-p'o = 'Java'. One pictures northern Sumatra as a rich but dangerous country on the fringe of the Indonesian world known to foreigners.

This picture of two early centres in northern Sumatra is confirmed and becomes clearer in the T'ang period records. 'Barus' is the centre which is most frequently mentioned. It appears as P'o-lu-shih 婆魯師 and the first of I Tsing's list of countries beginning from 'the west' of Srivijaya:

從西數之有婆魯師洲末羅遊洲即今尹利
佛逝是莫訶信洲訶陵洲旦旦洲益益
洲婆里洲提倫洲佛逝補羅洲阿善
洲末加漫洲又有小洲不能具錄

'An enumeration from the west. There is P'o-lu-shih, Mo-lo-yu chou which is now Shih-li-fo-shih kingdom (Srivijaya), Mo-ho-hsin chou, Ho-ling chou, Tan-tan chou, P'en-p'en chou, P'o-li chou, Chüeh-lun chou, Fo-shih-p'u-lo chou (which I translate as 'Vijayapura' in ~~northern~~ western Borneo) (1), O-shan chou, and Mo-chiaman chou. There are also some small chou which cannot be all recorded (2).'

(1) Page 368 above.

(2) Nan hai chi kuei nei fa chuan, Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 54, no. 2125, 205b; Takakusu, Record, 10.

Since 1897 P'o-lu-shih has been accepted as a transcription of 'Barus' (1), and not only the sound of this name (B'ua[^]-luo-si) but also its position in front of Mo-lo-yu = Malayu/Jambi, on the south-east coast of Sumatra, make the equivalence a reasonable one to accept (2). But by I Tsing's time in the second half of the seventh century this wild region had progressed, for it now had a harbour in communication with the outside world beyond Indonesia. I Tsing states that two Korean monks died there, and I assume that they were awaiting a ship to take them to the holy places in India (3). The Koreans' harbour is likely to have been that mentioned by Chia Tan about A.D. 800 as the final port of call in or close to the Straits of Malacca before ships made their way across the Indian Ocean. He calls it P'o-lu 波 露 (4). Ferrand in 1919 was more

(1) That year Kern suggested that P'o-lu-shih was a perfect transcription of 'Barus'; 'Een Chineesch reiziger op Sumatra' (reprinted in Verspreide geschriften, 6, 1917, 216). In 1904 Pelliot accepted Kern's explanation as the only satisfactory restitution of the word so far proposed, and there the question has rested ever since; 'Deux itinéraires', 340.

(2) For the earlier sounds of Chinese words I follow Karlgren, Grammata Serica recensa, Stockholm, 1957. The character -lu is used by Hsüan Tsang, earlier in the seventh century, to transcribe the -ru sounds in the Sanskrit sturuka (storax)

摩 堵 魯 加 . It appears in his translation of the Yogācāryabhūmiśāstra, chapter 3; Laufer, Sino-Iranica, 457.

(3) Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu kao sêng chuan, Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 51, no. 2066, page 2c. P'o-lu-shih is described as 'west' of Shih-li-fo-shih, which is consistent with its position in I Tsing's list of countries translated above:

汎 舶 至 室 利 佛 逝 國 西 邊 魯 師 國

Chavannes, Mémoire, 36-37.

(4) I translate this passage on page 396 below.

confident than Pelliot in 1904 that P'o-lu was a shortened transcription of 'Barus', meaning the port of that name on the north-west coast of Sumatra (1). The absence of the final -s in the transcription is not an isolated case, for it is also lacking in the Yu yang tsa tsu's transcription of kapur barus (ku-pu-p'o-lu 固不婆律), or 'chalk of Barus' = camphor (2). Moreover there are precedents for the equivalence of -lu 露 and -lu 律 (3). I accept Chia Tan's port of P'o-lou as being a place known as 'Barus', probably taking its name from a much more extensive region in northern Sumatra known by the same name, but I shall show later why I disagree with Ferrand's identification of it with the port of Barus on the north-west coast of Sumatra.

Two further T'ang period references to 'Barus' have to be noted. The Hsin T'ang shu describes Srīvijaya as 'a double kingdom', of which the western one was called Lang-p'o-lu-ssü 郎婆露斯 (4). Chavannes in 1894 was the first

(1) Ferrand, 'Le K'ouan-louen', JA, Juil-Aout 1919, 53, note 3, and 56-57. Pelliot's view was that the modern port of Barus on the north-west coast of Sumatra was too far from the Straits of Malacca for it to be likely that Chia Tan's port of P'o-lu represented this Barus; 'Deux itinéraires', 342.

(2) 18, 100.

(3) In addition to the case of Lang-p'o-lu-ssü 郎婆露斯, noted immediately below, there is the case of a kingdom in north-western India known in the Hsin T'ang shu (221 下, 5b) as Ta P'o-lu 大勃律 and also as Pu-lu 布路.

(4) Hsin T'ang shu, 222 下, 5a. The text is given in note 2, page 12.

to connect this toponym with I Tsing's P'o-lu-shih, and Pelliot accepted their identity (1). In addition to the similarity of the names (2) both toponyms are consistently described as being 'west' of Srīvijaya, for I Tsing, in his account of the two Korean pilgrims, says that P'o-lu-shih was 'west' of Srīvijaya (3). Finally there is Vārusaka, a Sanskrit reference to this place, represented by the Chinese transcription of Po-lu-sa 波路沙 . Po-lu-sa appears in the Chinese translation of the Arya Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, completed between 980 and 1000 (4). The date of the Sanskrit original is unknown, but, according to Przulski, it was written sometime between the early eighth century and the end of the tenth century (5).

- (1) Chavannes, Mémoire, 37; Pelliot, 'Deux itinéraires', 340.
- (2) P'o-lu 波路 is the name Chia Tan used for the final port in the region before ships sailed into the Indian Ocean.
- (3) See note 3 on page 390 above.
- (4) Before the Sanskrit original was found Lévi thought that this transcription represented Pārusya or Pāruṣa; JA, Avr.-Juin, 1921, 332. He corrected this in 1923; JA, Juil.-Sept., 1923, 38-39. I Tsing, a Sanskrit scholar, uses 波 in his transcription of 'Barus' and in this translation from the Sanskrit the same sound 波 is used. In the official accounts, represented by the HTS's account of Srīvijaya and by Chia Tan, 波 was preferred.
- (5) 'Les Vidyārāja ...', BEFEO, XXIII, 1923, 308. For the sake of completeness I have to mention P'o-lu 波路 in the T'ai pinghuan yüehi's itinerary from Vijayapura to Canton; 177, 13a. Pelliot ~~assumed~~ that this toponym was yet another transcription of 'Barus' 'Deux itinéraires', 354. ~~This may be seen~~ Fa Hsien transcribes Purusapura as 富木沙, while Hsüan Tsang uses the form 布路沙; Feng ch'eng-chün's Hsi yü ti ming, 59. 波 and 路 both represent -ru. On the other hand we shall see in the following chapter that this itinerary is not so confused as Pelliot imagined. It proceeds from east to west until it reaches Malayu-Jambi, and P'o-lou appears before Malayu. I have wondered whether P'o-lou has anything to do with the P'o-lu-chia-ssü 波路伽斯 which is mentioned in the HTS's account of Ho-ling 訶陵; see page 389 for the itinerary and page 471 for the HTS's account of Ho-ling.

The other northern Sumatran centre known in T'ang times figures much less prominently than 'Barus'. In 642 and 669 a kingdom known as P'o-lo 婆羅 sent missions to China (1).

According to the Hsin T'ang shu

赤土西南入海得婆羅

'If one enters the sea south-west of Ch'ih T'u one reaches P'o-lo (2).'

Ch'ih T'u was on the south-east coast of the Malay Peninsula, and in view of the statement in the Hsin T'ang shu it is impossible to accept the suggestion in the early 17th century Tung hsi yang k'ao, followed by Groeneveldt, that it was the same as Brunei 文萊 in northern Sumatra (3). It is much more likely to be the place described in the Sui shu as P'o-lo-so 婆羅娑 and west of Ch'ih T'u (4). P'o-lo-so must have been known to Ch'ng Chūn, who visited Ch'ih T'u, and I suspect that the additional information about P'o-lo was a result of one of its missions to China. In the parallel account in the T'ung tien of the passage in the Sui shu the name becomes Lo-p'o 羅娑 (5); Lo-p'o is also the name which appears in the Ts'ê fu yüan kuei in connexion with the mission of 669, which, according to the Hsin T'ang shu, came from

(1) Ts'ê fu yüan kuei, 970, 11399a, in respect of the 642 mission
HTS, 222, 2a, for the 669 mission.

(2) HTS, 222 下, 2a.

(3) Basic Sinological Series, 1937, 5, 67; Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago, 101.

(4) Sui shu, 82, 3a. The passage is translated on page 363 above.

(5) T'ung tien, 188, 1009.

P'o-lo (1). I therefore think that one is justified in grouping together the passages about P'o-lo-so and P'o-lo as information about one and the same place. Both the Sui shu and the Hsin T'ang shu indicate that this place was known to be west or south-west of the southern Malay Peninsula, while the latter text refers to a voyage in order to reach it. This is consistent with a location in northern or even north-eastern Sumatra. The Hsin T'ang shu's statement that it was 'south-west' of Ch'ih T'u also recalls what I believe was K'ang T'ai's statement that P'u-lo was a 'south-western' country known from Chü-li, on the same coast as the later Ch'ih T'u though somewhat further north. The transcription P'o-lo certainly does not mean 'Barus', any more than K'ang T'ai's P'u-lo can mean 'Barus'. Instead I consider that P'u-lo of K'ang T'ai, Pu-lo of the Shih erh yü ching, and P'o-lo-(so) may represent a continuous string of references to another centre in northern Sumatra.

By the beginning of the seventh century, therefore, two areas in the northern half of Sumatra had become dimly known

(1) TFYK, 970, 11402b. This passage gives the ruler's name as Ta-po 達本, while in the HTS his name is Chan-ta-po 向達本. There can be no doubt that the ruler in both texts was the same person. Lo-p'o is therefore a link between P'o-lo-so and P'o-lo. Apart from Groeneveldt's identification of P'o-lo with Borneo there has been very little interest in this place. Krom in 1931 noted the possibility that it might be Borneo; Hindoe-Javaansche, 96. Pelliot in 1904 thought that its position would be determined when that of Ch'ih T'u was known; BEFEO, 4, 1904, 404. In the event Pelliot's surmise was correct. He certainly refused to believe that it has any connexion with Brunei; Le Hōja, 267, note 346. In 1929 Sei Wada also rejected the Borneo theory by calling attention to the statement in the HTS that P'o-lo was south-west of Ch'ih T'u; 'The Philippine Islands', 127-8.

to foreigners. Somewhere in the north-western highlands overlooking the sea, was the wild 'Barus' land. Perhaps south-east of 'Barus' was the area which I shall call P'o-lo. Because so little about these places was known before the seventh century one forms the impression that their coasts were inhospitable, though their hinterland was rich. Camphor, and not missions, came from 'Barus', while P'o-lo, under the name of Pu-lo, possessed '42 kinds of perfume', but also sent no missions. Yet what is known about the 'Persian' trade of the southern ocean has suggested that the resources of northern Sumatra contributed to Indonesian trade in the fifth and sixth centuries, and we shall see in the final chapter that northern Sumatra played its part in the origins of the Srivijayan empire. I therefore wish to describe a little more exactly where the main harbours of the region are likely to have been.

It is Chia Tan 曹自久, writing about P'o-lu 婆露, who provides the clearest indication of where the port known as 'Barus' was. The port may have had another name but was known as 'Barus' by foreigners because that was the name of the region as a whole. Chia Tan's evidence is in the form of the itinerary foreign ships took about A.D. 800 from Canton to the Indian ocean during the north-eastern monsoon at the end of the year. From Pulo Condore off the coast of Annam (1) to the

(1) Known to Chia Tan as Chün-tu-lung 軍突弄. It is derived from 'Kundurung'; Pelliot, Polo, I, 404.

Bay of Bengal the route was as follows:

又五日行至海峽蕃人謂之質南北百里北岸
 則羅越國南岸則佛逝國佛逝國東水行五
 日行至訶陵國南中洲之最大者又西出峽
 三日至葛葛僧祇國在佛逝西北隅之別
 島國人多金少畏乘舟者畏憚之其北岸則
 羅國箇羅西則哥吉羅國又從葛葛僧祇
 西五日行至勝查洲又西五日行至凌露國
 又六日行至凌國伽藍洲

'And then five days to a strait which foreigners call chih (1). From north to south it is a 100 li in width. On its northern shore is Lo-yüeh country. On its southern shore is Fo-shih country (Śrīvijaya). If one goes by sea to the east from Fo-shih country for four or five days one reaches Ho-ling country, which is the largest island in the south. Proceeding westwards from the strait one reaches in three days Ko-ko-sêng-chih country. It is a separate island lying off the north-western corner of Fo-shih. Many of its people are robbers and those who sail in ships fear them. The shore to its north is Ku-lo country. To the west of Ku-lo is Ko-ku-lo. Proceeding for four or five days from Ko-ko-sêng-chih one reaches Shêng-têng chou. Proceeding westwards for five days one reached P'o-lu country. Proceeding for six days one reaches Chia-lan chou of P'o country (2).'

The 'strait' was evidently a short strip of water and not the Straits of Malacca. It probably represented the waters off Singapore island and the entry to the Straits, and Professor

(1) Pelliot in 1904 suggested the possibility that chih was derived from the Malay selat, or 'strait', and no one has questioned this since; 'Deux itinéraires', 231, note 5.

(2) HTS, 43 下, 18b. Translations of this itinerary are available in Pelliot's 'Deux itinéraires', 372-373, Wang Gungwu's 'Nanhai trade', 104-105, and, partially, in Wheatley's Golden Khersonese, 56-57.

Wheatley believes that Lo-yüeh on its northern (= eastern shore) was a southerly part of the Malay Peninsula (1). Pelliot identified the Ko-ko-sêng-chih island with one of the Brouwers islands lying opposite the state of Johore at the tip of the Peninsula (2). The identification of Ku-lo and Ko-ku-lo on the Peninsula does not concern us (3). Pelliot's suggestion for Sheng-têng was the region of Deli and Langkat further up the east coast of Sumatra (4).

For the identification of P'ö-lu the important evidence in this itinerary is the time it took to reach P'ö-lu 'proceeding westwards from the strait'. This was 12 or 13 days. Is Chia Tan's evidence reliable? If so, what are its geographical implications?

Chia Tan was certainly in a position to be well informed (5). He served in the Hung lu ssü 江島勝寺, the responsibilities of which office included the reception arrangements for foreign envoys and recording details about their countries.

(1) Golden Khersonese, 58-59.

(2) 'Deux itinéraires', 349.

(3) They are discussed in Wheatley's Golden Khersonese, 55-60.

(4) 'Deux itinéraires', 354.

(5) For information about Chia Tan see the biographies in the Chiu T'ang shu, 列傳 88, 5b-8a, and Hsin T'ang shu, 166 1a-2a. Also see Wang Yung 王庸, Chung kuo ti t'u shih kang 中國地圖史綱要 Peking, 1958, 44-49, and Chavannes, 'Les deux plus anciens spécimens de la cartographie Chinoise', BEFEO, 3, 1903, 244. Information about the Hung lu ssü is contained in Les Rotours, Traité des fonctionnaires ..., Leiden, 1947, I, especially 408-413. Chia Tan lived from 730 to 805.

On the basis of information received from the envoys maps were presented to the emperor. Chia Tan is said to have cross-examined envoys sent to the 'barbarians', the 'barbarian envoys', and others. His reference to the way in which shippers feared the people of Ko-ko-seng-chih indicates that he also had access to mercantile sources of information. In 801 he presented to the emperor his Ku chin chun Hwo tao hsien ssu i shu 古今君國道縣四夷述 . To it was attached a map. Neither of these documents have survived. The extant itinerary 貞元十道錄 the Hsin T'ang shu comes from the Chên yüan shih tao 貞元十道錄 , dealing with information of the divisions of the empire in the 785 - 805 period. It may have been a condensation of his great work of 801, which he began in 785. The least, however, that may be said of Chia Tan is that he was a responsible civil servant who had privileged sources of information.

Also in his favour is that the time he gives for the voyage from Canton to the Straits of Malacca bears comparison with other times given for this voyage, thereby creating a presumption that he was reasonably well served for his account of the voyage in the Straits of Malacca. His voyage from Canton to the 'strait' took 18½ days. Ch'ang Chün took 20 days to reach Ch'ih T'u on the southern Malay Peninsula from Canton. I Tsing in 671 took less than 20 days to reach Srivijaya in

southern Sumatra from Canton (1).

Chia Tan's concern for detail is shown in the care he took to provide his itinerary with details about the course the ships took. Seven of the 13 stages between Canton and P'o-lu are accompanied by directions south or west as the case may be. The first five stages involved continuous changes in direction, but from the Ling 凌 mountain on the Annam coast (2) to the 'strait' none are supplied. No change was there necessary; the north-east monsoon took care of the ships (3).

For these general reasons one is encouraged to pay attention to Chia Tan's description of the voyage through the Straits of Malacca. In it one notes that after the ships had entered the Straits no change in direction is indicated until they reached Chia-lan, or the Nicobars (4). In particular

(1) Ch'ang Chūn's voyage is given in Sui shu, 82, 4b, and I Tsing's in Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu fa kao sêng chuan, Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 51, no. 2066, 7c; Chavannes, Mémoire, 119.

(2) Identified by Pelliot as perhaps Cap Sa-hoi, north of Qui Nhon; 'Deux itinéraires', 217.

(3) An error appears, however, in Chia Tan's account of the voyage to Ceylon. Pelliot proposed to correct 'four days to the north' from the Nicobars to Ceylon to read '14' or '24' days without any change of direction; 'Deux itinéraires', 355-356.

(4) I am assuming with Pelliot that the Chia-lan islands should be identified with the Nicobars; 'Deux itinéraires', 354-355. It is curious that these islands should be stated to belong to P'o, which probably means P'o-lu = 'Barus'. The Arabs knew the Nicobars as Langbalus, which seems to correspond to Lang-p'o-lu-ssü, the name of the western kingdom of Śrīvijaya in the HTS. I cannot explain the significance of Lang- in the HTS. Can it represent (Da)lam, meaning 'the within' in the sense of the royal residence? Lam, indicating a 'village', is used in Atjeh today.

there is no evidence that the ships had to change direction after reaching the extreme north of Sumatra in order to make their way to a port on the west coast of the island.

This is the crux of the matter. Are we to believe that the text as we have it today includes an error and omits to give this change in direction, which would represent a change of course at the tip of Sumatra southwards down the west coast to the modern Barus, represented by P'io-lu? There is one important reason for believing that this is not so. It is difficult to believe that the error has crept into the text unless one is also prepared to believe that the text is so corrupt that it has misquoted the time taken to reach the Nicobars from the southern entrance of the Straits of Malacca. According to Chia Tan this took 18 or 19 days. But this duration would have been incredibly brief for a voyage which included about 600 miles from the northern tip of Sumatra to Barus and back. Peter Mundy took 17 sailing days in January and early February, 1638, during the same monsoon period, to proceed from the Strait of Singapore only as far as Atjeh; in addition to these 17 days he was held up for a further five days by 'shoals, calms, tides, etc.' (1).

Sailing conditions in the Straits of Malacca during the

(1) The travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667. The Hakluyt Society, 1919, 3, 320-329. I Tsing took 15 days from Malayu-Jambi to Kedah; Chavannes, Mémoire, 119.

north-east monsoon at the end of the year are such that Chia Tan's account of the voyage, if it is accepted at its face value, has to be interpreted as a slow one over relatively short distances rather than a quick one over long distances. There would have been detours to avoid the pirates of Ko-ko-sêng-chih or the sand banks off the north-east coast of Sumatra, but the main factor slowing up the speed of the voyage was the weather. Though storms are rare, passages uninterrupted by intervals of slow sailing or even of calm are unusual (1). The India Directory notes that ships sometimes get through the Straits 'without anchoring above once or twice' (2). The prominent feature of the weather is that there is no single prevailing wind; local and variable winds normally predominate in the Straits. In the inter-tropical monsoon front at the southern end of the Straits, with its upward movement of air, the north-east monsoon ceases to be vigorous and the vacuum is filled by light land and sea breezes, whose variety is stressed by the sailing directories. Off the north-east Sumatran coast in December north-west winds blow against ships making northwards. Even at the northern entrance to the

(1) For navigational conditions in the Straits during the north-east monsoon see J. Horsburgh, Memoirs ..., London, 1805; The India Directory, or directions for sailing to and from the East Indies ..., 8th edition, London, 1864; Malacca Strait Pilot (Hydrographic Department, The Admiralty, London), 1946; W.L. Dale, 'Wind and drift current in the South China Sea', MJTG, 8, 1956, 1-31.

(2) Volume 2, 75.

Straits, where the north-east monsoon is strongest, the monsoon is liable to veer to the north or north-west, while westerly breezes of one or two days duration have been experienced in every month when the north-east monsoon should prevail. The current in the Straits can also slow up shipping. Though it tends to flow northwards all the way, it can flow southwards from the Aru islands, while at the southern entrance to the Straits the floodtide flows in a south-eastern direction as far as the Karimun islands between Singapore and the east coast of Sumatra (1).

If Chia Tan's P'o-lu had been Barus on the west coast of Sumatra, his ships would have performed an extraordinary feat of navigation. Not only would they have raced through the Straits but they would also have accomplished the Barus détour with remarkable speed. It took six days from P'o-lu to the Nicobars, a voyage of approximately 600 miles. The voyage from Pulo Condore off Cochin-China to the island of Singapore is the same distance. Chia Tan's ships took five days from Pulo Condore to the 'strait', but they had behind them the maximum benefit of the north-east monsoon. The navigational

(1) The voyage of Peter Floris in November, 1613, in respect of the part which lay from the Strait of Singapore to the Aru islands, illustrates in an extreme way how delays could be caused by unfavourable tides and lack of wind. He left the Strait on 10 November and was off Malacca nine days later; Peter Floris . . . , The Hakluyt Society, 1934, 104-105.

situation off the west coast of Sumatra is very different. In December the journey from the equator to Atjeh Head has been described as 'often tedious' on account of baffling north-west winds and southerly currents (1), while in January the winds blow from the north (2). On the other hand, six days from a port on the northern coast of Sumatra to the Nicobars is not an improbably duration. For Ma Huan the journey from one of the islands off Atjeh to the Nicobars took three days with a 'fair wind' (3). But on the seas between northern Sumatra and the Nicobars the north-east monsoon sometimes gives way to a variety of winds which blow ships off their course. The monsoon itself may even veer to the west. A voyage of six days does not appear to be unusually long from the northern coast of Sumatra to the Nicobars.

Chia Tan's port of P'o-lu = 'Barus' is therefore unlikely to have been further on the Sumatran coast than somewhere between Atjeh Head and Diamond Point. From the facts given in his itinerary it could not have been on the west coast, nor could it have been the port of Barus, which Tomé Pires knew.

(1) India Directory, I, 766.

(2) See, for example, the map on page 28 of the English translation of Robequain's Malaya, Indonesia, Borneo, and the Philippines, London, 1954, or the map facing page xviii of Wheatley's Golden Chersonese.

(3) Ying yai sheng lan, 34. Ma Huan knew the Nicobars as Ts'ui-lan mountain

羽 藍
山

Nevertheless errors may have crept into the Hsin T'ang shu's account of Chia Tan's itinerary so as to render its details unreliable (1). All that can be done is to consider the facts as we have them in the light of independent evidence. If P'o-lu was somewhere between Atjeh Head and Diamond Point two matters become more meaningful. In the first place, if that port had been down the north-west coast of Sumatra, why is it that the Arab accounts of the ninth century and therefore only about fifty years later than Chia Tan do not give the impression that Fansur, their name for the modern Barus region, was a flourishing trading centre from which the Korean pilgrims in the seventh century are likely to have sailed to India and the point of departure for ships bound for Ceylon, as Chia Tan describes P'o-lu ? (2) Are we to suppose that some dramatic political change took place shortly after Chia Tan wrote and that as a result the west coast port of Barus suddenly fell into the obscurity which

(1) Ferrand, who believed that Chia Tan's itinerary was through the Sunda Straits and up the west coast of Sumatra, thought that the text was in bad shape; 'Le K'ouen-louen', JA, Juil-Août, 1919, 57, note 3.

(2) Sauvaget considers that the compiler of the work of 851, known under the name of Suleyman, used as his informants merchants who had resided for a long time in foreign ports. This would have lent authenticity to the contents of the Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde; Relation, xxxiii.

surrounds the region known to the Arabs as Fansur? Much more probable is that Chia Tan's P'o-lu was the main port which served the northern region of Sumatra, known to the Arabs as Rāmnī, and that it had considerable antiquity.

The other piece of evidence which becomes more meaningful is contained in the Hsin T'ang shu's account of Srīvijaya:

以二國分摠西曰即暹露斯多金汞砂龍腦
夏至立八尺表影在表南二尺五寸國多男子...

'This country (Srīvijaya) ... is divided into two kingdoms, and they have separate administrations. The western one is called Lang-p'o-lu-ssü. It (Lang-p'o-lu-ssü) has much gold, mercury, and camphor. At the summer solstice if an eight ch'ih sundial post is erected, the shadow lies to the south of the post and is two ch'ih and five ts'un long. The country (of Srīvijaya) has many males ... (1).'

In this translation I have attributed the sentences about the products and the sundial reading to Lang-p'o-lu-ssü and not to Srīvijaya, as has been done in the past (2). This sundial reading has never been taken seriously. Correctly estimating the height of the sundial as 80 Chinese 'inches', Gerini calculated the latitude as 5°50' north (3). Owing to the blurred shadow on the ground from the rays of the upper and lower edges of the sun, the error of uncertainty may be about ± 20' (4). But 5° 50' north of the equator has seemed an

(1) HTS, 222 下, 5a.

(2) Pelliot remarked of the sundial reading that 'cette observation prise à la lettre, est inadmissible'; 'Deux itinéraires', 334. Most writers have preferred to ignore the sundial reading.

(3) Researches, 482-483. Gerini understood that the reading indicated the northern-most limit of the land of Shih-li-fo-shih (Srīvijaya).

(4) An exercise in sundial-reading is contained in an appendix to Professor Stein's 'Le Lin-yi'.

impossible latitude for the capital of Śrīvijaya, associated by most scholars with the south-eastern coast of Sumatra. Only Moens' fertile mind was not mystified, and he proposed that the first capital of Śrīvijaya was in the Kelantan region on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, the area known as Ch'ih T'u at the beginning of the seventh century (1). But if my interpretation of the text is acceptable, it means that the capital (2) of 'Barus' should be sought somewhere on the extreme northern coast of Sumatra from Atjeh Point to a few miles east of Cap Pidiē (Lat. 5° 30' N).

Sinologues may agree with me that the passage which I have just quoted from the Hsin T'ang shu is ambiguous. In support of my interpretation it should be noted that the attribution of gold and especially of camphor to the northern

(1) 'Śrīvijaya, Yāva en Katāha', 12.

(2) On page 399, note 4, above I suggested that Lang- might be an abbreviated form of (Da)lam, meaning the seat of the royal residence. This would be consistent with the specific position given to Lang-p'o-lu-ssū as the headquarters of the 'western' kingdom. Whether the Achinese language was spoken on the coast of northern Sumatra as long ago as the seventh or eighth century is something which cannot be determined. It is curious, however, that one of the features of Achinese, which distinguishes it from Malay, is not to sound the -s at the end of words. Such a word is 'Barus' itself, which in Achinese is pronounced Barōih; Hoesein Djajadiningrat, Atjehsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, Batavia, 1934, I, 143. It will be recalled that in connexion with the Chinese name for 'camphor' (P'o-lu perfume 没律香) the -s, included in I Tsing's P'o-lu-shih 没律師, is absent. Could it be that the trade name for camphor was picked up from the speech of the inhabitants of the camphor port of 'Barus' on the northern coast of Sumatra?

half of the island is what is to be expected (1). My interpretation also gives force to the word 'country' ⁽²⁾, appearing after the sundial reading; it seems to resume the account of the double kingdom after the parenthesis about the products and location of the 'western one' (2). It is certainly surprising that the Chinese annalists should have given the location of the subordinate capital, but it is noteworthy that they omit to give the name of the 'eastern' kingdom. Nor do we know how the section of Srīvijaya in the Hsin T'ang shu was put together.

I believe that my location of the harbour of 'Barus' on the basis of this sundial ^{reading} is consistent with both Chia Tan's account of P'ō-lu in terms of sailing distances and with the description of Rāmnī in Arab accounts as the centre of a number

(1) Indragiri on the east coast slightly south of the equator was later a famous export centre for gold from the Menangkabau land in the interior, but it has never been known as an important camphor-exporting region. Pires said that gold came from the interior to Pedir, the harbour close to Cape Pedië; Suma Oriental, I, 140. In 1727 Alexander Hamilton wrote: 'Atcheen affords nothing of its own Product fit for Export but Gold Dust, which they have pretty plentiful, and of the finest Touch of any in those Parts ... They do not dig for it, but catch it in gullies or little Rivulets, as it washes off the Mountains, and one particularly, a very high Mountain'; A new account of the East Indies, 1727, N.M. Penzer edition, 1930, II, 58. Schrieke has assembled the sources attributing gold exports to Atjeh; Ruler and Realm in early Java, 1957 translation, 386, note 55.

(2) The rest of the account deals with the animals of Srīvijaya, the royal name (Ho-mi ^𣎵 ^𣎵), and Srīvijayan embassies to China.

of kingdoms.(1). Particularly significant is the fact that the position indicated by the sundial reading is identical with the exactest location ever attributed to Lamuri (= Rāmnī). It is provided by Tomé Pires:

'Achin is the first country on the channel side of the island of Sumatra, and Lambry is right next to it and stretching inland (2).'

The hint that Lambry stretched inland is reminiscent of the Arab picture of Rāmnī as a large region which extended as far as Fansur in the south (3). Here may be a vestige of the link which once existed between the ancient harbour of 'Barus' and its camphor-producing hinterland (4).

Such are the reasons why I consider that the main port of the 'Barus' region of northern Sumatra lay between Atjeh Head and Diamond Point and was not the port on the west coast

(1) 'Rāmnī: this island is shared between several kings; its size, they say, is eight or nine parasanges. Much gold is found there and a place called Fansur, which produces an abundance of good quality camphor'; Sauvaget, Relation, 4, with the restoration of Sauvaget's Lambri to the Rāmnī which appears in the original text. Gold and camphor are here attributed to northern Sumatra.

(2) Suma Oriental, I, 138.

(3) A last glimpse of Lamuri is contained in the writings of Sidi Ali Celebi of 1554, which refer to 'the former Lamuri on the east coast (of the Bay of Bengal)'; Ferrand, Textes, 2, 522.

(4) Rouffaer reconstructed the Rāmnī - Lamuri name as Lambaroe or Lambaroeēh; 'Beeldende Kunst in Nederlandsch-Indie', Bijl., 89, 1932, 569, note 1. Schrieke identified it with Lambarieh; Ruler and Realm, 256. Neither explained how he came to this conclusion, which seems to embody the name of 'Barus' in the Arab name. It is tempting to look for a phonological connexion between the name as the Chinese knew it as late as about A.D. 800 and the name as it appears when the Arabs wrote shortly afterwards, but I doubt whether this can be done. I prefer to be guided by the Nagarakrtāgama which mentions both Barus and Lamuri. I think that the former was a regional name in my period which conveniently lent itself as the name of the region's chief port in Chinese records.

now known as Barus. The port in Chinese records took its name from the region. It would have been close to the stands of Pinus merkusii and in communication with the camphor and benzoin jungle further south.

The other northern Sumatran centre was P'ō-lō^o, and I am unable to locate it exactly. It must have been on Chia Tan's itinerary, but the only place-name other than P'ō-lō is Shêng-têng 勝登, seven or eight sailing days from the southern entrance of the Straits and tentatively sited by Pelliot in the Deli area. In Ming times the Chinese knew of Aru here. On the other hand, the Tamil inscription of 1030 - 1031 mentions Pannai, which is also mentioned in the 14th century Nagarakrtāgama as Pane. The modern Panei has river access to the interior, where the Padang Lawas site has yielded archaeological remains, some of which have been dated not later than the tenth century (1). In the ninth century Ibn Khurdādhbih writes of Salāht, the country of the 'Straits', and somewhere on the Sumatran side of the Straits of Malacca a small trading centre must have existed in much earlier times. Of only two things am I certain. P'ō-lō was not on the west coast of Sumatra, nor did it send tribute to China before the

(1) Bosch, 'Verslag van een reis door Sumatra', Oudheidkundig Verslag, 1930, 146. From Gunong Tuwa in Padang Lawas has come an inscription with a date corresponding to A.D. 1024. But the north-eastern coast of Sumatra south of Medan is well-served with rivers, and P'ō-lō could have been on any of them. In the 10th century there was a 'Bara' on this coast, and P'ō-lō would render Bara admirably. But why is nothing heard of Bara before the 19th century?

seventh century.

Though neither 'Barus' nor P'o-lo were among the tributary kingdoms in the fifth and sixth centuries I have dwelt on their location in order to show that 'Barus' was a port on the Straits of Malacca and that P'o-lo was unlikely to have been anywhere else. In particular I want to emphasise the coast on which 'Barus' lay. In later times the extreme northern coast of Sumatra, as a result of trading with Indian Moslems, became a famous commercial centre, and as early as 1178 Chou Ch'ü-fei writes that ships from Canton wintered there before proceeding to the Indian Ocean (1). In subsequent centuries its easy access to international shipping routes (2) and its rich hinterland guaranteed the prosperity of a succession of small harbour kingdoms there. But before the 12th century practically nothing is known of the region except for the few foreign records which have been quoted in this chapter. Perhaps Moslem fanaticism in modern times has been responsible for the destruction of 'pagan' inscriptions and temples. Nevertheless one enquires when these geographical advantages first began to exert their influence on the commercial development of the

(1) Ling wai ta ta, 2, 23: 廣船四十日到藍里佳冬

(2) Ma Huan expressed vividly the situation of Su-mén-ta-la = Pasai when he said that 'it was the high road for the Western Ocean 其處乃西洋之總路'; Ying yai shêng lan, 27.

northern coast. Hitherto P'o-lo has been ignored by historians, while the 'Barus' port known to the Chinese writers has been lost on the west coast, chiefly as a result of Ferrand's studies. But we shall see at the end of this study that the commerce of the kingdoms on the Straits of Malacca was developing in the seventh century and that the rulers of Srivijaya were aware of this.

Before the seventh century, however, the harbours of northern Sumatra, like those of Borneo, can be eliminated as the bases for the middlemen in the trade with China. Instead Indonesians from elsewhere collected and carried northern Sumatran produce. Some general reasons may be suggested to account for the relative backwardness of the region.

The physical geography of the northern half of the island is to a large extent responsible. Except in the alluvial lowlands south of Medan on the Straits the mountains are never far from the coast, and the northern coast is separated from the Gajo highlands by a broad stretch of uninhabited mountain territory. The highlands occupied by the Gajo, Alas, and the numerous Batak peoples contain plateaux, the soil of which has been nourished by lava deposits and is fertile and capable of supporting a large population. As a result the inhabitants of the mountainous hinterland have tended to dominate the

coastal population (1), and it is even probable that in early times there was little ethnic difference between those who lived on the coastland and in the highlands (2).

Nothing is known of the early history of the peoples of the interior (3), but there are scraps of evidence from later times which reflect what was probably an age-long vulnerability of the coast to attack from the interior, a threat which would have been a discouragement to trade. Ma Huan relates that a ruler of Pasai had been killed by the tattooed people in the interior (4). Pires heard that the ruler of Bata on the north-east coast was often at war with the people of the interior and that the latter sometimes disagreed with Pasai 'because of the crops of pepper, silk, and benzoin; but they affirm that in the

(1) Robequain notes that in Sumatra the centres of civilisation are inland and that the cultural preponderance of the highlands over the lowlands is rare enough in tropical Asia for it to deserve special mention; Malay, Indonesia ..., 145-146.

(2) Legend has it that the original population of Atjeh were the Orang Mantir, who were long ago driven out by the Bataks; Van Langen, 'De inrichting van het Atjehsche staatsbestuur onder het Sultanaat', Bijdr., 1888, 384. In Loeb's opinion the original population of Atjeh was probably similar to the present mountain population of Gajo and Alas; Sumatra, Its history and People, Vienna, 1935, 219.

(3) There are traditions of early Indian settlements on the coast of northern Sumatra but there are no grounds for assigning the settlements to the pre-seventh century periods; Van Langen, 'De inrichting', 384-386. Heine-Geldern has recently attempted a reconstruction of early Batak history from the seventh century, based on Chinese records of P'i-ch'ien kingdom 阇婆 国 in pre-T'ang times; BEURO, 49, 2, 1959, 361-404. But P'i-ch'ien was certainly not in Sumatra; see pages 111-113. Heine-Geldern traced Buddhist traditions in Batak culture, which he tried to connect with the Buddhist kingdom of P'i-ch'ien. He admitted, however, that many of his conjectures were hypothetical.

(4) Ying yai shêng lan, 27-28.

quarrels their wishes prevail over Pase' (1). The reluctance of the inland people to respond to influences from the coast is indicated by Ibn Battūtah's statement in the 14th century that Pasai used force to impose Islam on them (2). According to the Hikayat Raja Raja Pasai, the Gajo people fled inland in order to avoid Islam (3). Even at the height of its power in the 17th century the Sultanate of Atjeh remained no more than a harbour kingdom, with little power in the interior.

The only inference that can be drawn from the few foreign accounts of the population of northern Sumatra over a period of many centuries is that they were considered to be dangerous. From the time of Ptolemy and K'ang T'ai onwards the man-eating theme recurs monotonously. Only the T'ang Chinese do not mention it, and this can be explained by the fact that they never visited the region. In Arab literature the most reliable evidence is provided by the tales of Buzurg, which seem to have been based on information brought back by the occasional visitors to those shores. One of them reported that there were 'tailed maneaters who lived between the land of Fansur and the land of Lameri' (4). Marco Polo, who stayed

(1) Suma Oriental, I, 143.

(2) Ferrand, Textes, II, 440.

(3) J.P. Mead, 'Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai', romanized text, JSBRAS, 66, 1914, 12.

(4) Le Livre des merveilles de l'Inde, 125.

some time at Samudra, took special measures to protect himself against the cannibals (1). Barbosa heard that the people of Aru were eaters of human flesh, 'and every foreigner whom they can take they eat without any pity whatsoever' (2). Pires heard of the population behind Singkel on the north-west coast as 'strong, savage, bestial people who eat men' (3).

It need not be concluded that the inhabitants of northern Sumatra were markedly more primitive than those in some other regions of South East Asia in early times. The reports about their cannibalism may have been deliberately encouraged by the inhabitants themselves to keep the foreigners out of their lands. But the first Indian traders to Indonesia are not likely to have traded regularly with the harbours of this region. Moreover they would have discovered that, until they reached the coast south of Medan, harbour facilities were poor and that there were no easily navigable rivers up which protection could

- (1) Moule and Pelliot, Marco Polo, 1, 373. Referring to Ferlec he says that Islam had been introduced among the townspeople, but the hill-people lived like beasts and ate human flesh; *ibid*, 371.
 (2) The Book of Duarte Barbosa, edited by Dames, (Hakluyt Society, vol. xlix, 1921), 2, 188.
 (3) Suma Oriental, I, 163.

be provided from the sea (1). For all these reasons it is difficult to believe that there were busy Indian trading settlements in northern Sumatra, and as a result wider horizons would not have been opened up for the population. Instead, these people evolved in isolation (2). It was only in subsequent centuries that the coast of P'o-lo attracted Indians and Arabs, Malays and Javanese, and produced the mixed Achinese population who live there today. The foreigners came later not because the local population had become more friendly but because Srivijaya was now weak and could not prevent them from trading with this rich region. In the fifth and sixth centuries, however, the favoured trading coast of western Indonesia lay elsewhere.

(1) The Malacca Strait Pilot, third edition, 1946, 51, describes the northern coast of Sumatra to Diamond Point as 'inhospitable and without conspicuous landmarks; in places the cliffs rise precipitously from the sea to a considerable height, crowned by dense vegetation ...'. South of Medan live the Karo Bataks, whose social organisation is distinguished by features often described as Hindu; they are summarised by Loeb, *Sumatra*, 20-21, and discussed by Krom, Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis, 1931, 85-86. As historical evidence these 'Hindu' features have no value, but one wonders whether the better harbour facilities on the north-east coast of Sumatra resulted in more frequent Indian trading visits than to the extreme north of the island. It is on this coast that I am inclined to locate K'ang T'ai's P'u-lo, the Pu-lo of the Shih êrh yu ching (translated at the end of the fourth century), and the seventh century P'o-lo which sent two embassies to China. One suspects that this place was slightly more advanced than 'Barus' before the seventh century.

(2) I borrow the expression 'evolution in isolation' from Dobby, Southeast Asia, 208.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE FAVOURED COAST OF EARLY INDONESIAN COMMERCE

The tributary kingdoms of Indonesia in the fifth and sixth centuries lay south of the Straits of Malacca somewhere on the coast of south-eastern Sumatra and northern Java. This conclusion will surprise few students of early Indonesian history. They will be more curious to know where on this coast I believe the kingdoms were. I think that at least two and perhaps three of them were in Java and that certainly one and perhaps two were in Sumatra. The most important Sumatran kingdom was almost certainly Kan-t'o-li. Kan-t'o-li lay at the western end of the tributary coast, and I consider that it was on the hub of the trading coast in these centuries. It is the kingdom which can be described with most confidence as the predecessor of Śrīvijaya, and this is in fact how it was described in the Ming shih a thousand and more years later (1.)

(1) Ming shih, 324, 24b :

三佛齊古名干陀利劉宋孝武帝時常
遣使奉貢梁武帝時數至宋名三佛齊

The method I have adopted in identifying these kingdoms is to consider first what is known of those whose names survive in the somewhat fuller records referring to the seventh century and especially in the works of I Tsing, a visitor to the region whose information I have come to regard as accurate and illuminating (1). I shall begin with Tan-tan and P'o-li, and the evidence about them indicates that they are likely to have been in Java.

In spite of the unsatisfactorily vague description of P'o-li's position in the first account of it provided by the Liang shu, later accounts make it certain that it lay on the eastern confines of what the Chinese regarded as the culturally more advanced part of Indonesia. The Liang shu merely states:

婆利國在廣州東南海中洲上去廣州
 二月日行國界東西五十日行南
 北二十日行有一百三十六衆

(1) I Tsing's life and travels are discussed in Takakusu, Record, xxv-xxxviii. Takakusu establishes the date of the composition of I Tsing's Record and Memoirs as not later than 692; *ibid*, liii-lv.

'It is to the south-east of Canton and a maritime region in the ocean. Canton is two months' journey from P'o-li (1). It takes 50 days to travel from P'o-li's eastern boundary to its western one and 20 days from its southern boundary to its northern one. It has 136 settlements (2)'.

But in the seventh century more information becomes available about its position, for the Sui shu contains a passage which shows how one reached P'o-li from China:

波利國自交趾浮海南過赤土舟舟乃至
其國國界東西月四月行南北四十五日行

'One sails south over the ocean from Tongking and travels via Ch'ih T'u (on the south-eastern Malay Peninsula) and Tan-tan and then reaches this country (P'o-li). It takes four months to travel between the eastern and western boundaries of P'o-li and 45 days between its southern and northern boundaries (3).'

(1) The time taken is consistent with the length of the voyage from Yeh-p'o-t'i to Canton in Fa Hsien's time.

(2) Liang shu, 54, 19a-b.

(3) Sui shu, 82, 7b.

P'o-li was obviously some distance from the Peninsula, and I believe that Ch'ang Chün visited it by means of this itinerary some time between 607 and 610 when he was overseas. The evidence for Ch'ang Chün's visit is not implied in the following passage in the T'ai p'ing yü lan, quoting the Sui shu on Lo-ch'a, which gives, however, the impression that P'o-li was at the limit of the civilised world.

羅刹國在濠利之東其人極陋朱
 髮黑身獸牙鷹爪時與色人作市
 車取以夜書日劍掩其面煬帝大
 業三年使常駿等使赤土國致
 羅刹國

'Lo-ch'a country is to the east of P'o-li. The people of Lo-ch'a are extremely crude. They have red hair and black skins. They have the teeth of wild animals and the claws of eagles. When they trade with the city people, they always do so at night. In day time they hide their faces. In 607, during the reign of (Sui) Yang Ti, Ch'ang Chün and others were sent as envoys to Ch'ih T'u. Thus Lo-ch'a country was made to recognise the power of China (1).'

Information about Ch'ang Chün's visit to the eastern borders of P'o-li is indicated more clearly in the T'ang hui yao.

It probably came from a common source, based on Ch'ang Chün's memoirs:

貞觀四年四月。使至溟利異。有羅刹
國。其人極陋...

(1) TPYL, 788, 3490b. I have accepted Dr. Whitaker's understanding of the last sentence. The TPYL passage does not appear in the Sui shu. The compiler of the latter says that in the 606-616 period more than ten (of the countries) of the southern region came with tribute but that the details about them were lost 大業中南岳朝貢者十餘國其事迹多湮滅而無聞 Sui shu, 82, 1a. I doubt, however, whether so primitive a country as Lo-ch'a ever sent tribute, and I am inclined to attribute the information about it to Ch'ang Chün's visit to P'o-li. The TPYL passage is reproduced in the T'ung tien, 188, 1010, and in the T'ai p'ing huan yü chi, 177, 5b. Both these works state that Lo-ch'a traded with 'Lin-yi 林邑人' and not with 'the city people 邑人'. I feel that the TPYL contains the correct information, unless Lo-ch'a, which I shall define below as the name for the population of eastern Indonesia in general, here means the inhabitants of the Moluccas or Philippines who traded with the Chams of Lin-yi (on the Annam coast). HTS, 222 下, 1b, states that in the 627-649 period P'o-li and Lo-ch'a sent missions to China, but this must be a mistaken reference to the P'o-li mission in 630, mentioned in CTS, 197, 2a. The confusion between P'o-li and Lo-ch'a is also contained in THY, 99, 1769, which states that the Lin-yi envoys of 630 brought a flashing pearl to China but were unable to say whether it came from Lo-ch'a or Ceylon. Here the confusion may have been increased by the association of Lo-ch'a 羅刹 (rakṣasas) with Ceylon.

'630, the fourth month. The envoy reached the P'o-li boundary. There is Lo-ch'a country. Its people are extremely crude ... (1).'

I believe that Ch'ang Chün visited P'o-li and that the facts about both P'o-li and Lo-ch'a are derived from first-hand knowledge and therefore represent an advance on what was known in the sixth century and recorded in the Liang shu. The new facts describe P'o-li as being at the edge of the civilised part of Indonesia known to the Chinese in the early seventh century. The envoy is unlikely to have had occasion to travel beyond P'o-li in the discharge of his duty of bringing the southern barbarians into communication with China. Beyond P'o-li lay primitive people, appropriately called Lo-ch'a 羅刹, which is only a transcription of the Sanskrit word rākṣasa, meaning a class of demons, but apparently often used to describe the non-Hinduised peoples of India. This contemptuous expression may have been current among the people of P'o-li itself (2).

(1) THY, 99, 1769. I have followed the punctuation in the Commercial Press edition. Ch'ang Chün's visit to Lo-ch'a may also be referred to in HTS, 222 下, 2a, though I am not so certain as Pelliot that hereafter Lo-ch'a entered into relations with China; 'Deux itinéraires', 281. The passage is: 其東(即Lo-ch'a)即羅刹也 詛遣利向俗大易辨覺常厥使夫王逆通 中國赤土西南入海得羅刹...

I feel from the context that it was Ch'ih T'u and not Lo-ch'a which entered into communication with China.

(2) Coedès has noted the contemptuous names given to slaves in Khmer inscriptions; États, 205.

There is, however, nothing in Ch'ang Chün's evidence quoted so far which enables one to place P'o-li on a map. We have to turn to I Tsing for an indication that P'o-li was not only on the fringe of the civilised world but was at its eastern limit.

The key text is I Tsing's list of countries which begins with 'Barus' in northern Sumatra:

'An enumeration from the west. There is P'o-lu-shih ('Barus'), Mo-lo-yu chou which is now Shih-li-fo-shih (Malayu which is now Srivijaya), Mo-ho-hsin chou, Ho-ling chou, Tan-tan chou, P'ên-p'ên chou, P'o-li chou, Chüeh-lun chou, Fo-shih-p'u-lo chou (which I translate as 'Vijayapura' in Western Borneo (1)), O-shan chou, and Mo-chia-man chou. There are also some small chou which cannot all be recorded (2).'

In this list, as in Ch'ang Chün's itinerary, Tan-tan appears before P'o-li. But equally noteworthy are the two names which appear after P'o-li: Chüeh-lun 掘倫 and Fo-shih-p'u-lo. Neither of them are there by accident.

I am certain that the reason why Chüeh-lun lies immediately beyond P'o-li is because it corresponds to the Lo-ch'a country east of P'o-li, mentioned in the T'ai p'ing yü lan quotation from the Sui shu translated above. Chüeh-lun must be a variant of Ku-lun 骨論, a name given in Hui-lin's I ch'ieh ching yin 一切經音義 of 817 for a wild people living in maritime South East Asia,

(1) Page 364-368.

(2) I have provided the text on page 389.

otherwise known as K'un-lun 崑崙 (1). Hui-lin, writing in connexion with I Tsing's Memoirs, states that the K'un-lun, or Ku-lun, like the rākṣasas, ate human flesh and were very black. Chüeh-lun and Ku-lun in T'ang times were very similar sounds; chueh-lun was pronounced as g'iuət-liuën and Ku-lun as kuat-liuën (2).

It may be that I Tsing himself regarded Chüeh-lun as an ethnic term, for there is the following obscure passage:

諸國周圍或可百里或數百里或可百馬
 大海雖難計里商舶中者准知良為
 掘倫初至交廣遂使總喚崑崙國焉
 唯此崑崙頭頭捲骨豐黑自餘諸國
 湖神州不殊

(1) This passage is translated and discussed by Pelliot in 'Textes Chinois', 261-263. Moens came to a similar conclusion concerning the identity of Chueh-lun and Lo-ch'a, which helped him to identify I Tsing's P'o-li with eastern Java; 'Srivijaya, Yāva en Katāha', 36-37. Unfortunately he did not believe that the sixth century P'o-li was the same as I Tsing's P'o-li. He thought that the earlier one was at Palembang. His reason was simply that it seemed to be a Buddhist kingdom, while Palembang contained Buddhist remains. Moens no doubt wanted to protect his extraordinary theory that Srivijaya was originally a kingdom on the Malay Peninsula, which conquered Palembang.

(2) I follow Karlgren's phonological reconstructions.

"Some of these countries (in the southern ocean) are 100 or several hundred li or a hundred yojana in circumference. In the great ocean, though it is difficult to calculate distances, those travelling in merchant ships certainly know that this part is (called) Chüeh-lun. When (the southern ocean people) first came to Tongking and Canton they were given the general name of (the people of) the K'un-lun countries. But these K'un-lun (people) are curly-headed and have black skins. The inhabitants of the other countries (in the southern ocean) are similar in appearance to the Chinese (1)."

I Tsing seems to suggest that the genuine K'un-lun people are dark and have curly hair (2), and he may be implying that they were to be found in the uncharted Chüeh-lun region. If this is so, it means that he considered that Chüeh-lun was inhabited by the more primitive element in the southern ocean. This would be consistent with the fact that he places Chüeh-lun beyond P'o-li, which is exactly the position given to Lo-ch'a in other texts in relation to P'o-li. Moreover Hui-lin compares the K'un-lun/Ku-lun people with Lo-ch'a, or raksasas. I think that it is fair to conclude that Chüeh-lun and Lo-ch'a were general terms for the people in the terra incognita of the eastern Archipelago and that the limit of the

(1) Nan hai chi kuei nei fa chuan, 205b. Takakusu also found this to be an obscure passage; Record, 11 and note 1.

(2) I see here a vague reference to the more pronounced 'Melanesoid' features of the inhabitants of the eastern Archipelago, where the rate of assimilation to the Indonesian population was slower.

Chinese knowledge of eastern Indonesia is represented by P'o-li (3).

In view of I Tsing's evidence it would not be surprising if P'o-li was somewhere in eastern Java or in Bali, where Pelliot located it. The cultural development of eastern Java within a century of his lifetime is reflected in the Dinaya inscription in Sanskrit, found north-west of Malang and of 760 (2). It is the oldest dated inscription recovered from eastern Java and mentions the foundation of a sanctuary of Agastya. Earlier still, though undated, is the Tuk Mas rock inscription of central Java, assigned to the seventh century on palaeographic grounds (3). There is also a Buddha image from Jember in eastern Java, which Dupont thought might be of the fifth or sixth century (4). But there is a further piece of Chinese evidence, provided not only by I Tsing but by another source as well, probably Ch'ang Chün, which in my opinion makes it almost certain that P'o-li was somewhere in the eastern half of Java. I refer to the place

(1) Takakusu thought that Chüeh-lun meant the Pulo Condore islands off the coast of Cochin-China; Record, xlix. Groeneveldt and Schlegel identified it with the Nicobar Islands. Pelliot made no specific identification; 'Deux itinéraires', 281. Ferrand suggested that the word was a transliteration of Gurun, a name which appears in the 14th century Nāgarakṛtāgama and an island in the eastern Archipelago. As a result he thought that I Tsing's Fo-shih-p'u-lo would have been even further to the east; JA, Mars-Avril, 1919, 301-302.

(2) F.D.K. Bosch, 'De Sanskrit inscription op den steen van Dinaja (682 çaka)', Tijd, 57, 1916, 410-444; 'Het Lingga-Heiligdom van Dinaja', Tijd, 64, 1924, 227-286.

(3) The literature of the Tuk Mas inscription has been assembled by de Casparis, Prasasti, 2, 50, note 7.

(4) 'Les Buddhas dits d'Amarāvati en Asie du Sud-est', BEFEO, 49, 2, 1959, 633-634.

mentioned by I Tsing as lying beyond Chüeh-lun: Fo-shih-p'u-lo, or Vijayapura.

In the previous chapter I gave my reasons for identifying Fo-shih-p'u-lo and Chin-li-p'i-shih with a kingdom known as Vijayapura somewhere on the western coast of Borneo (1). In I Tsing's list Chüeh-lun is merely terra incognita, inhabited by primitive peoples. His next specific kingdom after P'o-li is Vijayapura, and this suggests that the sequence of toponyms curves northwards towards Borneo. That this was in fact I Tsing's intention is borne out by evidence, again likely to be Ch'ang Chün's, which describes P'o-li (in the form of Po-li) as 'south' of Vijayapura. According to the T'ai p'ing yü lan, quoting the lost T'ang shu,

西去赤土國一千五百里南去波利國三
千里柳得國三千里

(1) Page 366 .

'1500 li to the west of (Chin-li-p'i-shih) is Ch'ih T'u.
 3000 li south of Chin-li-p'i-shih is Po-li. Liu-ch'u
 country 3,000 li (1).'

Thus Chin-li-p'i-shih and Po-li are not only brought into relationship in the same way as I Tsing's P'o-li and Fo-shih-p'u-lo, but an orientation is also supplied. A glance at a map is now sufficient to convince one that P'o-li could hardly have been anywhere but in Java. Somewhere in Java, and possibly in eastern Java, was the kingdom of the fifth and sixth centuries which represents the limit of the tributary coast of Indonesia. Its length from east to west

(1) TPYL, 788, 3491b-3492a. In the THY's account of Chin-li-p'i-chia, 100, 1791, there is a break in the text which leaves out the reference to Po-li, but it is to be found in the TPHYC, 177, 13a. Professor Wheatley understands references to the T'ang shu to mean the T'ang shih lun tuan 唐史論斷, a critical study of the history of the T'ang dynasty written in the eleventh century; Golden Khersonese, 18, note 3.

suggests that it had a considerable waistline (1).

(1) Pelliot, chiefly for phonological reasons, identified P'o-li with Bali, though he admitted the possibility of Borneo; 'Deux itinéraires', 285. Ferrand accepted Bali; JA, Mars-Avril, 1919, 290. Other identifications are listed ~~in note~~ on pages 353-4 above. I wasted a long time before I reached my conclusion concerning P'o-li because I was obsessed with the possibility that the P'u-lei of the Nan chou i wu chih was an early transcription of P'o-li, which would mean that P'o-li was on or off the south-eastern coast of Sumatra. I was influenced by the way in which the sound represented by P'u in the third century seems to have been superseded by P'o- in the fifth and sixth centuries. An example is given in Appendix 'B' in connexion with P'u-huang 滯黃 which became P'o-huang 滯皇. Moreover the TPHYC, 276, lib, renders P'o-li as P'u-li 滯利. I was less certain about the -lei 萊 = -li 利 equation. I did not entirely free myself from this obsession until I came to realise the accuracy of I Tsing's information and its implications for locating P'o-li. I have a special reason for being grateful to I Tsing. He places Ho-ling to the west of P'o-li, and other texts also describe Ho-ling as P'o-li's western neighbour; eg CTS, 197, 3a. But Ho-ling 訶陵, with Śrīvijaya, is the most important Chinese toponym in the records relating to the seventh and eighth centuries. The usual view is that Ho-ling was the major Javanese kingdom in the eighth century, the time when the Sailendras were building the magnificent Barabudur of central Java. It would have been foolish to argue that Ho-ling, on the strength of an assumed P'u-lei = P'o-li equation, was in Sumatra and not in Java. Moreover I understand from a private communication from Professor Goedès that M. Demais believes that Ho-ling is a transcription of a Javanese toponym, probably Walaing, while Dr de Casparis believes that Walaing may be associated with the Ratubaka plateau in central Java; Prasasti, 2, 254-255. When the implications of the evidence about Ho-ling have been studied, considerable light may be thrown on early Javanese history. I make my modest contribution to the Ho-ling question on pages 465-474 below.

I Tsing evidently chose to list the countries on the three shores of the Java Sea. On these shores have been found all the sites which have so far yielded evidence of early Buddhist and Hindu cultural influences, with the exception of the Kutei archaeological remains of Eastern Borneo, and it would be surprising if I Tsing, who was only interested in the extent of Buddhist influence in Indonesia, had occasion to describe any other form of periplus. Moreover I suspect that he was looking at the map of Indonesia in the way foreigners had become accustomed to do for several centuries. My suspicion is based on a vaguely similar periplus contained in the commentary of the Mahāniddeśa, incorporating second or third century information available in India.

The list of place-names in the Mahāniddeśa commentary is a long one, and I have indicated in capital letters the names which show the general direction this periplus took:

'Gumba, TAKKOLA, Takkasilā, Kālamukha, MARAṆĀPARA, Vesuṅga, Verāpatha, JAVA, Tamili, VAṄGA, Eḷavaddhana, Suvannakūṭa, SUVAṆṆABHŪMI, TAMBAPAṆṆI ... (1).'

Nothing is known of Gumba (2), but with Takkōla one is on firmer ground. Professor Wheatley, developing the ideas of Lévi, believes that it was a port on the north-west coast of the Malay Peninsula (3). There are no safe identifications of Takkasilā or Kālamukha; Lévi thought in terms of the Chittagong region and somewhere further to the east (4). One wonders, however, whether there is a connexion between Kālamukha and the Chia-lo 加羅 mentioned in the Shih erh yu ching's list of maritime countries (5). But with Maraṇāpara, under the form of Pūrapura or Parapura, we may be in the presence of a place-name in north-eastern Sumatra (6). Lévi thought that Vesuṅga and Verāpatha were in the Peninsula (7), but he has not been followed by Professor Wheatley. Java, the next name, brings us down to Indonesia, while, if Vaṅga is Bangka island (8), it is not

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- (1) Lévi, 'Ptolémée, Le Niddeśa et la Brhatkathā', 2.
 (2) Ibid, 3.
 (3) Golden Khersonese, 268-272.
 (4) 'Ptolémée, Le Niddeśa et la Brhatkathā', 22-25.
 (5) Page 386 above.
 (6) Page 387 above.
 (7) 'Ptolémée', 22.
 (8) Ibid, 27-28.

entirely out of place at this stage of the list. Tamali, which Lévi identified with Tambalinga on the Malay Peninsula (1), is, however, completely out of place. Elavaddhana cannot be identified (2). Then there follows Suvannakūṭa, Suvannabhūmi, and Tambapaṇṇi. Tambapaṇṇi is Ceylon, while Suvannakūṭa and Suvannabhūmi seem to be mainland toponyms (3).

I realise that the parallel between the list in the Mahāniddeśa commentary and I Tsing's list cannot be taken too far. The former mentions mainland South East Asian places, which I Tsing reserves for another passage (4). Moreover the appearance of Tamali between Java and Vāṅga is inexplicable, and one can hardly avoid the problem by suggesting that an error has crept in. But, at least as far as the South East Asian toponyms are concerned, the earlier list begins and ends with mainland ones, and in between there is a loop comprising Indonesian toponyms.

(1) Ibid, 26-27.

(2) Lévi (ibid, 28-29) noted that ela = Sanskrit eda means the long-tailed sheep, which figures among the marvels of India. Vardhana means 'breeding' but the word may have been bandhana, meaning 'strap'. Lévi noted Ptolemy's 'three islands of the Satyrs', lying beyond Iabadiou. K'ang T'ai heard that east of Chū-li, and apparently in western Borneo, there were tailed men; page 371 above. There is a faint possibility that Elavaddhana may be an obscure reference to this region, but I make the suggestion without confidence.

(3) 'Ptolémée', 29-36.

(4) Page 438 below.

I have identified P'o-li as probably being somewhere in the eastern half of Java. I now wish to consider the position of Tan-tan, on the route to P'o-li according to the itinerary from Ch'ih T'u and separated from P'o-li only by P'ên-p'ên 訶 訶 in I Tsing's list. If P'ên-p'ên was, as Takakusu suggested, the same as P'u-h'in 訶 訶, mentioned by I Tsing as north of Ho-ling, Tan-tan may have been contiguous with P'o-li, for Ho-ling was west of Tan-tan. Nothing more is known of P'ên-p'ên, and it was evidently of little importance (1). The proximity of Tan-tan and P'o-li is also reflected in an itinerary from Vijayapura to Canton, which, in spite of its obscurities, seems to be another periplus of the countries on the three shores of the Java Sea, differing from I Tsing's list only in that it proceeds from east to west. I follow Pelliot in regarding the passage in the T'ai p'ing huan yü chi as more accurate than the parallel passage in the T'ang hui yao (2).

(1) P'u-pên is mentioned in the Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu fa kao sêng chuan, 5a; Takakusu, Record, xlix. Takakusu thought that P'ên-p'ên represents Pembuan on the southern coast of Borneo. Ferrand identified P'en-p'en with Madiera island; JA, 1919, Mars-Avril, 301.

(2) 'Deux itinéraires', 324 and note 5.

金利毘逝國在京西南四萬餘里行經
丹丹國摩訶新國多隆國耆理國婆樓國
以郎溥黃國摩羅逝國真臘林邑國乃
至廣州

South-west

'Chin-li-p'i-shih is 40,000 and more li from the capital (of China). When one travels (to the capital of China) (1) one passes through Tan-tan, Mo-ho-hsin, To-lang, Chih-mi, P'o-lou, To-lang-p'o-huang, Mo-lo-shih (2), Chen-la (Cambodia), Lin-yi (the Cham kingdom on the Annam coast), and then reaches Canton (3).'

Tan-tan is here the centre which appears next to

Chin-li-p'i-shih = Vijayapura in western Borneo. The list of names works its way to Malayu in south-eastern Sumatra, and this suggests that the itinerary began in a southerly direction, which is consistent with the fact that P'o-li is elsewhere described as south of Vijayapura (4) and that Tan-tan was

(1) I do not consider that the existence of this itinerary is evidence that missions were sent by this route from Vijayapura to China. It is merely an attempt to plot its position, and I suspect that the information came from Ch'ang Chün.

(2) Mo-lo-shih 摩羅逝 is an error for Mo-lo-yu = 摩羅遊 Malayu-Jambi. The parallel passage of the THY, 100, 1791, has Mo-lo-yu.

(3) TPHYC, 177, 13a. The THY version inserts Ho-ling between Tan-tan and 'Mo-ho country 摩訶國' and 'Hsin country 新國'. The latter two must mean Mo-ho-hsin, mentioned by I Tsing in his list. The position given to Ho-ling is consistent with the sequence of Mo-ho-hsin, Ho-ling, and Tan-tan in I Tsing's list, enumerated from west to east. But I am not certain whether Ho-ling appeared in the original account of this itinerary, which I attribute to the early seventh century. Ferrand reached a similar conclusion to mine about the consistency between the information of the itinerary and I Tsing's list, but it would have been better if he had paid less attention to Ho-ling in the THY's itinerary and more attention to Chin-li-p'i-shih.

(4) In the account of Chin-li-p'i-shih. See page 364.

west of P'o-li in I Tsing's list. Tan-tan would therefore have been vaguely south-west of Vijayapura. Though the itinerary does not mention P'o-li, Mo-ho-hsin is mentioned after Tan-tan, which is in the same order as in I Tsing's list framed in the reverse direction. Tan-tan therefore does not seem to have been located haphazardly in this itinerary. Ferrand in 1919 rightly stressed the consistency of the evidence about Tan-tan as a guarantee of its position somewhere in the eastern part of the Java Sea, and he could have emphasised its consistency even further if he had not fallen for Pelliot's suggestion in 1904 that Chin-li-p'i-shih was a transcription of Śrīvijaya-Palembang (1). I know nothing of To-lung and Chih-mi (2), and I admit that, if P'o-lou means 'Barus', the list unaccountably moves on to northern Sumatra (3). On the other hand, if To-lang-p'o-huang is Tulang Bawang in south-eastern Sumatra, it comes satisfactorily into position between Tan-tan, a neighbour of P'o-li in Java,

(1) JA, Mars-Avril, 1919, 293. Ferrand's views on Tan-tan are in the same article, 299-300.

(2) Ferrand had no views on To-lung but thought that Chih-mi might be connected with a Cambai toponym in the Palembang area; JA, Mars-Avril, 1919, 304.

(3) On page 32, n. 5, I suggested casually that the name may have something to do with the P'o-lu-chia-sü 婆羅伽斯 mentioned in the HPS's account of Ho-ling. If so, it would at least bring P'o-lou into a probable position in this itinerary.

and Mo-lo-shih = Malayu, or Malayu-Jambi (1). Finally comes Malayu, closer to Cambodia than Tan-tan; in I Tsing's list Malayu is west of Tan-tan. Thus there is nothing in the itinerary which modifies I Tsing's statement of Tan-tan's position in respect of P'o-li or contradicts the view that Tan-tan was not very far from P'o-li. The geographical details about Tan-tan are always consistent, and I conclude that Tan-tan, like P'o-li, was in Java but not so far east on the island as P'o-li was.

Tan-tan has never attracted much attention from the historical geographers. Bretschneider thought that it was the Natuna islands, but only because he believed that P'o-li was in Borneo (2). Takakusu seemed uncertain of this, but he gave no alternative identification (3). Pelliot expressed no opinion on the subject of the exact position of Tan-tan, though he brought together the different Chinese variants of the name (4). Gerini discovered a number of similarly sounding modern place-names in Sumatra, Borneo, and the Peninsula; for I Tsing's Tan-tan he chose an island called Teutau or Trotto in the Langkawi group off the Kedah coast or Datu Point either on the north-east coast of Sumatra or

(1) Ferrand believed that To-lang-o'o-huang represented the eastern basin of the Tulangbawang river in south-eastern Sumatra; 'Malaka, Le Malāyu et Malāyur', JA, Juil-Août, 1918, 477, note 2. Damais seems to think that this is possible and notes that Tulang Bawang appears in the Wu pei chih; review of Riwayat Indonesia, BEFEO, 48, I, 1956, 614.

Yet To-~~li~~ does not readily supply the Tu- sound.

(2) The knowledge possessed by the ancient Chinese, 18-19.

(3) Record, xlviiii-xlix.

(4) 'Deux itinéraires', 284; 325, note 1.

on the same coast at the equator (1). Ferrand on good grounds contented himself with suggesting that it was in the eastern part of the Java Sea (2). In 1947 Professor Hsü Yün-ts'iao was the first to make a detailed study of Tan-tan, and he decided that it was in the neighbourhood of the modern state of Kelantan on the south-east coast of the Malay Peninsula (3). He noted that there was a village called Tendong ten miles from the mouth of the Kelantan river. Professor Wheatley considered that the most informative scrap of evidence was its association with Ch'ih T'u in the itinerary which I have attributed to Ch'ang Chün. Ch'ih T'u probably represented Kelantan; Tan-tan, which Professor Wheatley thought was 'just beyond' Ch'ih T'u, would then be on one of the kualas farther south, possibly the Besut or the Trengganu (4). Finally Professor Hsü Yün-ts'iao has re-affirmed his conviction that Tan-tan was Kelantan (5). He noted that in the 1785 addition to the Wên hsien t'ung k'ao the section on Johore states that Trengganu, Tan-tan ^{oo}/_q o o, and Pahang, all on the southern Malay Peninsula, were dependencies of Johore. This seemed to strengthen the likelihood that Tan-tan was Kelantan. He could have used another reason for locating Tan-tan on the Peninsula.

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- (1) Researches, 585.
 (2) 'Le K'ouen-louen', JA, Mars-Avril 1919, 299-300.
 (3) 'Notes on Tan-tan', JMBRAS, 20, 1, 1947, 47-63.
 (4) Golden Khersonese, 51-55.
 (5) Ma-lai-a shih, Singapore, 1961, 94-96.

The geographical monograph of the Chiu T'ang shu states:

舟舟國 振州東南海中之一洲 舟行十日
至

'Tan-tan country. It is a chou in the sea south-east of Chen chou (Hainan). A ship in ten days reaches there (1).

But the same source says that it took more than 14 days to reach Ch'ih T'u. Tan-tan could not have been closer to China than Ch'ih T'u, and I believe that both these passages were carelessly copied from Ch'ang Chün's book.

Opinions about the location of Tan-tan have therefore wavered between the Peninsula and Indonesia. I think that a location on the Peninsula is out of the question. I do not believe that a country close to Ch'ih T'u would have been mentioned by the Sui Shu in an itinerary to so distant a country as P'o-li. Nor do I believe that I Tsing was so unmethodical as suddenly to switch to the Peninsula in a list of identifiably Indonesian countries. Moreover, if I Tsing had wanted to include a Peninsula country in that list, why did he not also mention Lang-chia-shu 郎加威 (2) or Chieh-ch'a = Kedah, both of which countries were known to his pilgrim contemporaries? My final reason for rejecting

(1) CTS, 志 21, 50b.

(2) Identified by Wheatley as Langkasuka in the Patani area north of Kelantan; Golden Khersonese, 252-265.

the Peninsula as the location of Tan-tan is that I Tsing elsewhere describes the regions on the mainland from Śriksetra, on the Irrawaddy, and says that Lang-chia-shu was south-east of Śriksetra (1). Why was Tan-tan not tacked on to this passage ?

I have insisted on the Indonesian location of Tan-tan because I believe that the records about it may be helpful in reconstructing the early history of Java, for it is in Java that I locate Tan-tan. We have seen how consistently the evidence places it en route for and close to P'o-li, which was the fringe of the civilised world of western Indonesia and south of Vijayapura in north-western Borneo. Tan-tan could not have been on the site of Śrīvijaya on the Palembang river because, together with Śrīvijaya, it was still known as a toponym in I Tsing's day (2). It could conceivably have been somewhere further south in Sumatra or even on Bangka island, but the description of it in the T'ung tien suggests that it was a large, populous, and fertile land, entirely consistent with its being in Java.

(1) Nan hai chi kuei nei fa chuan, 205b, for which a recent translation is in Wheatley, Golden Khersonese, 256.

(2) I justify the location of Śrīvijaya with Palembang on pages 451-454 below.

丹丹國隋時聞焉在奴羅磨西北振州東南
 王姓刹利名尸陵伽理所可二萬餘家亦
 置州縣以相統領王每晨夕二時臨朝其大
 臣八人号虎日八座並以瓊羅門為文王每以
 香粉塗身冠通天冠掛雜寶玉嬰珞身衣
 朝霞足履皮鞋近則乘輿遠則馭象其政
 代則吹蠶擊鼓兼有幡旗其刑法盜賊無多
 少皆殺之土出金銀白檀蘇方木檣柳其
 穀唯稻畜有沙牛羖羊猪豕佳鷄鴨麋鹿鳥
 有越鳥孔雀果蔬有蒲桃石榴瓜瓠菱蓮
 菜葱蒜蔓青

'The kingdom of Tan-tan was heard of during Sui times. it is situated north-west of To-lo-mo and south-east of Chen chou (Hainan)(1). The king's family name is Sha-li, his personal name Shih-ling-chia. There are something over 20,000 families in the capital. Chou (provinces) and hsien (districts) have been established to facilitate administration and control. The king holds audience for two periods each day, in the morning and the evening. He has eight high officers of state, known as Pa-Tso, who are Brahmans. The king often daubs his person with fragrant powder. He wears a t'ung-t'kien-kuan (2), hangs a variety of precious ornaments about his neck, clothes himself in garments of the colour of the morning clouds (3), and wears leather sandals on his feet. When he travels a short distance he is carried on a litter; on longer journeys he rides on an elephant. In battle conch-shells and

(1) I take it that 'south-east' refers to the direction the ship took sailing down the east coast of Hainan.

(2) Professor Wheatley defines this as a type of headgear with exaggerated corners; Golden Khersonese, 51, n. 6.

(3) Professor Wheatley quotes Pelliot to the effect that this term was used in Sui and T'ang times for a certain cloth; Golden Khersonese, 52, note 1.

'drums are sounded while banners and flags (are waved). Under the criminal code all robbers and thieves, irrespective of the seriousness of their crimes, suffer execution. The products of the country are gold, silver, white sandalwood, sapan-wood, and betel-nut. The only grain is rice. The domestic creatures include deer, goats, pigs, fowl, geese, duck, musk- and other deer. The birds include the hornbill and the peacock. Tree fruits and small fruits include grapes, pomegranates, melons, gourds, water chestnuts and lotus seeds. Vegetables include onions, garlic and rape-turnips (1).'

This description resembles that of a Javanese country. From early times Java produced rice, but south-eastern Sumatra was never an important rice-producing area; the terrain is too swampy. White sandalwood is a product of eastern Java and the islands beyond. The long list of fruits suggests a developed agricultural system. Tan-tan must also have been large enough to require sub-division into small administrative units. Its population seems to have been considerable, as one would expect in a rice-producing country. The reference to the 'Brahmans' is also significant. 'Brahmans' are mentioned in inscriptions from western Java as early as the fifth century. There may have been Brahmans in south-eastern Sumatra, but the traditions of the region are Buddhist rather than Hindu. The strict enforcement of the law in Tan-tan may also suggest that justice was not tempered with Buddhist compassion.

(1) I have availed myself of Professor Wheatley's admirable translation in Golden Kersonese, 51-52. The T'ung tien reference is 188, 1010. A somewhat shorter account appears in the TPYL, 788, 3489b, attributed to the Sui shu. To-lo-mo appears as To-lo-mo-lo and there is no reference to the Brahmans. 97 兩位 摩 兩位

There is one strange omission in the account of Tan-tan. The sea is not mentioned. The people of P'o-li, further to the east and a country whose length from west to east impressed the Chinese in the sixth century (1), collected coral from the sea (2), but Tan-tan seems to have been an agricultural rather than a maritime country, and its heartland may have been in the interior of Java. It is noteworthy that a number of I Tsing's fellow pilgrims sailed to and from Ho-ling, sometimes on their way to India, but never to and from Tan-tan (3). Some have followed Moens'

- (1) Liang shu 54, 19a-b. 海出珊瑚
 (2) Sui shu, 82, 8a: 海出珊瑚 . The Liang shu states that there were two rice crops a year: 穀一歲再熟; Liang shu, 54, 19b. This is also consistent with P'o-li's being in Java. M. Damais may one day recover the Javanese words represented by Tu-ho-hsieh-na 獨訶邪等 (d'uk-xâ-ia-na) and Tu-ho-shih-na 獨訶石等 (d'uk-xâ-ŕie-na), the titles of the P'o-li officials. One is tempted to find Tutian here.
 (3) References to these pilgrims are found in Chavannes' Mémoire under the names of Ch'ang-min 常慆, Ming-yüan 明遠, Hui-ning 惠寧, and Tao-lin 道林. Their ships must have been merchant ships.

surmise that To-lo-mo 多羅磨, described as being south-east of Tan-tan, is a transcription of Taruma (1), the name of a kingdom mentioned in inscriptions of the second half of the fifth century, or even later, found in the extreme west of Java (2). But M. Damais has rightly pointed out that -lo 羅 renders -ra and not -ru (3). Moreover two more inscriptions of Purnavarman, ruler of Taruma, have been found in recent years, including one on a rock about forty miles from the west coast of Java (4). If Tan-tan was a Javanese kingdom, as the geographical notices about it indicate, it is difficult to find room for it if it lay north-west or west (5) of Taruma = To-lo-ma. Another objection against placing Tan-tan north-west of Taruma is that I Tsing describes Ho-ling, assuredly a Javanese kingdom, as west of Tan-tan. For a brief time Tan-tan co-existed with Ho-ling; in 666 both of them sent missions to China (6). But only Mo-ho-hsin

(1) First proposed in Tijd, 77, 1937, and translated in 'Srivijaya, Yava en Kaṭaha', 31.

(2) Vogel, 'The earliest inscriptions of Java', Public. Oudheidk. Dienst Nederl. Indie, I, 1925, 15-35.

(3) 'Review of Riwayat Indonesia', BEFEO, 48, 1, 1956, 611. The transcription would correspond to *Tarama or *Talama. We have seen how 律 and 露 were used to transcribe the -ru of 'Barus'; page 391.

(4) 'Review of Riwayat Indonesia', 610, note 1.

(5) HTS, 222 下, 5b, states that Tan-tan was at the west of To-lo-mo.

(6) Ts'ê fu yüan kuei, 970, 11402b.

separates Ho-ling from Malayu of Sumatra in I Tsing's list (1). This, too, suggests that Tan-tan was further east in Java. Nevertheless it is impossible to locate Tan-tan more accurately than as a Javanese kingdom. I suggest, though only by way of hypothesis, that it was somewhere in the interior of central Java.

Two of the ~~kingdoms~~ kingdoms of the fifth and sixth centuries, whose names survive in seventh century records, therefore seem to have been in Java and at the eastern end of the part of Indonesia in tributary relationship with China. The names of two more of the earlier kingdoms also survive into the seventh century; they are P'o-huang and Ho-lo-tan. There is little to be said of P'o-huang. Its name may be incorporated in the To-lang-p'o-huang of the Vijayapura itinerary (2), and if this is so its position in the itinerary is not inconsistent with its being Tulang Bawang in south-eastern Sumatra, a toponym at least as old as the early 15th century (3). P'o-huang was probably a small

(1) Takakusu suggested that Mo-ho-hsin might be the modern Banjarmasin on the southern coast of Borneo; Record, xlvii. In the Ming shih, 323, 21a, this toponym is rendered as Wên-lang-ma-hsin 文郎馬神. I am certain that Mo-ho-hsin was not in Borneo. There is a system in I Tsing's list which does not permit this. Damais notes a number of suggestions for the identification of Mo-ho-hsin with Javanese toponyms but postpones his own preference; 'Review of Riwayat Indonesia', 614-619.

(2) See note 433 on page .

(3) It appears in the Wu pei chih.

kingdom which made the most of its opportunities in the interval between the fall of Ho-lo-tan and the ascendancy of Kan-t'o-li. Though the extreme south of Sumatra never had much political importance in later times, it lies between the Jambi-Palembang coast and western Java and, to this extent, it was in a region which, as we shall see, was a trading centre in the seventh century.

Ho-lo-tan is a more important toponym, since we have seen that by 430 this kingdom, rendered as Ho-lo-t'o, was sending ships to China (1). It was therefore a trading kingdom as well as a tributary one. Moreover it was in Shê-p'o (著) 邊, the word for 'Java', and from Shê-p'o Gunavarman sailed on a trading ship to China in the early fifth century. Its last mission was in 452, but in the early seventh century it was said to lie south of Ch'ih T'u(2). I Tsing does not mention it, but there is an obscure statement in the Ts'ê fu yüan kuei:

三年正月林邑師子訶羅單單等國並遣使
車膚犬

(1) Page 322 .

(2) Sui shu, 82, 3a, and is written as 訶羅單 .

'In the first month of the third year of the ts'ung chang period (27 January - 24 February, 670) Lin-yi, Ceylon, Ho-lo, and Tan-tan countries all sent missions with tribute (1).'

At first sight this seems like a careless reference to Ho-lo(-tan) and Tan-tan. But while Tan-tan had sent a mission as recently as 666, Ho-lo-tan had not sent one since 452. It would be extraordinary if it did so again after an interval of two hundred years.

About Ho-lo-tan's geographical position practically nothing is known; it was in Shê-p'o = 'Java' and was south of Ch'ih T'u on the Peninsula. The latter detail may suggest that it was on the south-eastern coast of Sumatra or in Java. If it was in Java, it has to be remembered that P'o-li and Tan-tan were also there; Ho-lo-tan may have been further west on that island. But before we consider where Ho-lo-tan was, it is helpful to analyse what can be discovered about the early kingdoms on the south-eastern coast of Sumatra. The western end of the tributary coast of the fifth and sixth centuries is much more obscure than the eastern end but not, I believe, impenetrably so.

It will be recalled that, in the first half of the third century, Ko-ying was somewhere on that coast (2).

(1) TFYK, 970, 11402b.
 (2) Pages 98-101.

To Ko-ying came the Yüeh-chih horse-dealers (1), and from Ko-ying lay the route to Ssü-t'iao, a fertile land with cities which seems to correspond with the island of Java (2). Thus one is justified in describing the south-eastern coast of Sumatra as the favoured trading coast of western Indonesia in the third century, and its advantages are symbolised in the statement that Ko-ying was in communication with the thriving port of Ku-nu in India (3). This coast can therefore be regarded as that part of Indonesia with the oldest recorded trading history, and this is a fact of fundamental importance for understanding the growth of the trading kingdoms of the region. Ko-ying and not Ssü-t'iao was described as being in touch with India. And because four hundred years later the same coast was the centre of the empire of Śrīvijaya, it is very likely also to have been the coast with the longest continuous trading record by the end of the seventh century. It is difficult to believe that during the centuries separating Ko-ying from Śrīvijaya something happened to deprive the coast of its commerce. Much more probably the 'Persian' trade enhanced its prosperity. There is certainly a strong presumption that at least one of the tributary kingdoms was there.

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- (1) Page 108.
 (2) Page 94.
 (3) Page 108.

Unfortunately after the third century it is not until the seventh that the political geography of the coast becomes clear. Though both Jambi and Palembang have yielded a few archaeological remains, it is impossible to attribute them with confidence to a time earlier than the seventh century (1). But in the second half of that century it is evident that there were two centres on that coast in the form of the harbours of Palembang and Jambi (2), and the evidence is again provided by I Tsing:

未隔兩旬果之佛逝經停六月漸學
 聲明王曾支持送往末羅王船國(今改
 為室利佛逝也)復停兩月轉向羯荼
 至十二月學帆還乘王船漸向東天矣

(1) I am content to follow Professor Coedès' understanding of the archaeological results of Palembang; États, 147. Buddha images found at Palembang may be earlier than the seventh century, and similar images found at Jambi may be of a seventh art style. Because, however, of the uncertainty which exists about the dating of the images, I prefer not to invoke these discoveries as evidence of ancient centres at Palembang and Jambi. It is sufficient to observe that by the second half of the seventh century Palembang was a thriving Buddhist centre; see page 548.

(2) Malayu sent a mission in 644; THY, 100, 1790. Malayu also appears in the Vijayapura itinerary, which I attribute to the beginning of the seventh century.

'(I Tsing) sailed without interruption (from Canton) for 20 days and reached Fo-shih (= Śrīvijaya). He stopped on his way there (to India) for six months and made a beginning in studying the Sabdavidya (Sanskrit grammar). The ruler (of Fo-shih) extended him support and sent him on his way to Malayu (which is now changed to Shih-li-fo-shih = Śrīvijaya). I Tsing again broke his journey for two months and then returned to his ship (1) and made his way towards Chieh-ch'a (= Kedah). It was not until the 12th month (= 6 January - 4 February, 672) that the sails of the ship were hoisted and he returned to the king's ship and gradually made his way to the Eastern Heavens (= India) (2).'

The travelling distances between Śrīvijaya and Malayu and identical voyage made by the pilgrim Wu-hsing 無行 :

東國汎船一月到室利佛逝國國王厚
禮持異... 見從大唐天子處來倍加
金上後乘王船經十五日達末羅王
洲又十五日到羯荼國至冬末轉船西行
洲又十五日到羯荼國至冬末轉船西行

(1) Moens understood 轉 to mean 'changing direction' of the course at Malayu, an interpretation which assisted him in arguing that the location of Śrīvijaya at that time was in the Kelantan region of the south-eastern Peninsula. This location was also suggested to Moens by the sundial reading in the HTS account of Śrīvijaya, to which I referred on page 405 above; Moens, 'Śrīvijaya, Yāva en Kātāha', 12. Moens was relying on Chavannes' translation of I Tsing's Memoirs, which was 'je changeai de direction pour aller dans le pays Kie-tch'a'; Mémoire, 119. I reject completely the view that the capital of Śrīvijaya in I Tsing's time was anywhere else than at Palembang. Nor do I believe that any geographical significance should be attached to the expression 轉. I think that it means no more than 'transferring himself' (on to the ship). I Tsing left Śrīvijaya with the help of the ruler and left Kedah on the ruler's ship, and it is clear to me that he travelled from Śrīvijaya to India on the same ship. Wu-hsing, mentioned in the next passage I translate, had the same experience.

(2) Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu fa kao sêng chuan, 7c-8a; Chavannes, Mémoire, 119.

'On an eastern wind (the north-east monsoon) he sailed (with Chih-hung ^智_智 ^弘_弘) and reached Shih-li-fo-shih in a month. The ruler received them with great ceremony ... When the ruler learnt that they came from the country of the Son of Heaven (China), his respect towards them doubled. Later they boarded the ruler's ship and travelled for 15 days via Malayu chou. In another 15 days they reached Chieh-ch'a (= Kedah). At the end of the winter season they returned to the ship and sailed westwards (1).

The time taken to reach Kedah from Malayu may be compared with a statement by Chao Ju-kua that with a favourable wind one could sail in 15 days from San-fo-ch'i = Jambi (2) to Kan-pei _甘^甘_北^北 = Kampe, near Aru on the north-eastern coast of Sumatra (3).

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- (1) Ta T'ang hsi yu ch'iu, 9b; Chavannes, Memoire, 144.
 (2) The problem of the location of the capital of Srivijaya in the early 13th century is outside the scope of this study. It is sufficient to note that Chao Ju-kua mentions Pa-lin-fêng _巴<sup>巴_林<sup>林 as a dependency of San-fo-ch'i, the Sung word for Srivijaya; Chu fan chih, 13. Professor Wheatley has summarised the opinions of a number of scholars, including Pelliot's on this point; 'Geographical notes', 11-12.
 (3) Chu fan chih, 20.</sup></sup>

There have been no serious doubts among scholars that I Tsing's Malayu was Jambi (1), but not everyone has been prepared to believe that Srivijaya was already based on Palembang in 671 (2). The 15 days for the voyage from Palembang to Jambi seems excessive and only partly explained if some days of the voyage were spent travelling slowly down the Musi river from Srivijaya to the sea and up the Jambi river to Malayu (3).

(1) The study which has had the greatest influence has been Rouffaer's 'Was Malaka emporium vóór 1400 A.D. ...' See note 3 on page 336.

(2) Dr. Quaritch Wales once thought that the presence of Srivijayan-type art remains in the isthmus of the Peninsula suggested that the empire was at one time based there; IAL, 9, 1935, 1-31. Moens, by an ingenious use of translations by Chavannes and Pelliot, proposed that the capital was first on the south-eastern coast of the Peninsula, then at Kampar on the east coast of Sumatra, and finally at Palembang; 'Srivijaya, Yáva en Katāha', JMBRAS, 17, 2, 1940, 8-20. Recently a Thai writer, Mr. Thammathat Phanit, has identified I Tsing's city as Bodhi at Chaiya, on the isthmus of the Peninsula; Illustrated Booklet of Instruction ..., Chaiya, 1961, 4.

(3) Sir Roland Braddell explained the length of the voyage from Srivijaya-Palembang to Malayu-Jambi in terms of difficult sailing conditions created by off-shore islands. 'Navigation would have to be cautious and sailing by night would be most unlikely'; JMBRAS, 24, 1, 1951, 15. It has also been suggested that in the seventh century the coastline of this part of Sumatra may have been different and the present belt of coastal swamp narrower; Soekmono, 'Early civilisations of Southeast Asia', JSS, 46, 1, 1958, 19.

Nevertheless I am convinced that the country known to I Tsing as Śrīvijaya had its capital at Palembang and nowhere else. In support of this location there is an impressive consistency between the epigraphic evidence and I Tsing's records. The inscriptions argue in favour of Palembang as the site of the capital, while I Tsing shows that in the 671 - 695 period the capital was always in the same place.

All the early inscriptions of Śrīvijaya, issued during or about the 683 - 686 period, have, with two exceptions, been found in or near Palembang; the two exceptions are based on the text of the Tēlaga Batu inscription of Palembang (1).

(1) The Palembang inscriptions are : Kēdukan Bukit (683); Talang Tuwo (684); Tēlaga Batu (undated but clearly belonging to this period); five fragmentary inscriptions (similarly of this period). The exceptions are: Karang Brahi (undated), found in the centre of southern Sumatra; Kota Kapur (686), found on Bangka island. Moreover a number of siddhiyātra stones have been found at Palembang. On Kēdukan Bukit, Talang Tuwo, Karang Brahi, and Kota Kapur, see Coedès, 'Les inscriptions malaises de Çrīvijaya', BEFEO, 20, 1930, 29-80. On Tēlaga Batu and early Śrīvijayan epigraphy in general, see J.G. de Casparis, Prasasti Indonesia, 2, 1956, 1-46. Note 1 on page 1 of the latter study contains the bibliography from 1930 to 1956.

The Talang Tuwo inscription of Palembang, issued in 684, records the foundation of a park by the ruler in order to earn religious merit, and it is possible to infer that he chose his capital for this deed. But a much more convincing consideration, in my opinion, has been advanced by Dr de Casparis in connexion with the Tēlaga Batu inscription of Palembang. This inscription contains a lengthy oath formula administered to the civil service of the empire as well as to members of the royal household, and it seems likely that the ceremonies were held at the capital before the officials were sent to their posts in order to secure their obedience to the ruler (1). This inscription at Palembang is precisely the kind one would expect to find in the capital of the empire. There can hardly be any doubt that in the 683 - 686 period the capital was at Palembang (2).

(1) Prasasti, 2, 29.

(2) It has been suggested that the Palembang Tēlaga Batu inscription, with its threat against the royal enemies, is hardly likely to have been erected in the royal capital; Soekmono, 'Early civilisations of Southeast Asia', 20. This writer uses the inscription as an argument against the view that the capital was at Palembang. He preferred Jambi.

I Tsing's evidence is in the form of pilgrim voyages to and from Śrīvijaya during the period 671 and 695, and he makes it clear that never in this period was the ruler, always a friendly patron of Chinese Buddhists, to be found anywhere except where he was in 671, the site later known as Palembang. Though Śrīvijaya became the name of a large empire, for I Tsing it was a specific place. It was a 'fortified city' 府 = 郭 (1) and it was on a river (2). I Tsing met the ruler for the first time in 671 and was assisted on his way to Malayu. The ruler also gave a warm welcome to Wu-hsing and helped him to reach Malayu (3). The date of Wu-hsing's voyage is unknown, but it must have been before 685 when I Tsing parted from him in India (4). In 683 Ta-chin 大津 followed a Chinese imperial envoy to the 'maritime region' 州 of Śrīvijaya and studied there (5), and sometime after 685 I Tsing, returning to Śrīvijaya from India, met him. I Tsing's information now coincides with the period of the Old-Malay inscriptions of Śrīvijaya, which indicate that the capital was then at Palembang. If the capital had by Ta-chin's time been transferred from some unidentifiable place to Palembang,

(1) Mūlasarvāstivāda-ekasātakarman, 477c; Takakusu, Record, xxxiv.

(2) Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu, 11a ; Chavannes, Mémoire, 176.
 (3) Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu 9b ; Chavannes, Mémoire, 144.
 (4) Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu 1b ; Chavannes, Mémoire, 10.
 (5) Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu 10b; Chavannes, Mémoire, 159.

I Tsing would certainly have said so (1). In 689 I Tsing left for a short visit to China, and after his return the same year he remained at Śrīvijaya until 695, when he finally returned to China. Thus from 671 to 695 I Tsing mentions a number of voyages to and from the port of Śrīvijaya, but never once does he suggest that the ruler's headquarters had shifted. I regard it as certain that when he was overseas the capital was always at Śrīvijaya - Palembang, the site of most of the inscriptions of the 683 - 686 period.

Therefore in the second half of the seventh century there were two trading centres on the south-eastern coast of Sumatra. Śrīvijaya - Palembang was obviously flourishing. The importance of Malayu is reflected in the fact that Śrīvijayan ships called there on their way to India and also in the statement that the pilgrim Ch'ang-min 常愨 sailed on a ship 200 Ch'ih long from Ho-ling to Malayu; unfortunately the ship was overloaded and sank not long after leaving Ho-ling (2).

But what were the names of the harbours of Malayu-Jambi and Śrīvijaya - Palembang before 671? This coast, represented by Ko-ying, had a trading history at least as old

(1) I Tsing's occasional statements that Malayu was 'now' Srivijaya indicate that he was aware of political changes taking place in the region when he was overseas.

(2) Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu, 3a ; Chavannes, Mémoire, 43.

as the third century, and it must be assumed that before the rise of Srīvijaya there were kingdoms there. Malayu had sent a mission to China in 644 (1) and its name appears in the Vijayapura 'itinerary', which I have attributed to the early seventh century. Can we recover anything of the political history of this coast in the fifth and sixth centuries ?

Only for the name of the proto-Malayu can an acceptable suggestion be made, though whether Malayu originally meant Jambi, Palembang, or both cannot be settled. It cannot have been Tan-tan or P'o-li, for both these places appear alongside Malayu in I Tsing's list and were in Java. Nor is it likely to have been P'o-huang, an insignificant centre whose name more probably survived in Tu-lang-p'o-huang mentioned in the Vijayapura 'itinerary'. By eliminating these names we are left with Ho-lo-tan, P'o-ta, and Kan-t'o-li. Ho-lo-tan was described in the Sui shu as being south of Ch'ih T'u. This location would be consistent with its being Malayu, but there is one good reason for believing that this was not so: Malayu is mentioned in the Vijayapura itinerary, the details of which seem to stem from Ch'ang Chün's mission which also supplied the information about Ho-lo-tan's position south of Ch'ih T'u.

(1) T'ang hui yao, 100, 1790.

Ho-lo-tan and Malayu were therefore contemporary toponyms. For this reason I am inclined to eliminate Ho-lo-tan as the proto-Malayu, and we are left with P'o-ta and Kan-t'o-li. P'o-ta sent missions only from 435 to 451 (1). There is some evidence that its name was associated with Shê-p'o, or 'Java' (2), and I have found no cause for believing that Shê-p'o meant anything than the island of Java. It would certainly be dangerous to invoke the P'o-ta evidence as an argument that Shê-p'o could sometimes mean Sumatra as well. P'o-ta may have been an insignificant place, like P'o-huang, which benefited from troubled times in the middle of the fifth century. Alternatively, it may have been an important place which was later known under another name. If the latter surmise is correct, its later name could only have been Tan-tan; the names of P'o-li, P'o-huang, Ho-lo-tan, and Kan-t'o-li all co-exist with P'o-ta (3). A connexion with Tan-tan, a Javanese kingdom, would explain why Shê-p'o ('Java') seems to be associated with its name.

(1) Page 342 .

(2) Pages 338-9 .

(3) P'o-ta's maximum mission period was from 435 to 451. The name of P'o-li appears by 443; P'o-huang and Ho-lo-tan sent missions in the same period as P'o-ta. Kan-t'o-li sent its first mission in 441. The dates of these missions are on pages 341-3, and the earliest reference to P'o-li, noted by Pelliot, is on page 342 .

By this process of elimination I consider that only Kan-t'o-li can be considered to be the name of the proto-Malayu. Its missions continued until 563, which is within 50 years of the first reference to Malayu in the Vijayapura itinerary. The details about its ruler's dream in 502 make it certain that it was a trading kingdom (1), while the two books written in China about its medical practices (2) suggest that its shippers handled drugs and perfumes in the 'Persian' trade. Its tributary career from 441 to 563 indicates that it was a well-established kingdom, and the absence of frequent missions during this long period probably means that its trade with China was on a secure basis (3).

(1) Page 344 .

(2) Pages 350-1.

(3) Page 348 . There is one piece of evidence which links Ko-ying, the proto-Malayu of the third century, with Kan-t'o-li, which I regard as the proto-Malayu of the fifth and sixth centuries. According to the Lo yang chia lan chi, Ko-ying produced areca nuts; see Appendix 'A'. According to the Liang shu, 54, 16b, Kan-t'o-li's areca nuts were the best of all countries:

檳榔特精好為諸國之極

It is safe to believe that Ko-ying's areca nuts were sufficiently famous to be mentioned, and it is likely that the information about them was recorded in the third century Nan chou i wu chih, the text on which the Lo yang chia lan chi drew for its facts; see Appendix 'A'. Areca nuts are, of course, common to many parts of South East Asia, but in the case of Ko-ying and Kan-t'o-li they seem to have had a special fame.

Scholars have already had two reasons for suspecting that Kan-t'o-li was once an important toponym. Ferrand noted that Ibn Mājid in 1462 refers to Singkel, in north-western Sumatra, as 'Sinkil Kandāri', which could be rendered as 'Singkel in the country of Kandār' (1). Kan-t'o-li is an acceptable transcription of Kandari, but I do not know what other weight should be attached to Ferrand's suggestion. The other reason for suspecting the importance of Kan-t'o-li is that the Ming shih states that Kan-t'o-li was the former name of San-fo-ch'i 三佛齊, or Śrīvijaya (2). This text understood San-fo-ch'i to be Palembang, though in the 13th century, when Śrīvijaya was in the decline, it is probable that Jambi was its capital (3). Unfortunately, it is unknown why the compilers of the Ming shih made this remark, and no more can be implied that that they thought that

(1) JA, Sept-Oct, 1919, 238-241. In 1922 Ferrand thought that the only indigenous name which corresponded remotely to Kandari and K'an-t'o-li was 'Andalus' in the southern part of Sumatra; 'L'empire Sumatranais', 51. I think that there is nothing to be said in favour of this suggestion.

(2) Ming shih, 324, 24b. The text is provided on page 416, N. 1

(3) Note 2 on page 449.

Kan-t'o-li had once been sufficiently famous to justify the identification (1).

I have now given my reasons for believing that that was a trading kingdom at Jambi or Palembang in the fifth and sixth centuries and why Kan-t'o-li, of the six tributary kingdoms of this period, has the best chance of being its name. It was probably strong enough to control both Jambi and Palembang. If, however, Kan-t'o-li, the proto-Malayu, was only Jambi or Palembang, the problem arises of identifying the name of the other harbour. The name which is obviously available is Ho-lo-tan. Except for the possible reference to it in the obscure statement that in 670 'Ho-lo-tan-tan 訶羅單單' were among the countries which sent missions that year (2), there is no evidence that

(1) A further instance may be provided of the survival of the name of Kan-t'o-li in the Chinese memory. Han Yu about 820 mentions Champa, Cambodia, and Kan-t'o-li as being among the countries in the ocean; Parker, 'The island of Sumatra', Asiatic Quarterly Review, 1900, 128. He gives no reference. Parker acknowledges Kan-t'o-li as the first Chinese reference to Sumatra on the strength of the Ming shih identification. The rest of this article deals with Sung and later texts. Moens had no right to assume that Kan-t'o-li existed as the name of a kingdom as late as 820; 'De Noord-Sumatraanse rijken', 342. He believed that it was Atjeh, and he was influenced by the fact that its ruler in 502 sent drugs and perfumes as tribute; 'Śrīvijaya, Yāva en Kaṭāha', 43. I wish I could suggest from what word Kan-t'o-li was derived. I am attracted to a word beginning with Gandha, or 'perfume'. The transcription Gandhāri is perfect and reflects the type of trade which passed through Kan-t'o-li. But there is no evidence of such a kingdom in Indonesia.

(2) Page 445 .

Ho-lo-tan survived as a toponym as late as the time of Śrīvijaya. Yet it could have been the name of the Palembang city at the beginning of the seventh century, though I feel that Malayu at that time must at least mean Jambi. One scholar has observed that in 434 the ruler of Ho-lo-tan was actually called 'Śrī Vijaya 尸梨 咄 庶 取' (1), and he drew the inference that Ho-lo-tan and Śrīvijaya may have been one and the same place. This is an attractive theory, but I have decided to reject it. We have seen that Vijaya was not an unique name in western Indonesia in early times; there was also a Vijayapura in western Borneo. I prefer to think that Kan-t'o-li in its days of greatness ruled both Jambi and Palembang and gave its name to all that coast. These two harbours are not far apart, and the same ambition which later brought both under Śrīvijaya-Palembang would have operated under the impact of the 'Persian' trade (2). I am satisfied that Kan-t'o-li was on this coast, and it is, in my opinion, safer to believe that it comprised both harbours, with its capital in one of them.

(1) Kao, 'A primary Chinese source', JMBRAS, 29, I, 1956, 170.
 (2) It is curious that I Tsing's Tamralipti itinerary (translated on page 498-9) does not mention Śrīvijaya as a port but only Malayu, 'now Śrīvijaya', as a chou 州. It is possible that even in his day 'Malayu' could sometimes mean more than Jambi.

There is another approach to the problem of the location of Ho-lo-tan and it leads to the same conclusion that Kan-t'o-li in its prime controlled both Jambi and Palembang. I Tsing does not mention Ho-lo-tan in his list of toponyms. We have seen how much of the nomenclature and sequence of his kingdoms is capable of verification, and I believe that his failure to mention Ho-lo-tan should not be regarded as an error on his part but definite evidence that the name no longer existed in his time. Because in the first half of the fifth century Ho-lo-tan occupied a region in western Indonesia which enabled it to engage in foreign trade, I think that one can fairly presume that the region had not lost its advantages in I Tsing's day. It had merely changed its name. This is only an assumption, but it is interesting to see where it takes one. Ho-lo-tan could not have been Tan-tan or P'o-li, for the three names co-exist in the early seventh century. Between Malaya 'which is now Śrīvijaya' and Tan-tan I Tsing only enumerates Mo-ho-hsin and Ho-ling (1). But Mo-ho-hsin appears in the Vijayapura 'itinerary', which I have so often

(1) I Tsing was almost certainly well informed about Ho-ling. The pilgrim Yüan-ch'i ^{法 師} was a disciple of Jñānabhadra, a monk of Ho-ling; Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu, 4a; Chavannes, Mémoire, 63. But the same ~~monk~~ also lived in Śrīvijaya, and I Tsing says that 'he is living there today and is aged about 30 years'; Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu, 4a; Chavannes, Mémoire, 64. I Tsing probably knew him at Śrīvijaya and discussed Ho-ling with him.

had occasion to quote, and this evidence seems to be of 607 - 610 vintage, co-existing with Ho-lo-tan itself. One is therefore left with the possibility that Ho-lo-tan occupied the region later known as Ho-ling. If this is so, Ho-lo-tan could not have been Palembang, a conclusion which reinforces the suggestion that in its prime Kan-t'o-li controlled both Jambi and Palembang and was the foremost trading kingdom on the south-eastern coast of Sumatra during the fifth and sixth centuries.

The possibility that Ho-lo-tan and Ho-ling were one and the same place brings us to the threshold of a major problem of Indonesian historical geography from the seventh to the ninth century. This problem is the identification of Ho-ling, a toponym as fugitive as P'o-li.

Ho-ling has been placed on the Malay Peninsula (1)

(1) Schlegel believed that P'o-li was Asahan on the north-east coast of Sumatra. By an error of translation he thought that Ho-ling was east and not west of P'o-li, which would place it on the Malay Peninsula; TP, old series, 9, 1898, 285-286. Gerini, noting that Ho-ling was, according to Chia Tan (see page 396), east of Fo-shih (Śrīvijayan Sumatra), placed it on the Peninsula; Researches, 474-475. Moens, believing that Shê-p'o = 'Java', was originally the Malay Peninsula, also located Ho-ling there; 'Śrīvijaya, Yāva en Kaṭāha', 22ff. The identification of Ho-ling with the Peninsula lingers on. Recently, for example, Professor S.Q. Fatimi, in an unpublished paper in my possession, has argued in its favour.

in Borneo (1), in Sumatra (2), and in Java (3). The usual choice has been Java, and until recently the word has been derived from Kalinga, a kingdom in eastern India from which migrants to Java were believed to have come in early times (4). The basis for the view that Ho-ling was in Java was a statement in the Hsin T'ang shu that Ho-ling was also called Shê-p'o = 'Java' (5), and it was Pelliot who argued most strongly in favour of its being a Javanese toponym (6). Since 1918, when Professor Coedès resurrected Śrīvijaya, the study of Ho-ling has been stimulated by the circumstance that it sent two series of missions to China; the first was in 640, 648, and 666 and the second in 767, 768, 813, 815 and 820 (7).

(1) Braddell was impressed by Chia Tan's statement that Ho-ling was east of Fo-shih = Śrīvijayan Sumatra; the voyage took four or five days, far too short a time for a voyage from Palembang through the Bangka Straits to northern Java; JMBRAS, 24, 1, 1951, 16-27.

(2) Obdeijn thought that it was Palembang; its name sounded like Palembang; 'Gegevens ter identificeering', 55.

(3) Groeneveldt also misread the notices in the CTS and HTS as meaning that Ho-ling was east of P'o-li; for him P'o-li was in Sumatra, and therefore Ho-ling was in Java; Notes on the Malay Archipelago, 12-15. Pelliot corrected the translation and argued at great length in favour of identifying Shê-p'o (according to the HTS an alternative name for Ho-ling) with Java; 'Deux itinéraires', 279-295.

(4) This explanation of the name was first proposed by Mayers in 'Chinese explorations', China Review, 4, 184. I am grateful to Professor Coedès for the loan of a manuscript by M. Damais in which the latter gives reasons for reconstructing Ho-ling as a transcription of a Javanese toponym corresponding to Walaing or Waleng, appearing in inscriptions from the ninth century.

(5) HTS, 222 下, 3b: 訶陵亦曰社婆曰闍婆.

(6) 'Deux itinéraires', 279 - 295.

(7) The references are provided by Dr. Wang Gungwu in 'Nanhai trade', 122-123.

Thereafter Ho-ling, under the name of She-p'o, sent further missions in 820, 831, and in the 860-873 period (1).

Obviously it was an important kingdom and, because the mission sequences precede and follow those from Śrīvijaya, which came from the 670-673 period (2) to 742 (3), some have wondered whether there was some special relationship between the two countries, accounting for the fact that their missions never overlapped (4). But a more interesting aspect of the Ho-ling missions is that the second series coincides with the period in central Javanese history when the Śailendra dynasty was ruling and when the Barabudur was built, a period about which more is now known than ever before (5).

(1) Ibid.

(2) HTS, 222 ↑, 5a, states that Śrīvijaya sent missions from the 670-673 reign period to the 713-742 period. In fact the first mission for which there is evidence is 702; TFYK, 970, 114030b. Nevertheless Śrīvijayan envoys were among those for whom rations were given by a decree of 695 to help them return home; THY, 100, 1798.

(3) Wang Gungwu, 'Nanhai trade', 123.

(4) This point was specially made by Stutterheim, A Javanese period in Sumatran history, 1929, 20-22.

(5) F.H. van Naerssein, 'The Śailendra interregnum', India Antiqua, 1947, 249-253, and especially J.G. de Casparis, Inscripties uit de Śailendra tijd, Bandung, 1950, and Prasasti Indonesia, 2, 1956. It is now known that the last male representative of the Śailendra dynasty was defeated by an usurper about 856, expelled from Java, and became ruler of Śrīvijaya.

An examination of the Ho-ling problem is outside the scope of the present study, but it is impossible to ignore it entirely when describing the historical geography of western Indonesia in the seventh century, the century which not only saw the rise of Śrīvijaya but also the survival alongside Ho-ling of some of the toponyms of the fifth and sixth centuries. I shall therefore limit myself to one geographical aspect of the Ho-ling problem, avoiding embroiling myself in matters of historical reconstruction which may arise from my identification of the region known as Ho-ling.

In the seventh century, when I Tsing was writing, Ho-ling was a trading kingdom with extensive maritime communications (1). It was also a Buddhist centre. Hui-ning 會寧 went by ship to Ho-ling and studied there three years under the monk Jnānabhadra (2). Nor was the ruler of Ho-ling, when he had the opportunity, less well disposed towards the pilgrims than the ruler of Śrīvijaya; Tao-lin 道王林 was treated by him in a friendly fashion (3). But in the earliest account of Ho-ling, other than the passing references to it by I Tsing, this kingdom does not give one the impression that it was particularly important. The earliest

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- (1) See note 3 on page 441 .
 (2) Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu, 4a; Chavannes, Mémoire, 60.
 (3) Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu, 6c; Chavannes, Mémoire, 99.

source is the T'ung tien, compiled by Tu Yu (735 - 812). The information contained in this work covers the period down to 755, with the exception of additional material from 755 to 801 contained in interlinear notes (1). Only one minor note is found in the passage on Ho-ling, and I conclude that the last possible date for the T'ung tien's information about Ho-ling is 755. One can probably date the material even more narrowly. The normal means by which the Chinese knew about foreign countries was through missions to China, where the envoys were cross-examined by the Hung lu ssü 鴻臚寺 and reports prepared for the emperor. The reports were later filed and became available to historians. The only missions from Ho-ling before 755 were in 640, 648, and 666. I therefore believe that the description of Ho-ling in the T'ung tien is of seventh century vintage and may be as old as 640.

(1) Ssü-yu Têng and K. Biggerstaff, An annotated bibliography of selected Chinese reference works, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies, volume 2 (Revised edition), Harvard University Press, 1950, 148-149.

The passage in the T'ung tien is as follows:

言訶陵國在真臘之南大唐貞觀中遣使獻金花等物王之
所居醫木為城造大屋重陽覆以椶桐所座牀
悉以象牙為之食以手掇之(掇古患反)又以柳
木樹花為酒飲之亦醉有山穴每涌而出臣國國人取
之以此食其國別有毒人與常人同止宿則令身
上生瘡與之交合便即致死~~若~~涎液露
著草木即枯其人身死不爛不臭

'Ho-ling country lies to the south of Chên-la (Cambodia). In the 627-649 period it sent envoys with gold flowers and such articles. The ruler's residence is in a compound surrounded by a wall of wooden stakes. Large houses and pavilions of several storeys are covered with coir palm. Couches are all made of ivory. When they eat they use their hands (Interlinear note: Huan is pronounced ku and huan) They also use the flowers of the coconut palm for wine. When one drinks (this wine) one may even become intoxicated. In the mountains there are caves from which salt oozes out. The people of this country collect the salt and eat it. In this country there is a special group of poisonous people. If they lodge with ordinary people the result is that the bodies (of the ordinary people) come out in ulcers. If sexual intercourse takes place, the result is death. If the saliva of the poisonous people falls on plants and trees, (they) wither. The corpses, however, of these people neither rot nor stink (1).'

(1) T'ung tien, 188, 1011. An abridged form of this passage appears in the T'ang hui yao, which supplies in different columns the missions of 813 and 818; THY, 100, 1782. The first compilation of information on which the THY was based contains material down to 804; Têng and Biggerstaff, 160.

It will be noted that the T'ung tien refers only to missions in the 627-649 period, and it is in fact to the seventh century that I attribute this information. It will also be noted that there is no reference to Ho-ling's neighbours. On that subject the only evidence from sources other than I Tsing which can be attributed to the seventh century also comes from the T'ung tien in connexion with (To-)p'o-têng (隋) 遼 登 country, whose eastern neighbour is said to be Ho-ling (1). To-p'o-têng sent a mission in 647 and nothing more is heard of it after that year; one has to assume that its position vis-à-vis Ho-ling was established in 647. For additional geographical information about Ho-ling one has to turn to I Tsing's list:

'P'o-lu-shih ('Barus'), Malayu, Mo-ho-hsin, Ho-ling, Tan-tan, P'ên-p'ên, P'o-li, Chüeh-lun, Fo-shih-p'u-lo (in western Borneo).'

(1) T'ung tien, 188, 1011: 在林邑南海行二月東與訶陵

The same information is in the two T'ang histories, where the country is called To-p'o-têng; CTS, 197, 3a; HTS, 222 下, 4a.

In this list Mo-ho-hsin takes the place of To-p'o-têng (1). To the east of Ho-ling lies Tan-tan and P'ên-p'ên and finally P'o-li. Ho-ling was evidently considered by I Tsing to lie closer to Jambi and Palembang than either Tan-tan or P'o-li. Śrīvijaya - Palembang is not mentioned in the list because, as I have already suggested, Śrīvijaya - Palembang was where I Tsing was ~~where~~ ~~the~~ writing.

But when we come to the information about Ho-ling in the two T'ang histories we find new facts. The Chiu T'ang shu's account introduces no new information about the customs of the country but mentions missions in 768, 815, and 818. It also adds the following significant detail:

訶陵國在南方海中洲上居東與波利
西與隨波登北直臘接南臨大海

'Ho-ling country is a maritime region in the ocean of the southern regions. On its east lies P'o-li, on its west To-p'o-têng, to its north is Chên-la (Cambodia), and its south is on the great ocean (2).'

(1) Damais remarks that To-p'o-têng may be a Sumatran toponym and was certainly not Bali, as Groeneveldt thought; BEFEO, 48, 2, 1957, 612. I have no views on To-p'o-têng.

(2) CTS, 197, 3a.

The detail about To-p'o-têng is consistent with what we already know, but Ho-ling's position vis-à-vis P'o-li is very different from the situation reflected in I Tsing's list, when Ho-ling was separated from P'o-li by Tan-tan and P'ên-p'ên. The inclusion of the eighth and ninth century missions in the Chiu T'ang shu account suggests the period when the new information became available. The Hsin T'ang shu provides even more additional information about Ho-ling and of ^{a kind} which is in striking contrast with the earliest account contained in the T'ung tien. According to the Hsin T'ang shu:

訶陵亦曰社婆曰闍婆在南海中東距
 婆利西情婆登南瀕海北直臘木為
 城雖大屋亦覆以楸樹象牙為牀若
 席出玉青玉瑁黃白金犀象國最富有穴
 自湧鹽以柳花子為酒飲之輒醉
 宿昔壤有文字知星曆食無匕筋有
 毒女與接輒若瘡人死尸不腐王居闍
 婆城其祖吉延東遷於溟露伽斯城
 旁小國二十八莫不臣服其官有三十二
 大夫而大坐殿兄為最貴山上有郎卑
 里州王常登以望海...

'Ho-ling. It is also called Shê-p'o and Shê-p'o. It is in the southern ocean. To its east lies P'o-li. To its west lies To-p'o-têng. Its south is adjacent to the southern ocean and its north to Chên-la (Cambodia). The city wall is made of wood. Though the buildings are large, they are also covered. The couches are made of ivory and resemble mats. The country produces tortoise shell, yellow and white gold, rhinoceros, and elephants. The country is exceedingly rich (Then there follows the passage about the salt caves and the intoxicating wine). They have a script and understand astronomy. When they eat they do not use spoons and chopsticks. There are poisonous women here. If one consorts with them one gets ulcers. The corpses do not rot. The ruler lives in the (capital) city of Shê-p'o. His ancestor Chi-yen (1) moved eastwards to the city of P'o-lu-chia-ssü. On the borders (of Ho-ling) there are 28 small countries, all of which owe allegiance to (Ho-ling). There are 32 great ministers and the Ta-tso-kan-hsiung is the chief of them. On the top of a mountain there is the province of Lang-pi-ya. The ruler frequently ascends this mountain to gaze at the sea (2).'

Here we are in the presence of a much more important Ho-ling than emerges in the records of the seventh century, and the inference must be that something had happened in the meantime to account of its new stature. One consequence of the change was that its eastern borders now adjoined P'o-li.

(1) Damais has suggested that chi-yen may be derived from (ra)kryān; 'Review of Rijawat Indonesia,' BEFEO, 48, 1956, 646-7. This title seems to have been reserved for an oligarchy of princes of more or less equal status. It is a Javanese title and, if Damais is correct, it provides an additional reason for regarding Ho-ling as a Javanese kingdom. The same passage from the HTS also provides a sundial reading for Ho-ling, which locates it some way north of the equator. I am certain that it is erroneous and it has been ignored by all who have identified Ho-ling with Java. I Tsing's list placing Ho-ling east of Malayu, is sufficient to discredit it.

(2) HTS, 222 ↑ , 3b.

There is no reference to Ho-ling in any account of P'o-li, which sent its last mission in 630 (1). Ho-ling's position is also different from what it was when I Tsing knew it. Moreover it may be significant that the Hsin T'ang shu also contains a story of the queen who began to rule in 674 (2). 674 is eight years later than the last seventh century mission of 666, and this is probably why the story did not find a place in the earliest account of Ho-ling contained in the T'ung tien. The new information was surely a result of the second series of missions which began in 767.

One searches for an explanation for the discrepancy between the accounts based on seventh and eighth or ninth century information, and the one which most readily comes to hand is the statement in the Hsin T'ang shu that an ancestor moved eastwards; if this is considered with the other statement in the Hsin T'ang shu that the country was also called Shê-p'o and controlled 28 small countries, one has to conclude that in the eighth century Ho-ling, for some undisclosed reason, became a much greater country than it had been when I Tsing knew of it. In the course of the expansion the ruler shifted his capital. Chia Tan, writing about 800, also indicates that Ho-ling was an important country:

(1) CTS, 197, 2a.

(2) HTS, 222 下, 3a. This passage is translated by Groeneveldt; Notes on the Malay Archipelago, 14.

佛逝國東水行四五日行至訶陵國
南中洲之最大者

'If one goes by sea to the east from Fo-shih country (Srivijaya) for four or five days one reaches Ho-ling country, which is the largest island in the south (1).'

It is not the purpose in this study to relate the expansion of Ho-ling to what is known of Javanese history in the eighth century. It is sufficient if I have indicated reasons for believing that Ho-ling represented two distinct locations

(1) Page 396 above. Sir Roland Braddell considered that the direction 'east' of Fo-shih = eastern Sumatra was a reason for placing Ho-ling in western Borneo; JMBRAS, 24, 1, 1951, 16. I do not think that this orientation is a problem. Chia Tan places Srivijaya on the 'southern shore' of the 'strait'. Just as 'southern' should be corrected to 'west', so should 'east' be corrected to 'south'. I suspect that the Chinese conventionally regarded this part of South East Asia as lying 'south' of China in the southern ocean. Centuries later Ma Huan states that if 'one goes due south from Champa' 自占城向正南 to Lung-ya-mên 龍牙門 and then goes west for two days, one reaches Malacca; Ying yai sheng lan, 22. The Chinese of course knew better than this. It was merely that for ordinary purposes they seem to have regarded western Indonesia as 'south' of China.

in the seventh and eighth centuries. In terms of I Tsing's toponyms the expansion must have been at the expense of the kingdom known as Tan-tan, which I placed in Java and possibly in the interior of the islands(1).

I therefore believe that in I Tsing's time Ho-ling was somewhere in the western half of Java. The islands which I Tsing implies were north of Ho-ling on the voyage to Kedah are likely to be the Sumatran off-shore islands (2). How far to the west of Java Ho-ling originally was must depend on the location of Mo-ho-hsin, separating it from Malayu and Śrīvijaya-Palembang. If Mo-ho-hsin and To-p'o-téng as well

(1) Pelliot quoted later texts which state that in the 742-755 period the capital of Shê-p'o was transferred to P'o-lu-chia-ssü, but he did not know what was the source of the information; 'Deux itinéraires' 225, note 2, and 413.

(2) Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu, 10a; Chavannes, Mémoire, 158.

were in Java, Ho-ling could not have been at the extreme western end of the island.

Because Ho-ling in I Tsing's time was a trading centre of some importance, a commercial kingdom may have existed there in the fifth century. If Ho-lo-tan was not situated on the future site of Śrīvijaya at Palembang, which I think is improbable, its most likely site would seem to be the region later known as Ho-ling. In favour of this identification it can be argued that Ho-lo-tan was described as being in Shê-p'o, or 'Java' (1). I have found no reason for associating the 'Java' toponym with Sumat̄ra as far as the Chinese sources are concerned. If Ho-lo-tan was in fact on the island of Java, it must have been the most western kingdom of importance, for we have seen that Tan-tan and P'o-li occupy the region further east. If Ho-lo-tan was in the western half of Java, one looks to Tan-tan as the cause of its fall in the second half of the fifth century. The ruler of Shê-p'o complained to Guṇavarman that his neighbours were attacking him, and Tan-tan, which sent a number of missions in the sixth century,

(1) The island of Java was certainly known as 'Java' in 732, for the word appears on the Changal inscription of central Java issued by Sanjaya; Kern, Versp. Gesch., VII, 115-128.

seems an eligible cause of the decay of Ho-lo-tan (1).

In no circumstances do I believe that Ho-lo-tan survived as the name of a kingdom in the middle of the seventh century; the ambiguous statement in the Ts'ê fu yüan kuei that 'Ho-lo-tan-tan 訶羅單單' sent missions in 670 should, in my opinion, be corrected to mean that Ho-ling 訶陵 and Tan-tan 單單 did so.

I am attracted to the conclusion that Ho-lo-tan was in western Java. In later centuries this region was famous for its peppers (2), and one recalls that the Chinese translation of 392 known as the Shih êrh yü ching says of Shê-yeh, probably meaning 'Java', that it produced long and black pepper (3). Ho-lo-tan was in Shê-p'ò, or 'Java'.

(1) It is tempting to identify Tan-tan as the expanding country ruled by Purnavarman, 'lord of the city of Taruma', known from inscriptions recovered from the western end of Java. I quote one of his inscriptions on page 485. Dr de Casparis tells me that he would not be surprised if the inscriptions were written in the sixth century, which would coincide with the time when Tan-tan was sending missions to China. Tan-tan, according to the T'ung-tien, had Brahman ministers, while Brahmans were prominent in Taruma. I wish, however, to avoid committing myself to an opinion on the exact location of Tan-tan beyond saying that I am certain that it was in Java.

(2) Chao Ju-kua mentions black pepper in the mountains of Sunda, the name for western Java; Chu fan chih, 19.

(3) Page 385. Lévi thought that Shê-yeh was 'Java'.

In later times western Java, sometimes known as Sunda, was famous for its traders. Pires, writing on western Java, states:

'Sunda is (a land of) chivalrous, seafaring warriors - they say more so than the Javanese, taking them all in all ... The people of the sea coast get on well with the merchants in the land. They are accustomed to trade. These people of Sunda very often come to Malacca to trade (1).'

At the beginning of the 13th century Sunda was a dependency of Śrīvijaya (2), and it is probable that the Śrīvijayan rulers had for a long time kept this trading coast under their control. The Kota Kapur inscription of 686, found on Bangka island, refers to an expedition about to be launched against 'the land of Java' which had not submitted to Śrīvijaya (3), and it would not be surprising if the object of the expedition was to punish rebels in Sunda Java.

(1) Suma Oriental, 1, 167. Pires describes several trading ports in Sunda.

(2) Chao Ju-kua, Chu fan chih, 13.

(3) See BEFEO, 30, 1930, 49, for Coedès' translation.

My map of western Indonesia from the fifth to the seventh century is at last complete (1). By way of a summary of my conclusions I wish to compare its essential features with the versions of my predecessors.

I have found no reason to disagree with Pelliot's major conclusion in 1904 which was that the Chinese knew only of the island of Java by the name of 'Java' (2). Students in Indonesia need not, in my opinion, be perplexed by the variety of views expressed on the meaning of Shê-p'o (3). Any attempt to search for the Shê-p'o of these centuries elsewhere than in Java must be based on new evidence, while the suggestion that Shê-p'o was sometimes used as the name of a kingdom on the Malay Peninsula must be regarded as extravagant. The Arabs, and perhaps the inhabitants of mainland South East Asia, may have understood 'Java' in a different sense, but not so, apparently, the Chinese who recorded details about the tributary kingdoms.

(1) See map 3.

(2) Though by 1925 Pelliot, influenced by Ferrand, changed his mind and translated Shê-p'o as 'Sumatra-Java'; 'Textes Chinois', 250.

(3) Page 17, Note 1.

But my understanding of what is meant by She[^]-p'o has not been particularly helpful in locating these kingdoms. At the best it is a slight argument in support of my conclusion that Ho-lo-tan and perhaps P'o-ta were in Java. An outline map of Java began to emerge when, like Ferrand, I was impressed by the consistency of the evidence about Tan-tan and P'o-li (1), which can only mean that their juxta/position corresponded with the real situation. Moens anticipated me in spotting the nonnexion between Lo-ch'a, P'o-li's eastern neighbour, and Chüeh-lun, also P'o-li's eastern neighbour. Both names represent a people and not a specific kingdom. Moens also realised that Vijayapura was in western Borneo, and I am satisfied that this part of this study is sensible. The evidence about Lo-ch'a and Chüeh-lun is important because it helps to anchor P'o-li, south of western Borneo and west of an indistinctly known population, to the eastern Javanese fringe of the civilised world of Indonesia as the Chinese were aware of it in these centuries.

(1) Though Ferrand agreed with Pelliot that P'o-li was Bali.

As for the map of Sumatra I believe that I have provided a more sharply defined outline than my predecessors, did, partly by exploiting what is known about Java but chiefly because I brought into play the geographical information of the third century which enabled me to approach the sequel with more confidence. I was aware that already by the third century south-eastern Sumatra, represented by Ko-ying, was ahead of northern Sumatra in the field of foreign commerce, and this made it impossible for me to take seriously Moens' view that Kan-t'o-li should be identified with Atjeh. The authentic toponyms of northern Sumatra were merely the shadowy 'Barus' and P'o-lo, neither of which were tributary kingdoms in the fifth and sixth centuries in spite of the wealth of their hinterland. I identified the port of 'Barus' with the extreme northern part of Sumatra, and I hope that Ferrand's view that it was the modern port of Barus, on the north-western coast of the island, will be abandoned. P'o-lo, which I confidently introduce as another northern Sumatran kingdom, cannot be located with certainty, but I believe that it was somewhere on the Sumatran side of the Straits of Malacca. The foreign trade of both these centres, and also of Vijayapura in western Borneo, was probably in the hands of other Indonesians in the fifth and sixth centuries. The kingdom most likely to have handled it is

Kan-t'o-li, and I gave my reasons why I believe that the assumption that it was in south-eastern Sumatra is correct. I approached the problem of identifying Kan-t'o-li by eliminating competitors for a place on that coast. Only P'o-huang may also have been there, and even this exception tests to some extent on the assumption that its name is connected with Tulang Bawang mentioned in the Wu pei chih. Unless it can be proved that Ho-lo-tan in 'Java' was at ~~at~~ Palembang, it seems safe to regard Kan-t'o-li as the master of both Palembang and Jambi in the fifth and sixth centuries. Kan-t'o-li is certainly the only one of the tributary kingdoms which can be identified as the proto-Malayu. Finally, I gave my reasons for rejecting the view that Śrīvijaya emerged anywhere else than at Palembang.

I have not concerned myself with the exact locations of the Javanese kingdoms, nor have I worried about minor toponyms such as Mo-ho-hsin or To-p'o-têng. Nor, with the exception of Vijayapura, have I dared to suggest the real names of any of these kingdoms. Their exact location and their names will become apparent only when new inscriptions are found. On these inscriptions I depend for a reliable check on the accuracy of my outline map.

This exercise in map-making has been for a purpose. I want to identify the neighbours of seventh century Śrīvijaya, but more important is the identification of the kingdom which flourished in south-eastern Sumatra in the

interval of four hundred years between Ko-ying and Śrīvijaya(1). In the fifth and sixth centuries this kingdom was Kan-t'o-li, which was definitely a trading kingdom and on a coast which had been and was to be the major trading coast of western Indonesia. Its only competitor in this period seems to

(1) My map has been prepared for a much more limited purpose than my predecessors set themselves. In 1904 Pelliot wished to establish the nomenclature of the South East Asian countries from the earliest records down to the 15th century. Using Chia Tan's itineraries as a peg on which to hang his subject, he produced a massive work which has remained until today the indispensable basis for the study of early South East Asian historical geography. In 1919 Ferrand undertook an equally extensive study but for a different and more ambitious purpose. He wished to present the case for the migration of Indonesians from the mainland of Asia to the Archipelago and thence over the Indian Ocean to Madagascar and East Africa. His summary of the key evidence is in JA, Sept.-Oct, 1919, 202-2. The people whose maritime activities he was investigating were called K'un-lun, and variants of that name, and this led him to consider many toponyms which appeared in texts alongside K'un-lun. Moens' intentions in 1937 were equally ambitious, but within the field of Indonesian history. He was abreast of the progress in Indonesian historical research, and he attempted a synthesis of the evidence then available to propose a fundamental revision of the location and history of the kingdoms mentioned in all kinds of records. For example, he created a country of Shê-p'o, later called Ho-ling, at Kedah on the Malay Peninsula, which was conquered by Srivijaya, then situated at Kelantan on the opposite coast of the Peninsula. The Kaṭāha toponym, usually associated with Kedah, was transferred to Java. There is much that is fantastic in Moens' study, and I believe that, from his views on Chin-li-p'i-shih and Chüeh-lun, I have extracted what is of permanent value. One notable feature of the works of Pelliot, Ferrand and Moens is that, although their evidence is often made available as the result of trade between Indonesia and other parts of Asia, the trading background itself is never studied.

have been the unhappy Ho-lo-tan. I therefore conclude that Kan-t'o-li was the heir to the prosperity of Ko-ying and the predecessor of Śrīvijaya. Its inhabitants performed a great service in the expansion of western Indonesian commerce when, in response to the needs of the 'Persian' trade, they developed the Indonesian link with the markets of southern China.

It is unfortunate that so little is known about the internal affairs of Kan-t'o-li (1). Something, however, is known of the political background of Indonesia in these centuries, which seem to have been a time when powerful kingdoms were taking shape and when rulers were experimenting with new techniques of government. To some extent, therefore, it is possible to recover the developments in which Kan-t'o-li shared.

(1) The only account is in Liang shu, 54, 16b-18a. Most of it deals with the ruler's dream in 502 and an obsequious letter his successor sent to China in 518. The account was translated by Groeneveldt, Notes on the Malay Archipelago, 60-62. The most interesting part concerns the dream, which I discuss below.

The clearest indication of what was happening is provided by the inscriptions of Borneo and Java, which indicate that powerful countries were coming to the fore. Mulavarman of Kutei in eastern Borneo, perhaps the second of his line to adopt an Indian-type name, evidently ruled an expanding kingdom. His inscriptions are undated but are usually attributed to the first half of the fifth century. One of them states:

'The illustrious monarch Mūlavarman, having conquered (other) kings in the battlefield, made them his tributaries, as did king Yudhisthira. At Vaprakesvara he donated 40,000 ... (this part of the inscription cannot be deciphered) The yūpa (sacrificial post) has been erected by the Brahmans who have come here (from) different (parts) (1)'.

This inscription suggests that in some mysterious way the Brahmans were connected with the ruler's successes in war. One pictures Indians, or Indonesians who had acquired a priestly education in India, parading their magical powers and seeking out royal patrons, to whom they introduced novel sacrifices

(1) B. Ch. Chhabra, 'Three more yūpa inscriptions of King Mulavarman from Koetei (E. Borneo),' JGIS, 12, 1945, 39. It has been suggested that the posts may also have been connected with non-Hindu religious practices; buffaloes may have been attached to them at sacrifices at the Feast of the Dead. The Sanskrit inscriptions engraved on them would have been an instance of the easy way in which foreign influences blended with the indigenous culture; Damais, BEFEO, 48, 2, 1956, 357, note 1.

for enhancing the royal power and prestige. Tan-tan's ministers were Brahmans. A Taruma inscription, perhaps a century later, from western Java reveals a similar situation:

'Illustrious, munificent, correct in conduct (was) the unequalled king who in the past (ruled) in Taruma - by name the illustrious Pūrṇavarman, whose famous armour was impenetrable by the arrows of his numerous enemies - this is his pair of footprints, always skilful in destroying enemy cities, which were salutary to princes devoted (to him, but) turned like darts against (his) enemies (1).'

(1) I am grateful to Professor Basham for this translation. One of Pūrṇavarman's inscriptions refers to the digging of a canal. The Taruma inscriptions were first edited by Vogel; Public. Oudheidk. Dienst Ned. Ind. I, 1925, 15-35. Vogel drew attention to the fact that they were found in the same part of Java where centuries later the Dutch established their first factories. He suggested that the geographical situation of this coast in relation to Sumatra and India and the special advantages which its configuration afforded to both navigation and commerce were circumstances which might account for both the importance of Taruma and the Dutch factories. It is in this region that I have suggested that Ho-ling originally lay and perhaps Ho-lo-tan as well.

There are a few hints that in Kan-t'o-li too foreign influences were making themselves felt in the royal circle. In 518 the ruler's name ended with -varman (1). In 455 the ruler had sent the 'Indian Liu-t'o ^{KK 52 P^h} = (?) Rudra as an envoy to China (2). In 502 the ruler was addressed by a Buddhist monk in a dream and advised to send tribute to China. It is possible that Buddhist soothsayers were employed in the court, and the advice given on this occasion may be compared with the advice which Guṇavarman of Kashmir gave the ruler of Shē-p'o in 424; the latter asked whether it was proper for him to fight his enemies, and he was told that he should do so (3). As a result Guṇavarman's fame as a royal adviser was such that other kings in Indonesia sought his services. In both cases Buddhists made a practical contribution in the affairs of state. Buddhists as well as Brahmans would have been appointed to positions of confidence in order to strengthen these kingdoms in an age of political

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- (1) -varman is rendered as 跋摩 .
 (2) Liu Sung shu, 97, 12a; repeated in Liang shu, 54, 16b. The text has '天 ^{KK}' in front of the envoy's name; it must mean '天 ^{KK}', or 'Indian', though not necessarily a genuine Indian. In the same century the ruler of Funan sent the Buddhist Nāgasena to China to complain about Lin-yi attacks; See page 326 .
 (3) Page 323 .

and economic development (1).

(1) I have found no means of identifying the form of religion en vogue in the tributary kingdoms. Nagasena's description of Funan indicates that both Sivaite and Buddhist cults flourished side by side, and there was also a mountain-top cult which may have been indigenous; Coedès, Etats, 100, 106. Coedès, however, identifies the mountain-top cult with Siva-worship. For a recent study of the form of Buddhism practised in Funan, see Kalyan Sarkar, 'Mahāyāna Buddhism in Funan', Sino-Indian Studies, 5, 1, 1955, 69-75. But I wonder to what extent any foreign cult was more important than the indigenous ones. The best-known statement of the way the latter survived under the form of Hinduism is Paul Mus's 'L'Inde vue de l'Est. Cultes indiens et indigènes au Champa', BEFEO, 33, 1933, 367-410. Professor Coedès has hinted that the mountain temple cult in Angkor had affinities with the cult of the god of the soil in China; 'Le culte de la royauté divinisée ...', Serie Orientale Roma, 5, 1952, 17-23. Hindu and Buddhist cults probably co-existed peacefully in the South East Asian countries in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Ta Prohm inscription of the sixth century Funan begins with two verses in honour of the Buddha and then refers to the son of a Brahman whom the ruler had employed as an official; Coedès, BEFEO, 31, 1931, 11. In the fifth and sixth centuries Ho-lo-tan, P'o-li, and the other countries were in the habit of sending memorials to China couched in Buddhist terms. I suspect that this does not mean that the rulers in question were fervent Buddhists but that they sought to send letters to the Chinese emperors which would curry favour. Buddhists sailing through the region in those centuries would have made it clear that the southern emperors were patrons of Buddhism. Even Tan-tan, where the ministers were said to be Brahmans, professed to honour the Buddhist faith; Liang shu, 54, 16a. Though the P'o-li ruler claimed to be related to the Buddha's family, the Sui shu, 82, 8a, merely says of the customs of P'o-li that they were similar to those of Funan. Przyluski suggested that the fact that the ruler of Kan-t'o-li in 455 employed the 'Indian Rudra' seemed to show that the king favoured the Siva cult; 'Indian colonisation in Sumatra before the seventh century', JGIS, 1, 2, 1934, 97-98. I do not see the force of this argument. The evidence implies no more than that he had a Saivite in an important post.

One of the marks of a powerful kingdom in those days would have been the size of its population. The ruler of Ho-lo-t'o/tan in 430 told the emperor that

'my country once had a large population and was prosperous (1).'

The Javanese kingdom of Tan-tan seems to have had a large population. In the fertile island of Java manpower was needed to cultivate rice and swell the armies of those who aspired to become overlords (2). The rulers of Kan-t'o-li would also have been concerned to increase their population, but not for agricultural purposes. Their concern would have been to attract to their harbours the Malay shippers engaged in the China trade. In the early days of the trade with China many of the coastal Malays who operated it probably owed permanent allegiance to no one. They would have been organised in small groups under a trusted leader.

(1) Page 322 .

(2) In early South East Asia the preoccupation of the rulers was lack of manpower and not of agricultural land. Wars were waged to capture peasants rather than territory. Without adequate labour resources irrigation schemes were impossible. The classic example is provided by Angkor, situated in a plain which became fertile only when the rulers were able to control a large subject population.

Their situation must have been similar to that of the companions of the founder of Malacca at the beginning of the 15th century. In the words of Barros, the 'Cellates' (1) lived afloat rather than on land. Their sons were born and bred on the sea and had no fixed base ashore (2). On the south-eastern coast of Sumatra there are many creeks giving temporary shelter to ships. Off the same coast lie innumerable islands, some of which Pires describes as the haunts of the Cellates (3). In the fifth and sixth centuries the ancestors of those whom the Portuguese knew could hardly have been men of more settled habits. They would have been sea-rovers, often practising piracy as well as trading with China. For the ambitious ruler of Kan-t'o-li they would have been a nuisance and sometimes a danger.

(1) 'Cellates', a Portuguese word, is believed to be derived from the Malay word selat or 'strait' in the sense of the seafaring population of the Straits of Malacca and the neighbouring islands. For Tomé Pires the word was 'the Malay for sea robbers'; Suma Oriental, I, 149. He refers to the Cellates as 'robbers, and they are brought up on the sea and are great rowers'; *ibid.*, 149.

(2) Decade, II Book VI, chapter 1, 7, quoted in Ferrand, 'Malaka, le Malāyu et Malāyur', JA, Mai-Juin, 1918, 435.

(3) Suma Oriental, I, 156-157.

But the ruler of Kan-t'o-li had one means at his disposal for diverting the energies of the coastal Malays to commercial activities based on his harbours. The monk who visited the ruler in the dream in 502 said:

'If you send envoys and pay your respectful duty, your land will become rich and happy and merchants and travellers will multiply a hundred fold (1).'

This passage may be no more than a literary flourish, but I suspect that it reflects the background on the trading coast at that time. The ruler, unlike the free-lance traders, was able to send missions to China, establish his ability to supply the goods in demand there, intercede on behalf of shippers in trouble, and receive a seal of office or imperial presents as a token of his standing with the emperor. His privileged status in China, with its commercial implications, could then be dangled as a bait to attract independent Malay shippers to his harbours; they would be reminded of the advantages of trading in the name of a ruler who had won imperial favour.

(1) Page 344 .

On these lines, therefore, I am inclined to interpret the statement in the Kan-t'o-li ruler's dream that a mission to China would result in a great increase in the number of merchants and travellers in the kingdom. When the number of shippers frequenting one harbour became considerable it was possible to muster fleets to compel pirates to keep the peace and to bring in further shippers. In a similar way Malacca became great and prosperous in the 15th century. The Malay chief, followed by his Cellates, sought refuge there. The settlement prospered and traders were welcomed. According to d'Albuquerque's son, writing in the 16th century but drawing on local traditions, even pirates with stolen goods were made welcome there, with the result that within two years there were 2,000 people in Malacca (1). The next stage was the use of force to compel ships in the Straits to call at Malacca instead of Singapore (2). In the meantime the ruler and his successors had the wisdom to submit to the Ming emperors in order to obtain a degree of protection against Malacca's chief enemy, the Thai.

(1) Commentaries, vol. 3, chapter 17, 87 quoted by Ferrand in 'Malaka, le Malāyu et Malāyur', JA, Mai-Juin, 1918, 418. Tome Pires' account of Malacca makes continuous reference to the rapid way the population grew. For a trading kingdom, be it Kan-t'o-li or Malacca, the index of success was first and foremost the size of the population attracted to its harbour.

(2) Barros, Decade, 2, book 6, chapter 1, 9, quoted by Ferrand, JA, 1918, 437.

Śrīvijaya was also an assiduous sender of missions to China, and I have no doubt that the mission technique was something which the Palembang Malays who controlled Malacca inherited from Śrīvijaya. The origins of the technique as a commercial instrument are probably as old as the 'Persian' trade of the fifth and sixth centuries, when Kan-t'o-li sent occasional missions. It served three purposes. It placed the trading state under some degree of protection. The tribute served to advertise the kind of trade goods handled by the kingdom's merchants. Thirdly, I believe that originally it was also used to persuade the coastal Malays to concentrate their activities on established trading settlements. But I doubt whether the Malay shippers felt any special loyalty to Kan-t'o-li. They were attracted by the prospects of trading advantages when that kingdom was strong. As Barros says, when Malacca became strong and used force Singapore began to lose its merchants, who went to live in Malacca (1). Similarly, according to the Ming shih, after Palembang was conquered by the Javanese the country became poorer and few trading vessels went there (2). The mobility of the coastal Malays would have hastened the rise and fall of the trading kingdoms on the favoured coast and played its part in the passing of ascendancy from Kan-t'o-li.

(1) Decade 2, Book 6, chapter 1, 10, quoted by Ferrand, JA, 1918, 437.

(2) Ming shih, 324, 27b.

- Malayu - Jambi to Srivijaya - Palembang. The Ming shih's account of the population of Palembang must describe a very old situation:

欲徙則拔棹去之不費財力

'When they want to go elsewhere, all they have to do is to pull up their poles (from their houses on river rafts), and this requires little money or labour (1).'

For this reconstruction of the social development of Kan-t'o-li during the 'Persian' period I have had to draw on accounts from much later times. As far as the south-east coast of Sumatra is concerned I am unlikely to have misrepresented what happened. This coast has little to commend it except its harbours, safe anchorages, river systems providing communication with the hinterland, and the belt of swamp reaching a considerable way ^{inland} and giving protection against attack from the interior (2). The highlands, unlike those of northern Sumatra, are far from the coast, and the primitive tribes living in clearings in the coastal swamps

(1) Ibid, 324, 27b.

(2) Defence against attack from the hinterland is one of the reasons Krom suggested for the success of Palembang in the early period of Srivijaya.

would have been no threat to the harbour dwellers (1).

The terrain, repellent from so many points of view, could be exploited only by a sea-faring race. In addition to its harbours it possessed one further natural advantage, which its inhabitants were also capable of exploiting.

Of all the coasts in western Indonesia it is the one which provides the easiest navigational access to China. It lies reasonably close to the equator, beyond which operates the monsoon system over the South China Sea. Moreover there is the south-eastern monsoon which operates south of the equator in the summer months and prevails as far north as the Rhio Archipelago (2). This monsoon blows up the Bangka Straits and is available for northward bound ships, anxious to reach the equator in order to sail with the south-west monsoon to China. It was with this wind that Peter Floris in 1612 was able to sail from the estuary of the Palembang river to Pulau Tioman, off the south-east coast of the Malay Peninsula, in five days (3). The south-east monsoon is, however, unpredictable and does not blow regularly. Ships waiting for it can anchor comfortably in the harbours of south-eastern

(1) I have only spent half an hour in Palembang, but I have flown from Jakarta to Singapore and had a panoramic view of this coast. Its dreary flatness and serpentine rivers reminded me vividly of parts of the west coast of Malaya, which I know well.

(2) Eastern Archipelago Pilot, first edition 1927, vol.IV,6.

(3) Peter Floris, His voyage to the East Indies, 31-32.

Sumatra or even avail themselves of the 'Sumatra' gusts, sometimes reaching gale force and blowing from the west or south-west from April to October. 'Sumatras' are especially developed in the Rhio and Lingga islands (1).

It would have been an advantage for enterprising shippers to sail to China as early as possible in the mid-year months, and there is one piece of evidence which illustrates how shippers from the south-east coast of Sumatra were able to benefit from being on the spot to enjoy the sudden arrival of a favourable wind to take them up to the equator. In 689 I Tsing went on board a ship in the Śrīvijaya river bound for China in order to hand a merchant a request for supplies of paper and ink from Canton.

于時商人固便舉帆高張遂被載來
求住無路

'Just at that time the merchant found the wind favourable and raised the sail to the utmost height. I was thus conveyed back (to China), although not myself intending to go home. Even if I asked to stop, there would have been no means of doing so (2).'

(1) Eastern Archipelago Pilot, IV, 6.

(2) Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu, 11a; Chavannes, Mémoire, 176-177. This wind may be compared with the wind which took Gunavarman from Shé-p'o non-stop to China. See page 51.

Other navigational advantages were enjoyed by ships leaving Palembang and Jambi. Ships would have been able to make straight to open sea through the channel between the Lingga Archipelago and Bangka island. No off-shore islands, with sailing snags and local breezes, stood in their way. For ships proceeding from these ports up the Straits of Malacca in the end-of-year period the Lingga islands provided protection against the heavy seas and a swift southerly current (1).

But none of these natural advantages would have been commercial assets if there were no sailors, capable of exploiting them. A geographer once asked why should Srīvijaya in south-eastern Sumatra have become so important a trading centre (2). It seemed to him to lie off the main trade route between India and China. Geographically Palembang and Jambi are certainly some way south of the Straits, but these ports owed their prosperity not primarily to geographical circumstances but to their seafaring population. In the fifth and sixth centuries the Malays had made this coast the essential link between the Indian Ocean and China when the needs of the southern dynasties of China for western Asian produce increased the tempo of

(1) Eastern Archipelago Pilot, IV, 163.

(2) Sion, 'Sur l'ethnographie de l'Indochine et de l'Insulinde', Annales de Géographie, 1924, 391.

trans-Asian maritime trade. In the Śrīvijayan period the same coast continued to provide the link between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, while the Straits of Malacca remained merely part of the voyage to southern Sumatra. The intrusion of Jambi and Palembang into the tradè route to China may seem to a geographer to be an unnatural prolongation of the voyage, but sailors as late as the ninth century would have disagreed. By them this coast was not regarded as too far south from the Straits of Malacca but as close to China. Their attitude of mind is well illustrated by Abū Zayd Hasan, writing about 916:

'Nous commençons par la mention de la ville de Djawāga, vu que sa situation est en face de la Chine et qu'entre cette ville et la Chine il y a la distance d'un mois de route par mer, et même moins que cela lorsque le vent est favorable (1).'

Later Arab writers elaborated this description but never lost sight of what had once been the essential point: one normally reached China from south-eastern Sumatra. Perhaps occasionally ships from the Persian Gulf followed the

(1) Ferrand, Textes, I, 82. This passage contains another reference to the 'favourable winds' from the south-eastern coast of Sumatra. The 'town of Djawāga' is the capital of Śrīvijaya. In 1922 Ferrand preferred to transcribe 'Djawāga' as 'Zabāg'; 'L'Empire Sumatranais', 56. He showed that it was based on the word 'Java' and meant Sumatra.

itinerary described in the account of Suleiman of 851 (1), which led from the Straits of Malacca immediately into the South China Sea, but in the second half of the seventh century the route unquestionably led first to south-eastern Sumatra. This is made clear by I Tsing.

從斯兩月汎船東南到錫茶國此屬
佛逝船至之時當正二月若向師子
洲西南進船傳有七百馬羣停此至
冬汎船南上一月許到末羅遊洲
今為佛逝多國矣亦以正二月而達
停至夏半汎船北行可一月餘便
達廣府經停向當年矣

'From here (Tāmrālipti) one sails south-eastwards for two months and reaches Chieh-ch'a (Kedah). This place belongs to Fo-shih (Śrīvijaya). The time when the ship arrives is the first or second month. If (one goes from Tāmrālipti) to Ceylon one makes one's way by ship in a south-western direction. It is said to be seven hundred stages (yojana) away. One remains here (Kedah) until the winter season. Then one sails by ship southwards for about a month and reaches

(1) Sauvaget, Relation, 8-9.

No-lo-yu chou (Malayu). It is now the Fo-shih-to kingdom. The time of arrival is also the first or second month. One stays there till the middle of summer and (then) sails to the north. After travelling for rather more than one month one reaches Canton. The journey (lit. voyaging and stopping) is such that one reaches Canton in the middle of the year (1).

This was the way to China as long as Śrīvijaya could compel ships to use it. It is noteworthy that I Tsing states that it took as long to reach Malayu from Kedah as it took to reach Canton from Malayu; in both cases the voyage was one month. The passage shows very clearly that ships in the Straits were by no means on the threshold of China. Abū Zayd emphasises the distance of the important trading centre of Kalah, on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, from China by saying that it was half-way between China and the land of the Arabs (2).

(1) Mūlasarvāstivāda-ekaśatakarman, Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 24, no. 1453, 477c. I referred to this important passage in note 1 on page 7, ~~from~~ my translation differs from Takakusu's in respect of the second sentence. My translation also differs from his in respect of the later reference to Fo-shih, which he translates as 'there are many states (under it)'; Record, xxxiv. The characters are: 与 为 佛 逝 国 矣
I Tsing may have intended to say what Takakusu attributes to him, but the text does not say so. My own translation, though meaningless, is literal.

(2) Ferrand, Textes, I, 83.

Such was the key position on the trade route to China which Śrīvijaya in south-eastern Sumatra inherited at the beginning of its long history. In the third century, before there was any question of trade between Indonesia and China, Ko-ying had attracted Indian traders to the same coast. In the second half of the fifth century and in the sixth century it seems to have been controlled by Kan-t'o-li, when the breaking of the 'Persian' trade on Indonesia guaranteed its continued importance. It would have been extraordinary if the empire of Śrīvijaya had risen elsewhere, for here was the favoured commercial coast of western Indonesia.

In the final chapter I shall sketch briefly the efforts Śrīvijaya made at the beginning of its career to preserve for its own coast the advantages inherited from the past.

CHAPTER FOURTEENTHE HERITAGE AND PROSPECTS OF ŚRĪVIJAYA

The seventh century ended with Śrīvijaya as the foremost commercial power in western Indonesia. With their capital at Palembang and masters of Jambi, its rulers inherited the communications and trade of the coast with the oldest and longest history in the region. But one important circumstance was to distinguish the seventh century from the earlier centuries which we have been studying, for by A.D. 700 Śrīvijaya had acquired a territorial outpost on the south-western Malay Peninsula, which gave it a commanding position on the Straits of Malacca. This expansion in its maritime influence is something for which there is no precedent in the records we have so far examined. Thus, with the events immediately connected with the foundation of the Śrīvijayan empire, we are at the beginning of a new chapter in the history of early Indonesian commerce, very different from its predecessor which began when Indonesian sailors first used the South China Sea to trade with Tongking and Canton. From the watershed of the seventh century we are able not only to review the factors which had prepared the way for the rise of Śrīvijaya but also to look into the future at the prospects which awaited this extensive empire. The seventh century, which saw the origins of Śrīvijaya, is the historian's opportunity to consider in general terms the

kind of impact which Śrīvijaya was likely to make on the commerce of Indonesia in the future and also the problems which Śrīvijaya itself would face.

What were the reasons which led the rulers of Palembang to the Straits of Malacca ? They must have been urgent ones. In the Mūlasarvāstivāda-ekasātakarman, written by I Tsing after he had returned to China in 695, there is an account of the stages of the voyage from Tāmrāliptī to Canton (1). In it Kedah is clearly described as a dependency of Śrīvijaya (2). I Tsing was drawing on knowledge he acquired before he left the region, possibly based on his own observations when he returned to Śrīvijaya via Kedah from India sometime after 685 and certainly before 689, when he was already back in Śrīvijaya. Perhaps it was within as short a period as 20 years from our first reference to Śrīvijaya by I Tsing in 671 that it obtained an outpost on the Straits. There must have been tremendous impetus behind this swift advance northwards.

In the events of the seventh century the first thing which catches one's eye in seeking for an explanation of the sudden expansion of Śrīvijaya is a similarity in one respect with the events of the fifth century. In both periods

(1) Translated on page 498 .

(2) My comments on Takakusu's translation are in note 1 on page 7.

several decades of missions from a number of kingdoms are followed by a time when only one kingdom remains in diplomatic relations with China. Between 430 and 473 five kingdoms had sent 20 missions; of these, six had come from the trading kingdom of Ho-lo-tan, eight from P'o-huang, a kingdom which may have been wedged somewhere between the Jambi-Palembang coast and western Java, and two from Kan-t'o-li (1). But after 473 the only unmistakably trading kingdom to send missions was Kan-t'o-li, and I suggested that the paucity of its missions in the sixth century should be regarded as a sign that the power of this proto-Śrīvijaya was such that it had little need to remind the Chinese of its existence by frequent missions. It probably enjoyed a monopoly of the China trade. The pattern of the mission record of the seventh century is very similar. The total number of missions was not so great, but again several kingdoms were originally in communication with China and afterwards only one remained. Tan-tan sent missions in 617, 666, and 670 (2). I doubt whether it was a trading kingdom, but the others were almost certainly so. Ho-ling, unquestionably a

(1) Pages 342-3.

(2) Sui shu, 82, 8a; TFYK, 970, 11402b.

trading kingdom and probably in the western half of Java, sent envoys in 640, 648, 666, and probably in 670 (1). To-p'o-têng, Ho-ling's western neighbour, sent one in 647 (2) and Malayu in 644 (3). But the mission record also reveals a striking new development in the range of countries now aspiring to diplomatic recognition by the Chinese emperor. In the first half of the seventh century countries on or very close to the Straits of Malacca were at last beginning to send missions. Ch'ih T'u, sufficiently important to be visited by Ch'ang Chün, sent missions in 608, 609, and 610 (4). In 638 Kedah 加 佉 sent a mission (5). P'o-lo, which was certainly somewhere in northern Sumatra, sent missions in 642 and 669 (6). It is even possible that the port of 'Barus', which I located on the extreme northern coast of

(1) CTS, 197, 3a; THY, 100, 1782; TFYK, 970, 11402b; TFYK, 970, 11402b, in the name of Ho-lo 言可 羅, which I take to be an error for Ho-ling; see page 476.

(2) THY, 100, 1782-3.

(2) THY, 100, 1782-3.

(3) THY, 100, 1790.

(4) Sui shu, 3, 11b; 12b; 15b. literature connected with

(5) TFYK, 970, 11398b. The lith is summarised in Wheatley, Golden Khersonese, 46-47.

(6) TFYK, 970, 11399a; HTS, 222 下, 2a.

Sumatra, sent a mission in the 627 - 649 period (1).

But after 670 a blanket falls on the mission history of all these kingdoms, and Śrīvijaya, like Kan-t'o-li before it, is left alone in the field. The Hsin T'ang shu states that the Śrīvijayan missions began in the 670 - 673 period (2). The first year to which a mission is specifically attributed is as late as 702 (3), but already by 695 Śrīvijayan envoys were on the Chinese rations list for assistance in getting back home (4). The fact that a Chinese envoy visited Śrīvijaya in 683 may be taken as another sign that some form of official relations between China and the now foremost trading kingdom in western Indonesia had begun (5). Henceforth missions were sent in 702, 716, 728 and 742 (6). I cannot explain why they came to an end in 742 and were not resumed until 904/5 (7), but I am certain that a trading empire based on south-eastern Sumatra continued to exist in the interval. The Nālandā

(1) The author of the Hao yao states that in the time of the T'ang emperor T'ai Tsung (627-649) the western ocean Lu country sent camphor as tribute. This is why one knows that camphor came from there 西海律國貢龍腦香是知彼處出耳;

CLPT, 13,

321b. I have been unable to verify this mission.

(2) HTS, 222 T, 5a.

(3) TFYK, 970, 11403b.

(4) THY, 100, 1798.

(5) This envoy is mentioned by I Tsing. See page 453 .

(6) TFYK, 970, 11403 & ; 971, 11411b.

(7) TFYK, 971, 11411 b; THY, 100, 1799.

inscription of about 860 refers to the Śailendra ruler of Suvarṇadvīpa, or Sumatra, and 'Śailendra' was still the family name of the rulers of Śrīvijaya at the beginning of the 11th century (1). Moreover the Arab travelogues of the ninth century testify to the greatness of Zabāg, their name for this empire (2). The cessation of missions may be attributed either to troubled times in China when the T'ang dynasty became weaker or, equally likely, to the fact that the trade between Śrīvijaya and China was too well established to require diplomatic boosting.

Two explanations suggest themselves for the multiplicity of states sending missions in the first half of the seventh century. The first is that there were now exceptionally favourable trading opportunities for western Indonesia, when the demand for Indonesian produce was ceasing to be merely for substitutes for western Asian produce. The second explanation is that temporarily there happened to be no single kingdom capable of monopolizing the trade with China.

(1) For the latest discussion of the dating of the Nālandā inscription see de Casparis, Prasasti, 2, 260. 'The Great Charter of Leiden', issued by the Cola king Rajendracola I, describes the king of Śrīvijaya as the descendant of the family of the Śailendras; Epigr. Ind., 22, 229.

(2) On page 20, note 1, I observed that the fame of Śrīvijaya first reached the notice of European orientalist through Arab works.

There may have been an interval between the decline of Kan-t'o-li and the rise of Śrīvijaya when, as in the days of the decline of Ho-lo-tan in the early fifth century, it was possible for a number of states to share the trade.

As usual the prosperity of the trade depended to a large extent on conditions in China, where the prospects had never been more promising. In 618 the short-lived but powerful Sui dynasty, which had sent Ch'ang Chün overseas, was succeeded by the great T'ang dynasty. The capital, as under the Sui, was now in northern China, but this circumstance did not mean that the trading connexions of southern China, built up during the fifth and sixth centuries, became obsolete. On the contrary southern China was a source of wealth for the whole empire, and Yang chou on the lower Yangtse was not only the commercial focus of southern China but also the main centre for the transmission of merchandize to the north by means of the Grand Canal, constructed under the Sui dynasty (1). It is true that in the seventh century the T'ang government exercised authority in Turkestan, and as a result the ancient overland route prospered for the

(1) Dr Wang Gungwu provides a summary of the facts about Yang chou and its position in the internal communications of China; 'Nanhai trade', 71-72.

last time before the establishment of the Mongol empire in the 13th century (1). But great changes were now taking place in western Asia, and these are likely to have affected the ability of the merchants in the Persian Gulf to send regular supplies of goods to China by land or by sea. In 637 Ctesiphon was sacked by the Arabs and the days of the Sassanid empire were numbered. Sauvaget has expressed the opinion that, from the fall of Ctesiphon until the foundation of Baghdad by the 'Abbāsīd dynasty in 762, there was no important urban centre in that region capable of sustaining long distance commerce. Instead there was disorder and political agitation. Nor would the Umayyad caliphs in Syria have stimulated a great demand for oriental goods, certainly not for goods brought by sea. For these reasons there would have been a marked regression in navigation based on the Persian Gulf (2). The new political conditions in Western Asia must have affected considerably the volume of the 'Persian' trade, and as a result producers in western Indonesia would have noticed that they had less competition in supplying the flourishing Chinese market with foreign produce. The days of the substitute status of Indonesian

(1) Dr Wang Gungwu notes that in the Sui period 'the tribes of the western border ... were to be enticed by the prospect of generous commercial profits and then persuaded to come to pay homage at court'; 'Nan hai trade', 70, note 33, quoting the Sui shu.

(2) Relation, xxxvii.

vegetation were drawing to a close, and more than ever before were profits to be made by those who could bring local goods to China.

It is impossible to measure in quantities of produce shipped to China the scale of the trade now encouraged by external circumstances, but its expansion is reflected in the range of articles mentioned in Chinese records. Two pieces of evidence may be suggested. The first is the way in which Su Kung, one of the revisers of the T'ang pen ts'ao and a northerner, was familiar with K'un-lun drugs. He knew of the K'un-lun cloves (1) and of a K'un-lun 'costus' which was better than the plant which came to China by means of the 'western hu 胡' overland from western Asia (2). He also knew of a K'un-lun 'storax', which Laufer identified with Altingia (3). Moreover Su Kung is the first of the materia medica writers to refer to 'unicorn dessicate', the 'dragon's blood' from the rattan palm (4). I do not suggest that there was an expansion only in Indonesian trade, but it is clear that South East Asian plant substances as a whole were now

(1) PTKM, 34, 1364a.

(2) CLPT, 6, 160a.

(3) Hsin hsiu 新新, 121; Sino-Iranica, 459.

(4) Page 249 .

becoming more familiar to Chinese doctors, which probably means that there was an increase both in the volume and range of produce coming from Indonesia. That this was so is supported by the second piece of evidence which I wish to mention in connexion with the expansion of western Indonesian trade in the early T'ang period. It is significant that camphor, a valuable Indonesian product, was now being included in the tribute sent by non-Indonesian rulers, a comment not only on the value attached to camphor in China but also on the way it must have become one of the major export items from Indonesia. Ch'ih T'u had offered camphor as tribute in Ch'ang Chün's time, and it may have been a local product (1). But in 643 the north-western Indian kingdom of Uddiyana sent it as tribute (2). In 647 the little mainland South East Asian kingdom of T'o-yüan 陀洹, probably a former dependency of Funan 扶南, also sent it (3).

(1) Sui shu, 82, 5a. In the Hsin tsuan Hsiang p'u, 1, 31b, the Chu fan chi 諸蕃記 (2) is quoted as saying that Ch'ih T'u produced 'rare perfumes 異香'. This may be a quotation from Ch'ang Chün's book on Ch'ih T'u.

(2) TFYK, 970, 11399a.

(3) TFYK, 970, 11400a.

It was sent from Tongking at the end of the 742 - 756 period (1).

I do not suggest that there was a trade boom for western Indonesia in the first half of the seventh century merely because the producers there enjoyed a temporary monopoly of the trade with China, though I think that the volume of exports had never been greater. There would still have been profits from the transit trade in goods from the Indian Ocean. A few Indian missions made their way to China in this period, though it is unknown what route they took. (2) In the same century references begin in the Chinese materia medica to foreign peppers, and it is likely that the Indian pepper trade with China was now beginning to get under way (3).

(1) YYTT, 1, 10. À propos of this notice it is stated that the Po-ssu gave an account of the part of the tree which produced the best crystals. Such familiarity with the product can only be attributed to the Indonesians themselves, and the passage should be added to those adduced by Laufer as evidence of the South East Asian Po-ssu in T'ang times. I discussed similar Po-ssu texts on pages 296-299.

(2) Ch'ien-ssu-fo 千和佛 (?Kanci), Shih-li-chün 舍利君 and Mo-la 摩羅 in 658; TFYK, 970, 11402a. See Pelliot, 'Deux itinéraires', 361. Ch'ien-ssu-fo and Mo-la sent further missions in 662; *ibid*, 11402a. 'Southern India' 南天竺 sent a mission in 692; THY, 100, 1787.

(3) CLPT, 14, 349b. Su Kung mentions long pepper and attributes it to the Po-ssu = Persians'; PTKM, 14, 814b.

The story is told of the diarrhoea stricken emperor T'ai Tsung (626 - 649) who failed to respond to expert treatment. He was cured by a preparation of milk and long pepper, and as a result long pepper was often tried with success for 'cold' conditions of the stomach (1). Su Kung mentions black pepper of the western Jung barbarians, the Indian Piper nigrum brought overland to China. It must have come by sea too, and a likely consequence of the growing demand in China for black pepper was a boost to the trade in the wild-growing Indonesian cubeb pepper, regarded by the Chinese as similar to black pepper (2). Ch'en Ts'ang-ch'i, in the first half of the eighth century, mentions the cubeb pepper of Srivijaya (3), a statement which may provide a terminus ad quem for the origins of the Indonesian cubeb pepper trade with China.

(1) PTKM, 14, 815a, quoting Su Sung of the 11th century:
 上以氣痢久未痊服醫藥不應因詔訪求其方有衛士進黃牛乳
 煎並華葦方御用有效置禹錫亦記其事云後累試於虛冷
 者必效

(2) I mentioned Chinese views on cubeb pepper on pages 125-126.

(3) PTKM, 32, 1321b. Srivijaya is called Fo-shih 佛誓國. This passage appears in the CLPT, 9, 235b without any attribution.

A background of busy trade would therefore have been the first reason why a number of missions went to China in the earlier decades of the seventh century. The second reason was a political one. The emperor T'ai Tsung as early as 626 had enquired, a propos of a mission from the unknown K'un-lun country of Kan-t'ang 甘棠 and from Chu-chu-po

朱太宗謂羣臣曰南荒西域自遠而至其故何哉
 為元盛今日當中國又安帝德遐被也太宗曰誠
 如公言向使中國不安何緣而至朕何以堪之
 觀此蕃使益懷畏懼所望公等匡朕不逮也
 觀此蕃使益懷畏懼所望公等匡朕不逮也

T'ai Tsung enquired of all his ministers: the people of the southern wilderness and the western regions come from afar. Why should this be so? Fang Yüan-ling replied: China is now at peace and the imperial virtue extends to distant parts. T'ai Tsung said: what you say is correct. When in the past China was unsettled, what reasons would these people have had for coming? How do I deserve this? When I see these barbarian envoys, I become more and more frightened. I rely on you, gentlemen, to repair my deficiencies (1).'

The power of T'ang China would certainly have attracted foreign missions, but in the same period the temporary absence of strong maritime kingdoms in South East Asia was probably also responsible for them. On the coast of mainland South East Asia, as a result of the collapse of Funan, there was a political vacuum. One symptom of this situation was that in 662 two small maritime countries,

(1) THY, 99, 1775-1776.

described in the Ts'ê fu yüan kuei as neighbours of Chên-la (Cambodia) and Lin-yi (Champa), were able to come with tribute (1). Another consequence of the fall of Funan may be the missions in 638 and 649 from the Mon kingdom of Dvāravatī at the head of the Gulf of Siam (2).

The fall of Funan was the consequence of attacks from Khmers in the north, but one can only surmise what had happened in western Indonesia between the disappearance of Kan-t'o-li and the rise of Srīvijaya to enable missions to be sent from so many kingdoms. There may have been temporary political weakness on the south-eastern coast of Sumatra, symbolised by the fact that only a single Mission was sent by Malayu in 644. But one thing seems evident. In the seventh century an entirely new political situation had come into being in Western Indonesia, creating a threat to the

(1) TFYK, 970, 11402a-b They were Hsiu-lo-fên 修羅分 and Kan-pi 甘畢. Dupont has suggested that the Khmer kingdom of Chên-la never conquered the eastern coastal territories of Funan; 'Le Sud indochinois aux VI^e et VII^e Siècles', BSEI, 24, 1, 1949, 18-24.

(2) CTS, 197, 3a. The kingdom was known as To-ho-lo 隋和羅. I have given my reasons for identifying it with Dvāravatī in 'Chên-li-fu. A state on the Gulf of Siam at the beginning of the 13th century', JSS, 48, 2, 1960, 12. One of its exports was a famous species of rhinoceros horn. Dvāravatī was sufficiently important to justify a mission from the T'ang government, though the date is not known. The mission took place in the seventh century, and a monk living in Dvāravatī returned with it. His life was described by I Tsing, who provides the evidence of this mission; Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu, 4b; Chavannes, Mémoire, 69.

favoured trading coast on a scale which Kan-t'o-li had never known. The significant feature of the decades immediately preceding the appearance of Śrīvijaya are the missions from Ch'ih T'u, Kedah, P'o-lo, and perhaps from 'Barus' too, all taking place between the years 608 and 669. These missions make it clear that ports on or close to the Straits of Malacca were at last beginning to stake a claim to direct trade with China, which they were able to back by their advantageous position on the sea route to China and their access to the jungle wealth of northern Sumatra. The expanding trade in aromatic tree produce had brought commercial opportunities to these ports, and the rulers and traders were now beginning to make good their opportunities. These missions to China are a token of a determination to trade their produce to China without relying so much on middlemen from elsewhere in Indonesia (1).

It is to this period that I am inclined to attribute the information in the Hsin T'ang shu about Lo-yüeh 羅越, a kingdom which Chia Tan describes at the extreme southern end of the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. (2).

(1) The TFYK, 969, 11391a, mentions missions from a P'o-lo 波羅 in 502 and in 507. This kingdom should not be confused with the P'o-lo which lay west of Ch'ih T'u. The sixth century P'o-lo sent missions to the Northern Wei dynasty, and P'o-lo was described as 'Southern India.'

(2) See page 396.

商賈往來所湊集俗與暹羅鉅底同
歲乘舶至廣州州中以聞

'Traders passing back and forth meet there (at Lo-yüeh)
The customs are the same as those of To-lo-po-ti
(another name for Dvāravatī). Every year merchants
embark on junks and come to Canton, whence the news of
their arrival must be passed on (1).'

One cannot imagine that, when Srīvijaya controlled Kedah
at the end of the seventh century, this form of independent
trading would have been tolerated.

It is now possible to define in general terms the
commercial situation in western Indonesia on the eve of the
appearance of Srīvijaya. As a result of an expansion in
the China trade, with a new prominence given to Indonesian
produce, promising opportunities were being created for all
harbours capable of sending ships to China. Kedah had
probably long been a landfall harbour for ships from the
Bay of Bengal making their way to Yāvadvīpa further south (2).

(1) HTS, 222 下, 5b. This passage is tacked on to the
account of Tan-tan. I have followed Professor Wheatley's
translation, Golden Khersonese, 58.

(2) Professor Nilakanta Sastri believes that Kedah was
known as Kālagam in the Tamil poem Paṭṭinappālai,
representing information not later than the third century A.D.;
'Kaṭāha', JGIS, 5, 1938, 128-129. Professor Coedès is doubtful;
'Le royaume de Çrīvijaya', BEFEO, 18, 1918, 20. Professor
Wheatley also seems doubtful, and he observes that a gloss
on the Silappadikāram mentions both Kidāraṇan and Kālagam;
Golden Khersonese, 279. Kālagam means 'black', and the Fan
fan yu gloss on Chia-lo 加 洛 洛 states that it means 'black';
Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 54, no. 2130, 1011c. The gloss is on
the T'ai tzu wu mēng ching, but Chia-lo also appears in the
Shih erh yu ching of 392.

The numerous archaeological remains from Kedah indicate that there was an ancient settlement there, though the chronology of the remains is still in dispute (1). A Sanskrit prayer in Pallava-type script has been found ^{IN} ~~just south of~~ Kedah; it asks for the success of a voyage about to be undertaken by a sailing master, Buddhagupta, who dwelt in Raktamṛttika, 'the Red Land' (2). P'o-lo, in northern Sumatra and possibly on the north-eastern coast, has much more obscure antecedents. It may have been the 'south-western P'u-lo', known to K'ang T'ai as a cannibal land (3). It is more certainly the Pu-lo 不 羅, famed for its many perfumes as early as 392 (4). P'o-lo's missions in 642 and 669 reflect the progress which had taken place there by the seventh century. As for the port of 'Barus', apart from the unverified mission in the 627-649 period, all that can be inferred about its development is that two Korean monks died there in the seventh century, a circumstance which I understand to mean that they had intended to sail to India (5). By that time its harbour would therefore have had access to the main shipping lines, a

(1) I have in mind the recent publications of Dr Alastair Lamb and especially his 'Report on the excavation and reconstruction of Chandi Bukit Batu Pakat, central Kedah', Federation Museums Journal, V, 1960, 1-108.

(2) This inscription was first published by Low in JASB, 17, 1848, 62-66. The literature on it is listed by Wheatley in Golden Khersonese, 274, note 1.

(3) Page 382 .
 (4) Page 385 .
 (5) Page 390 .

considerable advance when one recalls the unenviable reputation the 'Barousai islands' enjoy in Ptolemy's Geographia.

The embassies from Kedah and P'o-lo and possibly from 'Barus' represented a threat to the hitherto privileged commercial status of the coast which had prospered from the China trade in the fifth and sixth centuries, and the threat provoked a political crisis in western Indonesia of which the outcome was the empire of Śrīvijaya. My understanding of the situation is that by an assertion of naval power in the Straits of Malacca the rulers of Śrīvijaya successfully nipped in the bud the challenge from the newcomers to the China trade and safeguarded the south-eastern Sumatran coast's preponderance in ^{the} trade, which had by now become more valuable than ever before. By 695 at the latest, and perhaps a few years before then, Kedah became a dependency of Śrīvijaya. The swiftness of Śrīvijaya's reaction makes it almost certain that P'o-lo sent no further embassies after 669 because its rival fleet in the Straits made it impossible to do so (1). No date can

(1) One writer has stated that P'o-lo sent a further mission in 712; Sei Wada, Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko, 4, 1929, 128. Wada quoted from the Ts'ê fu yüan kuei. In the 1754 printing of the 1672 edition, 970, 19b, it is stated that -lo 羅 country sent a mission in 712. The character immediately preceding -lo is missing, but the recently published ~~South Seas~~ text of the TFYK (Chung hua shu chü, Peking, 1960), 970, 11404a, supplies the missing character; it is Hsin 新, and the country which sent the mission in 712 was Korea and not P'o-lo. A P'o-lo mission in that year would have been most improbable in view of Śrīvijaya's control of Kedah by that time and ability to dominate the opposite coast of the Straits of Malacca.

be assigned to the creation of the 'double kingdom', of which 'Barus' was the western one (1), but it would not be surprising if this had taken place before the end of the seventh century. I conclude, therefore, that by the end of that century the victories of Śrīvijaya, probably chiefly in the form of naval battles, had effectively protected the prosperity of the traditional trading coast of western Indonesia, on which it had its roots, and as a consequence Śrīvijaya had become a greater empire than ever before existed in western Indonesia. It was only a matter of time before the authority of the ruler reached as far north as the isthmus of the Peninsula, where he was able to erect religious buildings in 775 (2).

The history of the favoured trading coast of south-eastern Sumatra, which I have sketched in this study, has thrown some light on two aspects of the immediate origins of Śrīvijaya. It shows, I hope, that the base of the empire could hardly have been anywhere else in western Indonesia (3).

(1) For this passage of the HTS see page 12, note 2.

(2) Page 7, note 2.

(3) I reject completely Professor Wheatley's view that the original settlement of Śrīvijaya was sundered from the great trade-routes of South East Asia and that only after Śrīvijaya had become a South East Asian power could it reap the full fruits of its nodality in the southern ocean; Golden Khersonese, 293. In my opinion earlier generations on that coast had defied geographical factors and created its international commerce.

The western coast of northern Java may, in the days of Ho-lo-tan, have been a flourishing centre of trade as it seems to have been under Ho-ling in the second half of the seventh century, but the evidence is by no means so clear as the evidence about the Sumatran coast at the time of Ko-ying and later under Kan-t'o-li. The other aspect of the origins of Śrīvijaya which I have suggested is that its rulers had abundant motive for extending their authority into the Straits of Malacca. If they had not acted as they did, their commerce would have suffered and Lamēri or some other centre on the Straits would have come into prominence centuries earlier. The Hsin T'ang shu states that Śrīvijaya had 14 cities (1), and I suspect that a number of them were rivals before Śrīvijaya struck them down.

One need not wonder that the rulers of Śrīvijaya had the power as well as the motive to create this extensive empire. Though we are ignorant of the political history of south-eastern Sumatra in the years immediately preceding I Tsing's arrival in 671, the Palembang city could not have suddenly become powerful. The fact that I Tsing spent six months ~~there~~ on preliminary studies suggests that the city already enjoyed considerable contacts with India, which only trade would

(1) HTS, 222 下, 5a.

It is an interesting coincidence that the Tanjore inscription of 1030/1031 claims that 13 centres of the ruler of Kaḍāram = Śrīvijaya were captured.

have made possible. Clearly, too, its rulers had a ready weapon for enforcing their authority on their rivals. The striking power of Srivijaya depended mainly on ships. The kings had their ships, and one pictures the 'Persian' shippers gathering from their mangrove swamps and neighbouring islands (1) in order to reinforce their ruler's fleet in defence of their trade (2). In the same way the merchants of Devon rallied behind Elizabeth in 1588. Though Srivijaya was on a water-logged and under-populated coast, it was able to draw its manpower from coastal Malays scattered among innumerable maritime settlements south of the Straits of Malacca. Palembang was merely a trading focus, serving the population on and off this coast.

The objective of the naval expeditions against Kedah and the other rival harbours was not the winning of a large territorial empire. Like the Portuguese 800 years later, the Srivijayan rulers were only concerned to occupy strategic points of the main trade routes. The local chiefs were probably often invested as vassals. The Hsin T'ang shu

(1) The Song shih, 489, 12b, says of Srivijaya that the people lived scattered outside the city and did not pay taxes.

(2) Van Leur noted the ad hoc arrangements for making war at the end of Srivijaya's career, and I imagine that there was little difference in the seventh century. He quoted from Hirth and Rockhill's translation of the Chu fan chih, 60: 'When they are about to make war on another state they assemble and send forth such a force as the occasion demands. They (then) appoint chiefs and leaders, and all provide their own military equipment and the necessary provisions'; Indonesian trade and society, 106. I find the statement that 'all provide their own military equipment' convincing. I imagine that every 'Persian' shipper carried arms and was happy to use them.

describes Śrīvijaya as 'a double kingdom and the two parts have separate administrations 以二國分摠 (1), and this gives the impression that the empire was loosely knit. Perhaps some of those who took the oath of allegiance at Palembang (2) were conquered vassals, who were required to render homage at Palembang. Of them the ruler of Śrīvijaya would have insisted that ships making their way to and from China were directed to call at the favoured coast and do most of their business there. In the seventh century this stipulation would chiefly affect Indonesian shipping, but later on foreign shipping also had to comply. Some ports would have been regarded as redundant and their trade limited to the sending of their produce to Palembang. Others, such as Kedah in the seventh century, where hu from central Asia were to be found (3), would have been nominated as approved ports of call on the voyage to and from south-eastern Sumatra.

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- (1) HTS, 222 下, 5a. According to the 'K'ang hsi tzu tien 摠, for which 摠 is a conventional scribal substitute, means no more than 兼持.
- (2) The oath is contained in the Telaga Batu inscription; de Casparis, Prasasti, 2, 15-46. There may be specific references to 'vassals' in the text of the oath in the form of rājaputra or bhūpati; *ibid.*, 19; 37, note 4.
- (3) I T'ing met one there; Ta t'ang hsi yü ch'iu, 7a; Chavannes; Memoire, 105-6

The details of the campaigns which Śrīvijaya had to conduct in defence of its privileged trade have disappeared. The Old-Malay inscriptions of the 683 - 686 period refer to bitter battles, but the circumstances are not revealed. One fragment states that 'much was their blood (shed)', but it is unknown whether this refers to the losses of the enemy or of the army of Śrīvijaya (1). The same fragment uses the expression pauravirakta, which Dr. de Casparis has translated as 'red with (the blood of) the citizens', referring to either the soil or the big river (the Musi on which Palembang lies), and this may point to heavy losses of the Śrīvijayan army as well (2). The Kedukan Bukit inscription refers to an army of 20,000 men (3). The early years of Śrīvijaya were very definitely disturbed ones, and Dr de Casparis points out that imprecations form more than half of the epigraphical remains of Śrīvijaya (4). The only safe conclusion which can be drawn from the epigraphic evidence is that by about 683 - 686 the ruler had already acquired an empire and now faced the problem of controlling it and of suppressing

(1) De Casparis, Prasasti, 2, 4.

(2) Ibid. These references to battles found on the Palembang inscriptions do not imply that the battles took place at or near Palembang.

(3) Coedès, 'Les inscriptions de Crivijaya', BEFEO, 30, 1930. 35. ~~In this fragment, the word 'pauravirakta' is translated as 'red with the blood of the citizens', referring to either the soil or the big river (the Musi on which Palembang lies), and this may point to heavy losses of the Śrīvijayan army as well.~~

(4) Prasasti, 2, 7.

internal revolts (1).

Also obscure is the manner in which Śrīvijaya originally consolidated its position on the south-eastern Sumatran coast at the expense of Malayu-Jambi. In 644, when a mission was sent to China, 'Malayu' may have meant Jambi and Palembang, ruling from Jambi. If so, Palembang recovered its independence shortly afterwards. In 671 - 672 I Tsing clearly distinguishes between the two cities and one has to believe that by that time Malayu only meant Jambi. The political separation of Malayu and Śrīvijaya is also implied in I Tsing's statement that 'the country of Malayu is now changed to Śrīvijaya' (2), which can only mean that the amalgamation of the two harbours under the ruler of Śrīvijaya - Palembang was brought about forcibly. In view of Śrīvijaya's occupation of Kedah by 695 at the latest, Malayu may have been subjugated some years before I Tsing returned from India after 685. Already in 686 there is a reference in the Kota Kapur inscription of Bangka to the disobedient rebels of Java, which suggests that by that year Śrīvijaya had expanded.

(1) Here I follow Dr de Casparis' understanding of the background to these inscriptions. The Tēlaga Batu inscription mentions the 'army which is sent to all the frontier provinces'; *Prasasti*, 2, 45.

(2) *Ta T'ang hsi yü ch'iu*, 7c; Chavannes, *Mémoire*, 119, note 2. The text is simply:

未羅瑜(改為室利佛逝也)

Malayu is likely to have been an early victim. One picture shows the conquest of Malayu as one more episode in an ancient rivalry between Palembang and Jambi for mastery of the favoured coast. Perhaps Kan-t'o-li had been based on Palembang, with Malayu as a vassal, and had fallen because Malayu-Jambi temporarily became strong. Unfortunately the origins of Śrīvijaya in relation to the earlier history of Jambi and Palembang are at present lost. Only inscriptions may reveal the truth.

Even more obscure are Śrīvijaya's early relations with Ho-ling in western Java. It would be surprising if Śrīvijaya, so determined to conserve its monopoly of the China trade, was content to allow Ho-ling to trade undisturbed. Nevertheless several pilgrims sailed direct from China to Ho-ling in I Tsing's lifetime, though the dates of their voyages are unknown (1). It may be that pressure on Ho-ling was not exerted by Śrīvijaya until the early eighth century, and one enquires whether the movement of the Ho-ling ruler to the east, mentioned in the Hsin T'ang shu, had anything to do with action by Śrīvijaya (2). There is also the Kota Kapur

(1) See note 3 on page 441. Tao-lin, whom I Tsing met in India, had passed through Ho-ling on his way to India a number of years before 685.

(2) It is possible that a reason for the transfer of the capital of the central Javanese kingdom to the east of the island in the early tenth century was security against Śrīvijayan attack, instigated by the disinherited Śailendra family now ruling in Śrīvijaya; de Casparis, Prasasti, 2, 296-297.

inscription of 686, with its reference to the rebels of the 'land of Java'. I have found no evidence which suggests that 'Java' in the seventh century meant Sumatra as well, and my guess is that Śrīvijaya sometimes attempted to restrict the trading activities of Ho-ling in western Java. But this is only speculation.

Much more in fact remains to be discovered about the immediate origins and early years of Śrīvijaya. My contribution has been limited to two matters. I believe that its fleet moved against the Straits of Malacca almost at the beginning of its recorded history, and that the reason was economic necessity. Śrīvijaya had to protect a privileged trading system. But the remoter origins of Śrīvijaya are, I hope, now clearer. I shall recapitulate them as they have emerged in this study before I consider briefly their implications for the prospects which the future held for Indonesian commerce and above all for Śrīvijaya.

The origins of Śrīvijaya must unquestionably be explained chiefly in the circumstance that south-eastern Sumatra and its offshore islands were the cradle of the coastal Malays, the people whose language is written on the first inscriptions of Śrīvijaya and whose nautical vocabulary, as Brandes pointed out nearly eighty years ago,

owes Nothing to India (1). They were an intrepid seafaring race. Whether Strabo and the author of the Periplus heard of them is a matter of opinion (2). I prefer to bring them back to life by likening them to their fellow-Indonesian contemporaries of the third century, the enterprising islanders in the Philippines who were already capable of sailing to Funan with their produce (3). The Sumatran Malays themselves appear in history with the ruler of Ko-ying who bought horses from the Yüeh-chih and in the primitive people of P'u-lei who sailed out to sea in order to barter their jungle produce with ships passing by (4). The first Malay ships, of which there is unmistakable evidence, are those of the ruler of Śrīvijaya which took I Tsing and Wu-hsing to India. There is, however, the testimony of Hui-lin that the crews of the K'un-lun po were for the most part composed of the Ku-lun people (5). K'un-lun ships had been visiting Tongking for centuries before Hui-lin's time. Chang Ching-chên[^] traded with K'un-lun ships at the end of the fifth century (6). In the sixth century Wei Shou's agents brought him great wealth from the same ships (7).

(1) 'Een jaya pattra of acte van een recht&erlijke uitspraak van Caka 849'; Tijd. Bat. Gen., 32, 1889, 122ff.

(2) Page 304, note 5; Page 43, Note 3.

(3) Pages 89 - 90.

(4) Page 91.

(5) Page 305.

(6) Page 151.

(7) Page 153, Note 1.

In prehistoric times Malays may have played their part in the barter trade which brought knowledge of metal from the coast of Indo-China to the hinterland of southern Sumatra (1). At the dawn of recorded Indonesian history their coast had already become a trading centre. Here lay Ko-ying, the gateway to the developed Indonesian world further east and perhaps the centre known to Ptolemy as Argyre (2). The coast must have been visited by Indian merchants as soon as they emerged from the Straits of Malacca early in the Christian era. When Indians came to trade with them the Malays began to respond to new opportunities, and it may be confidently assumed that in time their ships ventured into the Bay of Bengal, attracted by the brilliance of Indian civilisation.

The origins of Śrīvijaya must therefore be explained chiefly in the long trading history of Southern Sumatra, whose coastal population never earned the intimidating reputation of the peoples of northern Sumatra.

The decisively important event in the centuries before the rise of Śrīvijaya was the way in which the Malays captured the China trade when it expanded after barbarians overran northern China and drove the Chinese markets south. As a result of events happening far from Indonesia itself, the maritime communications of Asia came to assume an importance which they never lost, and it was the population of south-eastern Sumatra, and possibly western Java, who benefited in

(1) Pages 113 - 114.

(2) Pages 103 - 104.

South East Asia. As a result of the 'Persian' trade with⁵²⁹ China, Kan-t'o-li, unlike Ko-ying, was in communication with China and a new chapter in early Indonesian commerce began. The reconstruction of the 'Persian' trade led us into fields far from Indonesia itself. We discovered the activities of the Indonesians by studying what was known about the trade in resins, a subject whose chronology is susceptible to chronological examination, though the resins would have been only part of the trade in 'precious and rare things' which the Chinese rulers 'coveted' (1). We saw why doctors of southern China valued the styptic and fumigatory properties of frankincense and myrrh. By the beginning of the sixth century at the latest the frankincense trade had become sufficiently important in value if not in volume to attract to itself a subsidiary trade in pine resin from the southern ocean, and the circumstances of this transaction are such that it is probable that in the same period benzoin was becoming a substitute for the bdellium myrrh. The likelihood of both these transactions is strengthened by the certain knowledge that about 500 the southern Chinese knew of and were using the camphor of 'Barus', whose crystals earned a place in the revised materia medica of T'ao Hung-ching (2). By this time Chinese writers, interested in overseas flora, had got into the habit of describing the most valuable element in their maritime trade as 'Persian'. But the trade in 500,

(1) Page 148.

(2) Page 148.

when the term Po-ssu appears in the vintage texts to denote 'Persian' and 'Persian-type' produce, was no longer a new one. It was at least as old as 430, some years after Fa Hsien and his worried merchant companions sailed across the South China Sea (1), and the year when the ruler of Ho-lo-t'o/tan asked the Chinese emperor that no difficulties should be put in the way of traders. A century and more separates 521, the last possible date for the composition of the Kuang chih with its information about frankincense and pine resin, from Fa Hsien's voyage, and in the meantime the western Asian trade through Indonesia had developed. There would have been setbacks during periods of unrest in southern China, but in the fifth century the Malays of the southern ocean were becoming confident in their ability to handle the 'Persian' trade. They probably began to be middlemen in western produce towards the end of the fourth century when the refugees of the Eastern Chin dynasty were re-establishing themselves in southern China.

The rôle of the Malays is described in none of the documents we have considered. I suspect that the Chinese took their activities for granted. All we know for certain is that the 'Persian' trade reached China, that only K'un-lun ships are mentioned in Chinese texts, and that there was communication, commercial and tributary, between western Indonesia and China in the fifth century. Some may still believe that the Malay 'Persian' shippers are a creation of

(1) Page 50.

the imagination which is 'too clever by half', in spite of the fact that the 'southern ocean' pine resin and benzoin were originally regarded as 'Persian-type' produce, in spite of the fact that South East Asian produce and Indian peppers were never called Po-ssū in this period, and in spite of the fact that a special connexion between the Indonesian shippers and the conduct of the 'Persian' trade in the Far East was remembered by the Chinese centuries later when the inhabitants of Jambi were called Po-ssū and when there were Po-ssū Malay numerals.

The case for the activity of Indonesian ships in the fifth and sixth centuries also rests on the fact there is no evidence about other shipping reaching China at that time. We noted that in the fifth century the ancient trade route via Funan and up the coast of Indo-China was being disturbed by the piratical Chams, but I think that this would have merely given a boost to the new route through western Indonesia. There are good reasons for believing that ships from the western Indian Ocean never ventured further east than Ceylon before the sixth century, long after the first evidence of the voyage across the South China Sea from Indonesia. I have been careful, however, not to suggest that only Indonesian merchants visited China in these centuries. Obviously the Funanese were continuing to do so, and there is no reason to suppose that Indians had ceased to visit China. The K'un-lun ships would have been available, perhaps by hiring, for merchants of all races and for the pilgrims as well. With the

expansion of the trade between the Indian Ocean and China more and more ships were needed, and the Indonesians, the leading seafaring people of ^{South East Asia} ~~Indonesia~~, were beginning to take part in the trade shortly before A.D. 400. The circumstances of their first voyage can never be known. All we know is that by the end of the fifth century their produce, and only their produce, was regarded as 'Persian-type' produce from the southern ocean.

In the course of time the response of the Malay shippers to the needs of the 'Persian' trade brought prosperity to the busy harbours on the favoured trading coast of south-eastern Sumatra and possibly also to western Java, if Ho-lo-tan was in western Java as I have suggested. The Malays who originally operated the trade may have come from many centres on this coast, and this would explain why we have evidence of the trade before missions begin. I believe that the Malays were persuaded to concentrate their activities on those harbours whose rulers could show that they had a privileged position in the eyes of the Chinese government. There can be no doubt that the most important of the trading kingdoms before the rise of Śrīvijaya was Kan-t'o-li, and I hope that in future a place of honour will be given it in histories of Indonesia. I inferred from the fact that it sent relatively few missions to China that its trade was sufficiently well established not to require protection in this way. Otherwise we have to believe, in the absence of any evidence, that in the sixth century Tan-tan, certainly a Javanese kingdom, was the chief trading kingdom of that

time and dominated south-eastern Sumatra, a most unlikely possibility. Not until the reign of Kṛtanagara in the second half of the 13th century were the Javanese able to do so.

Analysis also showed that missions were sent by groups of countries in two periods: ^{the first half of the fifth century and} the first half of the seventh century. Both these periods were when there was probably a temporary disappearance of an overlord, which led to a tussle for a share in the middleman trade. The earlier period gives our first glimpse of western Indonesia since the time of Ko-ying, and it was a time of disturbance; it came to an end with the rise of Kan-t'o-li. The second period ends with the hegemony of Śrīvijaya itself. If Ho-lo-tan was in western Java, its decline after 452 may be interpreted as a victory of the commercial interests of the south-eastern Sumatran coast, consolidated under Kan-t'o-li. When Ho-ling in the seventh century came to the fore as a trading kingdom, a new challenge from the south threatened the Sumatran coast, and it would not be surprising if Śrīvijaya, so determined to protect its interests against competition from the ports on the Straits of Malacca, did not take measures to damage the trade of western Java as well. But much more needs to be known about the significance of Ho-ling in Javanese history before its relations with Śrīvijaya can be understood. In the meantime I have given my reasons for believing that Ho-ling was in fact a Javanese kingdom.

We can now define the origins of Srīvijaya more exactly than Krom did (1). Krom did not commit himself on the nature of the trade which passed through the harbours of western Indonesia or on the identity of the foreign markets on which the harbours thrived. We have now seen that the produce was originally foreign to Indonesia and that the key market was in southern China, though by the seventh century it is likely that Indonesian exports were becoming an increasingly important element in the China trade. The early Indonesian trade with India, however, had long been overtaken as the chief form of commerce practised on the favoured coast. The westward expansion of Indonesian trade was to be a later development and part of the history of Srīvijaya itself.

Nor did Krom commit himself about the identity of the ships whose activities brought these harbours to the fore (2). I believe that up to and including the early years of Srīvijaya the ships were normally Malay, based on Jambi, Palembang, and the neighbouring small islands.

Finally Krom, in sketching the immediate antecedents of Srīvijaya, thought that there were a number of harbours, equally suitable for the transit trade, in Sumatra and also in the southern Malay Peninsula. My understanding of the

(1) Pages 13-15.

(2) Krom did not ignore the possibility that Indonesian ships took part in the early trade, but his evidence was merely the statement that Funanese ships came to China laden with glass mirrors; Hindoe-Javaansche geschiedenis, 113, note 2, quoting Ferrand, JA, Mai-Juin, 1919, 461-462.

situation is very different. There may have been many suitable harbours from a geographical point of view, but I believe that Jambi and Palembang were still the only established trading centres; the others were interlopers and a threat to the traditional interests of Jambi and Palembang. The battles of early Śrīvijaya were not to stake a claim to become the only centre of trade in the region but to remain so by destroying its new rivals. Only in this way can the rapid advance of Śrīvijaya into the Straits of Malacca be explained. With the assertion of its influence in the Straits a new chapter begins in the history of early Indonesian commerce.

Krom was chiefly interested in explaining how 'Hinduisation' came about in these centuries. I do not want to attempt to define what is meant by Indianisation. I am more interested in the initiative responsible for the appearance of Indian features in these centuries such as the use of Sanskrit. I suspect that Indianisation was a consequence rather than a cause of the progress Indonesia was making. Increased wealth, greater familiarity with India and China, and probably a growing population would have been accompanied by the rise of larger kingdoms, whose rulers sought to assert themselves as regional overlords, whether in the harbour world of southern Sumatra or over the agricultural lands of Java. The evidence about Gunavarman (1),

the Kutei and Taruma inscriptions, and the letter from the ruler of Ho-lo-t'o/tan in 430 all indicate that there was warfare in the fifth and sixth centuries, and one can imagine that the skills of Brahmans, Buddhists, and other workers of magic would have been in demand among progressive and ambitious rulers. With the growth of larger and more complex territorial units there would have been a place for literati, just as in the Middle Ages in Europe members of the religious orders staffed the royal chancelleries (1) For all these reasons Indian practices were probably introduced on the initiative of the rulers themselves in order to further their interests (2). There is no reason to suppose that the commercial initiative of the coastal Malays in the 'Persian' trade was not matched by similar initiative in the affairs of government, where the influence of Indian ideas would have been chiefly felt. One wonders, too, to what extent these rulers borrowed ideas of kingship and government from the Chinese, but this is a subject which has never been investigated.

(1) I am attracted to the view once expressed by Bosch that the functions of the Brahmans corresponded with those of the 'clerks' in medieval Europe; Het vraagstuk van de Hindoe-Kolonisatie van der Archipel, 1946.

(2) Certain writers have insisted on the political motives of the Indonesian rulers in adopting Islam; eg. Schrieke, Ruler and Realm in Early Java, 230 ff; van Leur, Indonesian Trade and Society, 110 - 116.

My study has not pretended to be a contribution towards an understanding of the processes of Indianisation. Perhaps, however, by stressing the importance of the fifth and sixth centuries in western Indonesian history, it has supplied part of the background to be taken into account in explaining why at that time Indian features become apparent in Indonesia. One thing is certain. The expansion in trade at that time was an indigenous and not an Indian achievement.

Such in general terms was the heritage of Śrīvijaya. It was a rich one. In perspective the rise of Śrīvijaya appears as the latest phase of a historical process which made it almost inevitable that from time to time there would be such an empire in western Indonesia. The only new element in the origins of Śrīvijaya was that, for the first time, the Straits of Malacca had constituted a threat to the prosperity of the favoured coast of south-eastern Sumatra.

But what prospects did the future hold for Śrīvijaya and the commercial interests protected by its fleets? I shall conclude my study by suggesting how a sharper definition of Śrīvijaya's origins may assist in understanding what happened during the subsequent 600 years.

At the beginning of the long history of Śrīvijaya the harbours of Palembang and Jambi were western Indonesia's links with the markets of Asia. The system of communications on which these harbours thrived had been created by their shippers at a time when no others, with the possible exception of shippers operating from western Java, could compete with them. The future of the system did not

depend, therefore, on the wealth of the hinterland of southern Sumatra but on the ability of the rulers of Jambi and Palembang to insist that their harbours remained the obligatory stages on the voyage to China (1). The future of the empire of Śrīvijaya was inextricably bound up with the survival of the ancient trade route which led from the Straits of Malacca to south-eastern Sumatra and only then to China.

Let us glance at the general implications of this situation. The trade route in question came into being at a time when southern Sumatran shippers had enjoyed the major share of the middleman trade with China; the route led to Jambi and Palembang simply because these harbours and the neighbouring region were the shippers' home base. When, however, Śrīvijayan ships ceased to carry the greater part of the cargoes to China the necessity of the location of the favoured coast would become apparent. The day would surely dawn when foreign shippers realised that this coast was in the wrong place for them. They gained nothing by the long haul to southern Sumatra in order to buy Indonesian produce which was available elsewhere and, in the case of ports on the Straits, much closer to the centres of production and also on the shortest route to and from China. When foreigners had come to realise the artificial nature of the entrepôts based on Jambi and Palembang, the Śrīvijayan system of communications must inevitably have been regarded as an

(1) Chou Ch'ü fei makes the point that Śrīvijaya had no products of its own but the people were practised in warfare; LWTT, 2, 22.

irritating and costly impediment to international trade.

When this happened the rulers of Śrīvijaya would be forced on to the defensive.

The threat to Śrīvijaya's prosperity stemmed from the fact that foreign merchants, travelling in their own ships, would, when they had become familiar with conditions in western Indonesia, prefer to visit the regions which supplied what they wanted, where they could buy from the local exporters, develop local connexions at the expense of their competitors, avoid paying dues to the ruler of Śrīvijaya, and in general reduce costs. The instinct for free trading would take the foreigners to almost every part of the region except south-eastern Sumatra. Javanese pepper and sandalwood, the cloves and nutmegs brought from the eastern islands to the Brantas ports of eastern Java, and the aromatic resins and camphor of northern Sumatra and Borneo would have been the chief bait to drag them from Jambi and Palembang. The temptation to trade direct with the producers would have become stronger as the scale and variety of Indonesian production increased in the Śrīvijayan period, when successful trading voyages to China depended more and more on profitable trading on the way to China in order to widen the range of goods offered on the Chinese market. Another factor which would have encouraged the free trade habit would have been improved sailing techniques and especially the construction of larger ships which were capable of sailing to China from the Indian Ocean on the south-west

monsoon without stopping in Indonesia for the next sailing season. Finally in the Śrīvijayan period Indonesian produce began to go westwards in quantity as well as to China. The ninth century Arabs knew the value of camphor, and in succeeding centuries they became aware of the value of benzoin. Here would have been another motive for visiting centres of production rather than the entrepôts of southern Sumatra.

When one bears in mind these developments it becomes obvious that sooner or later the foreign shippers would have resented exceedingly the entrepôt monopoly enjoyed by the southern Sumatran harbours. Similarly, those who ruled harbours much closer to centres of production would have found the Śrīvijayan system intolerable. The rulers of Śrīvijaya in their turn would have realised to their grief that they could no longer take for granted the co-operation of foreigners and vassals in conforming to the system of communications which had created the prosperity of the favoured coast. The rulers' reaction must have been a grim determination to protect themselves by the use of naval power to compel ships to come to their harbours. This in turn would have led to embittered relations with foreigners and neighbours alike.

If my understanding of the prospects which awaited Śrīvijaya is correct, studies of later Śrīvijayan history should pay particular attention to evidence of the presence of foreign shipping in western Indonesia and should seek to

establish when it is likely to have preponderated over Śrīvijayan shipping. One would note, for example, the Tunhuang document of the eighth century which states that Po-ssū, or Persian Gulf shipping, traded with the K'un-lun countries (1). The participation of the Arabs in the sack of Canton in 758 would also be of significance (2). Especially important are the Arab accounts of the ninth century which testify that Arab ships were then visiting China. An Arab states that the parrots of Zabāg spoke many languages, including Arabic, Persian and Greek, (3), and this may reflect the cosmopolitan character of the Śrīvijayan capital. The ruler would have been delighted to collect harbour dues and stapling charges from as many foreigners as possible to swell his immense treasury (4). The passing of the Śrīvijayan monopoly of the Canting trade would have caused him no anxiety, provided that the newcomers kept to the traditional system of communications.

But though in the eighth and ninth centuries it is likely that Arab shipping was increasing (5), the major threat from foreign shippers to Śrīvijaya's interests probably came

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- (1) Page 300, N. 2
 (2) CTS, 198, 15b.
 (3) Ferrand, Textes, 1, 56-7, quoting Ibn al-Fakīh in 902.
 (4) Arab accounts of Śrīvijaya made much of the treasures of the rulers.
 (5) Persian Gulf shipping may have declined in the tenth century owing to deteriorating conditions in the Abbāsid empire; Sauvaget, 'Sur d'anciennes instructions Nautiques arabes', JA, 1948, 19-20.

from other quarters and especially from the southern Indians, the Javanese, and finally the Chinese themselves. The expansion of the mercantile marine of these three countries, all much closer to Sumatra than the Arabs were, was destined in time to lead to the downfall of the favoured coast.

Studies of later Śrīvijayan history are bound to pay attention to the activities of the Tamils under the Cōla rulers and especially in the eleventh century. Under this powerful dynasty the Tamils made themselves one of the foremost trading peoples of the east and were bound to be affected by the Śrīvijayan entrepôt policy. Perhaps the origins of the Cōla threat to Śrīvijaya are concealed in the assiduous way in which Śrīvijaya sent missions to the Sung dynasty from 960 onwards. If it is true that frequent missions from a trading kingdom were a sign that things were not going well for that kingdom, this series of missions is a further example. For a time Śrīvijaya may have tried to win the goodwill of the Cōla rulers, and about 1005 the latter in fact made the revenue of a village available to upkeep the Śrīvijayan temple at Negapatam (1). But the Cōlas were determined to take an active part in the China trade, and in 1015 they sent their first mission to ^{the} emperor (2). In 1016 the Chinese recognised them as a major power (3).

(1) Epigr. Ind., XXII, 229.

(2) Sung shih, 489, 21b.

(3) SHYK, 卷 7, 7849b. The status of the countries sending tribute was measured by the size of the escorts provided for them. The other countries, including Śrīvijaya, were also trading with China.

It is not surprising if the Tamils, with greater naval resources at their command than the Arabs had, should have decided to smash the Śrīvijayan monopoly of the produce of Indonesia which prevented foreigners from trading where they wished. It is clear that there was a fundamental clash of interest early in the 11th century, and in perhaps 1017 and certainly in 1025 the Cōlas attacked the Śrīvijayan empire. I interpret this action as being aimed at the exclusive entrepôt system which Śrīvijaya had maintained throughout its history (1). It is true that the Tamils also claim to have raided some countries which were not Śrīvijayan dependencies (2), but it is equally certain that the main target was Śrīvijaya itself. These raids were the first important challenge, known from records, to the favoured coast since the Straits ports tried to trade with China in the first half of the seventh century.

But the end of the tenth and early 11th century was even more critical for Śrīvijaya, and the period probably marks the end of the chapter in Indonesian commerce which began in the second half of the seventh century with the Śrīvijayan

(1) The Cōla mission of 1015 had to travel to China via Śrīvijaya; Sung Shih, 489, 22b. The exciting events of this period were my introduction to Śrīvijayan history, and perplexity about the economic background led me by stages to the origins of Śrīvijaya.

(2) They attacked Mādamālingam, or Tāmbraṅga, on the isthmus of the Malay Peninsula, which I have argued was then independent of Śrīvijaya; 'Tāmbraṅga', BSOAS, 21,3,1958. 587 -607.

control of the Straits, a chapter characterised by the acquiescence of the foreigners in the system of trade routes stipulated by the rulers of Śrīvijaya. For in 992 Śrīvijaya was invaded by the Javanese, and Javanese envoys in China stated that the two countries were at war (1). One imagines that the Śrīvijayan system had now become as intolerable to the Javanese as it was to the Tamils. The threat from Java was temporarily averted after the destruction of the eastern Javanese kraton in 1017, an event which may be a result of the vengeance of Śrīvijaya (2). But I doubt whether Javanese resistance ended. The later Sung accounts of Java indicate that it had become an important commercial country. Chou Ch'ü-fei even says that it was richer than Śrīvijaya and second in wealth only to the Arab countries. (3).

The final and perhaps fatal threat to the ancient interests of Śrīvijaya came from the Chinese themselves, who indirectly had done so much to build up the prosperity of the favoured coast. In Sung times Chinese merchants were going overseas. From China ships could visit Indonesia by the eastern approaches and could avoid the Śrīvijayan trade routes,

(1) Sung shih, 489, 13b ; 17a-17b.

(2) 1016/1017 is M. Damais' revised date for this event; 'Études d'épigraphie Indonésienne', BEFEO, 46, 1, 1952, 64-5, Note 2.

(3) LWTT, 3, 31.

nor is it likely that Śrīvijaya would have dared to interfere with Chinese ships. The Chinese seem to have been specially interested in the Javanese pepper trade (1). By 1178 ships from Canton were wintering in Lamuri in northern Sumatra (2). With the appearance in Indonesia of Chinese merchants themselves the raison d'être of Śrīvijaya, the entrepôt for the Chinese market, would have disappeared. Henceforth the commercial future of Indonesia lay essentially in its commodities, and entrepôts for the convenience of foreigners could only hope to prosper if they were situated close to centres of production. Now as never before a bright day was dawning for the Straits of Malacca (3), and in 1225 Chao Ju-kua gives the significant information that Kan-pei 堅籠, Aru on the Sumatran side of the Straits, had recovered its independence from Śrīvijaya, that it was on the sea route, and that many ships anchored there (4).

(1) Chao Ju-kua describes how Chinese merchants defied imperial orders in order to buy Javanese pepper; Chu fan chih, 24.

(2) LETT, 2, 23.

(3) Idrīsi in 1154 commented on the various perfumes of Rāml (northern Sumatra) and how some of the coastal population swam out to ships passing by in order to sell ambergris; Ferrand, Textes, 1, 181.

(4) CFC, 20:

其國當路口舟船多泊此... 舊屬三佛齊
後因爭戰遂自立為王

Probably ever since the Cōla raids at the beginning of the 11th century Śrīvijaya had relied on naval force to prolong the economic prosperity of Jambi and Palembang. One pictures the last two hundred years of its history as a period of stubborn but hopeless resistance to a new pattern of trade, in which foreigners could be kept from producers only by the use of force. A particular embarrassment to Śrīvijaya must have been the restlessness of its vassals. In 1068-1069 the Tamils claim to have suppressed a revolt in Kedah on behalf of the ruler, presumably the ruler of Śrīvijaya (1). But clearly Śrīvijaya was no longer able to prevent foreigners from visiting the camphor country in north-western Sumatra. In 1088 a Tamil merchant guild erected an inscription at Labu Tuva near Pansur (2). The Cola raids may have weakened Śrīvijaya and made it less easy for its rulers to blockade the harbours of their vassals, the only sure way of denying foreigners access to them.

The evidence is such that we know more of the rise of the ports of northern Sumatra to trading fame than of the collapse of Śrīvijaya. One pictures Śrīvijaya losing control of more and more harbours so that finally it was left with only Palembang and Jambi, abandoned by foreigners and stranded on its repellent coast. In the second half of the 13th century the Javanese kingdom of Singasāri exerted some form of influence in southern Sumatra. Islam, coming in the wake of

(1) The evidence for this curious episode is described in Coedès, *États*, 251.

(2) Nilakanta Sastri, 'A Tamil merchant guild in Sumatra', *Tijds.* 72, 1932, 314.

the Indian trade, was making a modest beginning in northern Sumatra, but the rulers in the south of the island were practising horrible Tantric rites. By the end of the century the trading system which nourished Śrīvijaya had vanished, and the great empire was no more (1). Even its most loyal traders would have moved away to pursue their business in more hopeful centres.

Such is my impression of the dismal prospect which awaited the once favoured coast. During much of the long history of Śrīvijaya its rulers would have been trying to defend an obsolete system of trade, bringing in its wake bitter relations with their neighbours in western Indonesia.

But I do not wish to end this study with the time when Śrīvijaya had become an obstacle to international commerce. My concern has been with its origins, which belong to an honourable period in the history of south-eastern Sumatra, when its inhabitants played an essential part in the economic development of southern China. Its ships helped Buddhists on their travels, and from its harbours many new ideas would have penetrated other parts of western Indonesia. In these ways this coast made a permanent contribution to Asian history. Only in south-eastern Sumatra itself has

(1) Yet Malayu-Jambi, probably the capital at this time, may still have had an outpost on the Malay Peninsula, for the Mongols in 1295 warned the Thai to desist from harming Malayu; Coedès, *Etats*, 343, quoting the *Yüan shih*. The circumstances of the final Sumatran withdrawal from the Peninsula in the face of Thai invasions are one of the numerous problems of Śrīvijayan history awaiting further elucidation.

there been no permanent memorial of the civilisation which once flourished there and made it possible for I Tsing to recommend Śrīvijaya as a suitable centre for Buddhist students before they went to India (1). The coast is remembered today not by its temples or even by its own literary records but in the literature of foreign countries, whose merchants once enjoyed the trading facilities created by its seafarers. The materia medica of China, in spite of the stench of ulcers which it has evoked in these pages, is not the least eloquent memorial to this coast.

(1) Mūlasarvāstivāda-ekaśatakaraṇa, 477c ; Takakusu, Record, xxxiv.

APPENDIX ATHE LO YANG CHIA LAN CHI AS A SOURCE ON KO-YING

Yang Hsüan-chih's Lo yang chia lan chi, written in the middle of the sixth century, has occasionally been mentioned as a source of information about South East Asia (1). There seems to be no justification for this as far as the passage on Ko-ying is concerned (2). The facts which this passage incorporates are likely to have come from third century information and especially from Wan Chên's Nan chou i wu chih (3). An analysis of the passage shows that the monk Buddhahadra 菩提拔隄 is made to utter statements much earlier than the first half of the sixth century, when he came to China (4).

(1) Chavannes in 1903 implied that Ko-ying was known in the sixth century; JA, Nov-Dec, 1903, 530-531. Pelliot did not contradict him but insisted that Ko-ying was also known to Wan Chên in the third century; 'Deux itinéraires', 277, note 2. Professor Wheatley quotes from the Lo yang chia lan chi, though he does not express an opinion on its historical reliability; Golden Khersonese, 19; 23.

(2) Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 51, no. 2092, 4, 1017c.

(3) Two recent editors of the LYCLC each noted a sentence which was similar to a fragment of the Nan chou i wu chih but ^{did} not make the point that this passage is almost entirely based on the Nan chou i wu chih; Chou Tzū-mu's edition, K'o hsüeh ch'u pan shé, 1958, 89-90; Fan Hsiang-yung's edition, Ku tien wén hsüeh ch'u pan shé, 1958, 236-7.

(4) Pelliot states that Buddhahadra came to China in 509; 'Deux itinéraires', 277, note 2.

The passage in the Lo yang chia lan chi falls into four parts. The first contains Yang Hsüan-chih's comments on Ko-ying 歌 磬, a name which is transcribed in the form adopted by Wan Chên:

南中有歌磬國去京師甚遠國土隔絕絕世
不與中國交通雖二漢及魏亦未曾至也

'In the south there is the country of Ko-ying. It is very far from the capital (of China). This land is completely cut off (from China). For generations there has been no communication (between Ko-ying and China). Even in the period of the two Han dynasties and the (third century) Wei dynasty it never sent embassies to China.'

On page 105 I interpreted this passage as reflecting Yang's impression that Ko-ying was isolated from China.

Then follows the statement that Buddhahadra came to China for the first time 今始有沙門菩提拔陀至 . The text implies that he came via Ko-ying and was the first person to arrive in China with information about it.

The next part contains an account of the system of communications between Ko-ying and other parts of South East Asia. I have included in brackets the statements which are borrowings from the Nan chou i wu chih, the fragments of which survive in the T'ai p'ing yü lan. It will be noted that on three occasions Yang modifies Wan Chên's facts by expressing distances in terms of the duration of the journey instead of keeping to Wan Chên's li calculations. The reason may be that

Wan Chên had expressed the relationship between Ko-ying and Chū-chih as 'a month' and Yang wanted to be consistent in his description of the other stages of the journey by mentioning the time taken. There is no evidence that the times Yang quotes are anything but his own invention, though it should be remembered that Yang had access to all the contents of the Nan chou i wu chiH.

自云北行一月日至句稚國北行十一日
至孫典國從孫典國北行三十日至
扶南國方五千里南夷之國最為強大
民戶殷多出明珠金玉及水精玉珍
饌檳榔從扶南國北行一月至林邑國

'(Buddhabhadra) said that he travelled north (from Ko-ying) for a month and reached Kou-chih (I think that it can be claimed that this transcription is based on Wan Chên's Chu-chih 句稚 ; TPYL, 790, 3501a. Yang prefers Wan Chên's Ko-ying to K'ang T'ai's Chia-ying 加荖 ; in the same way he prefers Kou-chih = Chū-chih to K'ang T'ai's Chū-li 拘利 . The NCIWC fragment is translated on page 96). He (then) reached Sun-tien in eleven days (evidently Tien-sun, said by Wan Chen to be 800 li from Chū-chih; TPYL, 790, 3501a). From Sun-tien he went north for 30 days to Funan (TPYL, 788, 3489a, where the distance between Tien-sun and Funan is expressed as 3,000 and more li). (Ko-ying) is 5,000 square li and is the most powerful of the countries of the southern barbarians and has a large population (There is no surviving fragment of the NCIWC which, to my knowledge, contains the statement about the 5,000 square li in connexion with any country. I am inclined to regard it as NCIWC information on Ko-ying, and my reason is that the compilers of the TPYL attribute to Ko-ying the passage about its powerfulness and large population; TPYL, 971, 4305a). It (Ko-ying) produces

bright pearls, gold, jade, crystal, and many area nuts (This is also attributed to Ko-ying in the TPYL's quotation from the LYCLC in 971, 4305a). (Buddhabhadra) went north from Funan for one month and reached Lin-yi (TPYL, 786, 3482b, where the distance is expressed as 3,000 li).

Yang then describes the monk's movements in China. He visited Yang chou and went on to Lo yang, where he was questioned about the southern regions. He is supposed to have replied:

古有奴謂國乘四輪馬為車斯謂國
出火浣布以樹皮為之其樹入火不火然
凡南方諸國皆因城廓而居物饒珍
麗民俗淳善質直好義

Formerly there was Nu-t'iao country (whose people) rode carts driven by four horses (TPYL, 790, 3501b, on Ku-nu 姑奴, translated on page 108). Ssu-t'iao country produces asbestos, which is made from tree bark. When the tree enters fire it does not burn (TPYL, 787, 3485b, translated on page 95). (The inhabitants of) these southern countries live in walled cities (I cannot trace the origin of this statement; it reads like an adaptation of the NCIWC's passage on Ssu-t'iao; TPYL, 787, 3485b, translated on page 108). They produce many rich things (This may be a comment by Yang). The customs of the people are honest and good. They are upright in their dealings and uphold high principles (I cannot trace the origin of this, but I suspect that it is an adaptation of the NCIWC's passages on Lin-yang 林陽 and Shih-han 師漢, contained in TPYL, 787, 3485b and 790, 3501a; in both cases the people were said to be 'virtuous and good 仁善').

The final part of this passage deals with the relations between the southern regions and the western regions. The nomenclature of the countries in the western regions also suggests a third century source.

亦與西國大秦安息身毒諸國交通往
來或三方四方浮浪乘風百日便至率
奉佛教好生惡殺

(These southern countries) are also in communication with the western regions, Ta-ch'in, An-hsi, and Shên-tu (northern India). Floating on the waves and driven with the winds it is possible in a hundred days to reach them (on ships) with three or four square sails (The reference to the sides of the sails may have come from the NCIWC's description of sailing ships contained in TPYL, 771, 3419a). All these countries (? in the southern regions) serve the Buddha, love living things, and hate to kill (This seems like another borrowing from the NCIWC on Lin-yang and Shih-han; the people of the former place honoured the Buddha, while those of the latter could not bear to kill. One has to remember, however, that Yang Hsüan-chih must have had access to the complete NCIWC, in which this passage and also the passage about the Ko-ying products could have been contained.)

I think that the Lo yang chia lan chi can, on account of its patent borrowing, be safely ignored as a source of information about South East Asia. The passage discussed in this note is interesting only for two reasons. It suggests that the Nan chou i wu chih was read by the educated public of China in the sixth century, and it shows how a sixth century Chinese interpreted Wan Chên's information about Ko-ying and concluded that it was out on a limb as far as China's maritime communications were concerned.

APPENDIX B.THE CHINESE TRANSCRIPTIONS OF THE NAMES OF
THE TRIBUTARY KINGDOMS

The names of these kingdoms are known by a number of variants.

Ho-lo-tan

On page 321 it was seen that the first character was rendered as 𠵽 and 𠵽, while the last character was rendered as 𠵽, 𠵽, 𠵽, and 𠵽. I argued that Ho-lo-t'o 𠵽 𠵽 𠵽, which sent its single mission under that name in 430, was the country usually rendered as Ho-lo-tan.

P'o-ta

On pages 338-339 I enquired whether the real name of this kingdom was Shê-p'o-ta 𠵽 𠵽 𠵽, meaning 'a capital city in Shê-p'o = Java'. The kingdom which sent a mission in 435 was certainly known both as Shê-p'o-p'o-ta and Shê-p'o-ta (1). On page 456 I enquired whether P'o-ta was later known as Tan-tan. Neither of these suggestions can be proved, but, in view of the short tributary career of P'o-ta, the uncertainty about the

(1) Note 5 on page 338.

correct form of the transcription is unimportant.

P'o-huang

The variants of the first character in this name provide a good example of the different forms adopted for these transcriptions. The oldest form is P'u-huang 滿黃; it is provided by the Sung Yüan Chia ch'i chü chu 宋元嘉起居注, the contemporary court diary of the chief events in the 424-453 period (1). According to this source P'u-huang sent tribute in 449, and certain tribute articles are mentioned. But, according to the Liu Sung shu, the kingdom which sent tribute in 449 was P'o-huang 婆皇 (2) and P'an-huang 盤皇 (3). The tribute of P'o-huang must have been particularly noteworthy, for 41 types of 'local produce' were sent (4). The equivalence of P'u- 滯 and P'o- 婆 once made me wonder whether the third century P'u-lei 滯美 (5) was later rendered as P'o-li 婆利, a surmise which delayed the time when I realised that P'o-li must have been in Java and not in Sumatra.

Kan-t'o-li

The Liu Sung shu states that in 455 Chin-t'o-li 斤陀利

- (1) TPYL, 787, 3487a.
 (2) LSS, 5, 30a.
 (3) LSS, 97, 8a.
 (4) Ibid.
 (5) Mentioned on page 91.

sent tribute (1), and this is the rendering in the Ts'ê fu yüan kuei in respect of the mission of 441 (2), though a correction at the end of chapter 78 of the Ssü pu pei yao edition of the Nan shih states that in the 453-464 period Kan-t'o-li 干陀利 sent a mission. The Liang shu, also referring to the 453-464 period, calls this kingdom Kan-t'o-li 干陀利, the name by which it is known in the Liang shu (3). The books about its medical practice, mentioned in the Sui shu, contain yet another variant in the form of Kan-t'o-li 乾陀利 (4).

P'o-li

According to the Liu Sung shu P'o-li 溱利 sent a mission in 473 (5). The same history, however, describes the mission of 473 as coming from P'o-li 溱黎 (6). The equivalence of 利 and 黎 is seen in the transcriptions of the name of the rulers of P'an-ta and Shê-p'o-p'o-ta : Sri is rendered in the Liu Sung shu as 舍利 and 師黎 (7). The T'ai p'ing huan yü chi on one occasion renders P'o-li as P'u-li 溱利 (8) and on another occasion as Po-li 波利 (9).

(1) LSS, 6, 11b; 97, 12a.

(2) TFYK, 668, 11381b.

(3) LS, 54, 16b.

(4) See note 1 on page 351.

(5) LSS, 9, 3b. This transcription was used before 443; see page 342.

(6) LSS, 97, 12a. These two references in the Liu Sung shu satisfied Pelliot that only one country was in question; TP, 19, 1920, 267 and 433.

(7) LSS, 97, 8b; 9a.

(8) TPHYC, 176, 11b.

(9) TPHYC, 177, 13a, in connexion with Vijayapura.

I Tsing writes P'o-li 波里 (1).

Tan-tan

This kingdom is first mentioned in the Liang shu as A A (2). In the Sui shu it is also A A (3). In the Hsin T'ang shu the name is ^{oo}𠄎 ^{oo}𠄎 (4). I Tsing knew it as o o , and the provision of a o suggests that he wanted to make it clear that he was rendering a foreign name (5). The T'ai p'ing huan yū chi has A A (6).

(1) Nan hai chi juei hei fa chuan, 205b. The passage is translated on page 389.

(2) LS, 54, 16a.

(3) Sui shu, 82, 7b.

(4) HTS, 222 下, 5b.

(5) Nan hai chi juei nei fa chuan, 205b.

(6) TPHYC, 177, 13a. This passage is translated on page 433.

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- AA Artibus Asiae (Ascona)
- ABIA Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology (Leiden)
- BEFEO Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient (Hanoi)
- Bijd Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde van
Nederlandsch-Indië, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk
Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van
Nederlandsch-Indië ('s Gravenhage)
- BSEI Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises (Saigon)
- EOAS Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
(London)
- CHS Ch'ien Han shu 前漢書
- CLPT Ch'ung hsiu chêng ho ching shih chêng lei pei yung
pên ts'ao 重修政和經史證類備用本草
- CMYS Ch'i min yao shu 齊民要術
- EA Études Asiatiques publiées à l'occasion du vingt-
cinquième anniversaire de l'École Française d'Extrême-
Orient, 2 vols. (Paris, 1925)
- HCS Hou Chou shu 後周書
- HHS Hou Han shu 後漢書

- HJAS Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Cambridge, Mass.
- HTS Hsin T'ang shu 新唐書
- IAL Indian Art and Letters (London); later Arts and Letters, India and Pakistan; later Arts and Letters, the Journal of the Royal India, Pakistan and Ceylon Society
- IHQ Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta)
- IWLC I wên lei chu 藝文類聚
- JA Journal Asiatique (Paris)
- JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society (New Haven)
- JPRS Journal of the Burma Research Society (Rangoon)
- JGIS Journal of the Greater India Society (Calcutta)
- JMBRAS Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Singapore)
- JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London)
- JRASBS Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Singapore)
- JSS Journal of the Siam Society
- KC Kuang chih 廣志
- KCC Kuang chou chi 廣州記
- LS Liang shu 梁書
- LSS Liu Sung shu 劉宋書
- LWTT Ling wai tai ta 嶺外代答
- LYCLC Lo yang chia lan chi 洛陽伽藍記
- MJTG The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography (Singapore)

- MTE Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko
(Tokyo)
- NCIWC Nan chou i wu chih 南州異物志
- PTKM Pên ts'ao kang mu 本草綱目
- SHYK Sung hui yao kao 宋會要稿
- SKC San kuo chih 三國志
- SS Sung shih 宋史
- TFYK Ts'é fu yüan kuei 冊府元龜
- THY T'ang hui yao 唐會要
- Tijd Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap
van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavia, 's Gravenhage)
- Tijd aard Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch aardrijks-
kundig genootschap (Amsterdam)
- TP T'oung Pao 通報. Archives concernant l'histoire,
les langues, la géographie, l'ethnographie et les arts
de l'Asie orientale (Leiden)
- TPHYC T'ai p'ing huan hü chi 太平寰宇記
- TFYL T'ai p'ing yü lan 太平御覽
- TT T'ung tien 通典
- Versp. gesch H. Kern, Verspreide Geschriften onderzijn Toesicht
Verzameld, 15 vols. ('s Gravenhage, 1913-36)
- WHTK Wên hsien t'ung k'ao 文獻通考

Dynastic histories

(Note: I have used the Po-na edition)

Shih chiCh'ien Han shuHou Han shuSan Kuo chihChin shuLiu Sung shuNan Ch'i shuLian shuPei Ch'i shuHou Chou shuSui shuNan shihPei shihChiu T'ang shuHsin T'ang shuSung shihYüan shihMing shih

史記
 前漢書
 後漢書
 三國志
 晉書
 宋書
 南齊書
 梁書
 北齊書
 後周書
 隋書
 南史
 北史
 舊唐書
 新唐書
 宋史
 元史
 明史

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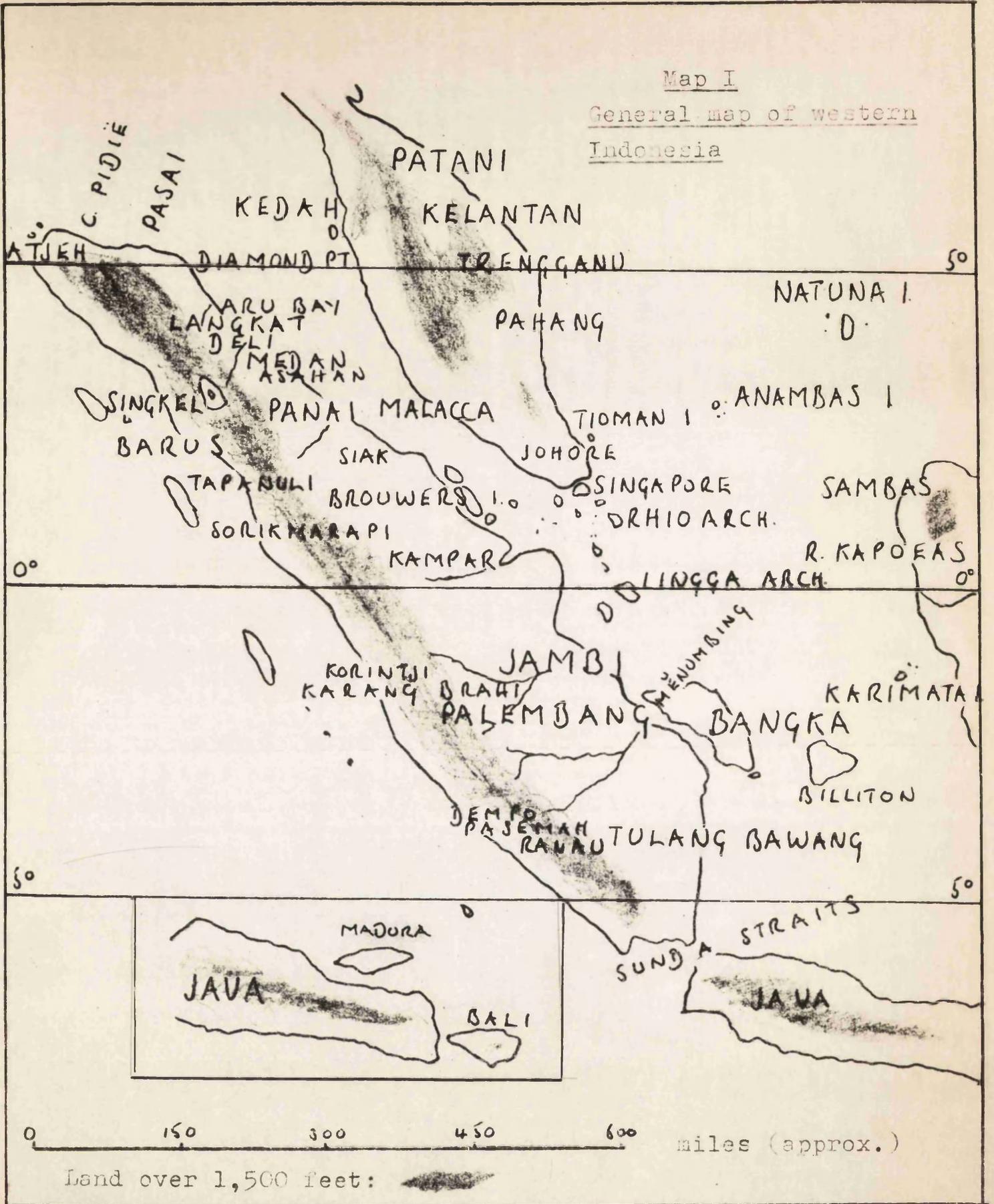
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Map I

General map of western
Indonesia



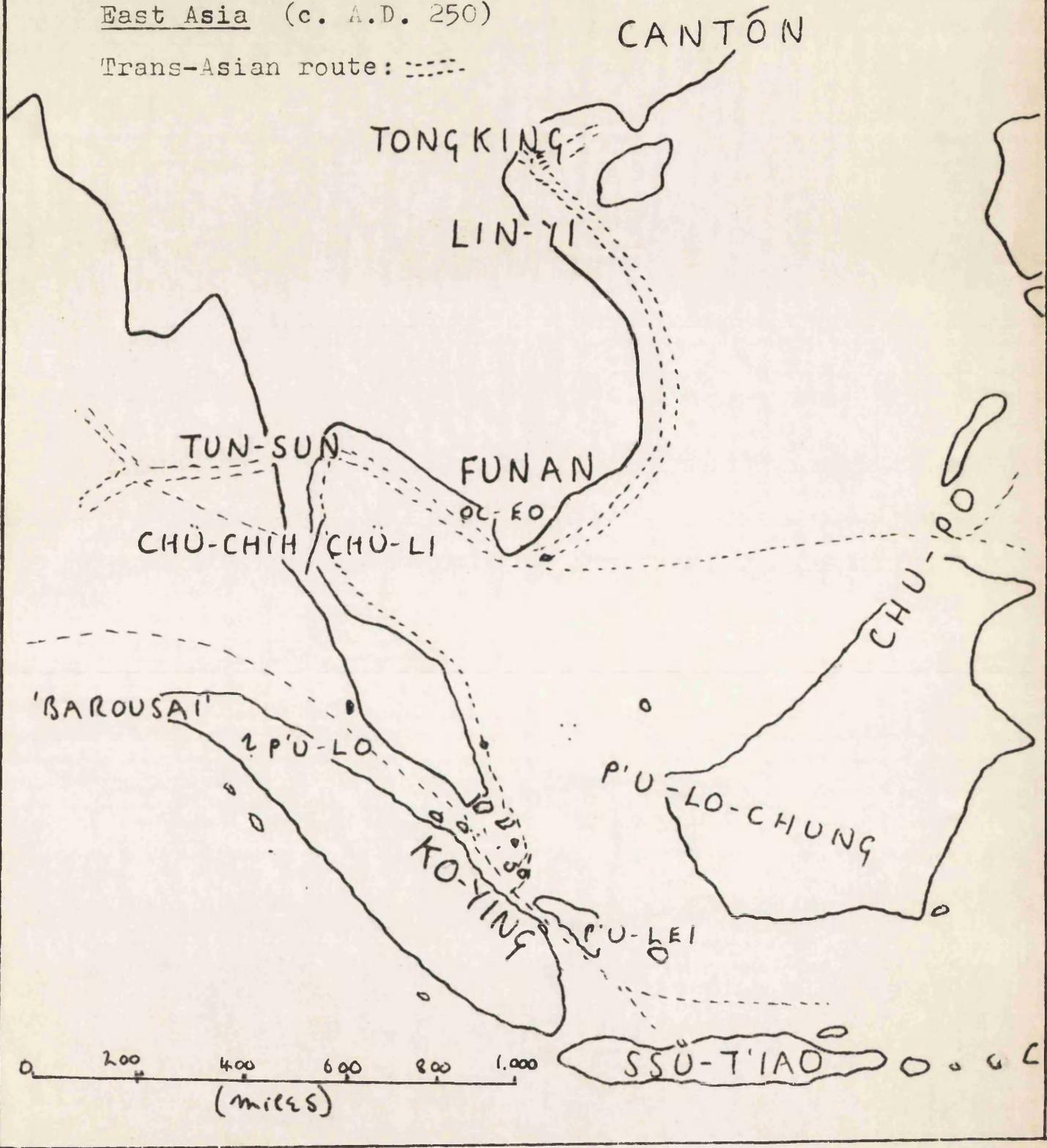
Map 2Maritime trade routes of South East Asia (c. A.D. 250)Explanatory note

- (i) I have not committed myself to an exact location for Ko-ying on the south-eastern coast of Sumatra (see pages 97-101);
- (ii) my justification for identifying Ssu-t'iao with all or part of the island of Java is on page 95 and pages 98-101;
- (iii) I have been guided by Professor Wheatley in respect of Tun-sun's position (Golden Khersonese, Fig. 46). The information about Chü-chih/Chü-li is summarised on page 79 above.

Map 2

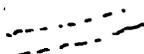
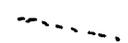
Maritime trade routes of South East Asia (c. A.D. 250)

Trans-Asian route: - - - -



Map 3The 'tributary' kingdoms of South East Asia (A.D. 430 - A.D. 610)Explanatory note

In 430 Ho-lo-tan sent its first mission to China. Ch'ang Chün returned to China in 610. There is plenty of scope for misunderstanding when one commits to a map the imprecise geographical indications in the Chinese texts relating to this period, and I wish to avoid being quoted as discovering the exact sites of these toponyms.

- (i) I have indicated thus  what I believe was the major ocean highway in these centuries. Less important sailing routes are indicated thus:  ;
- (ii) my conclusion concerning the location of the favoured trading coast of Indonesia is marked thus:  ;
- (iii) kingdoms known to the Chinese in this period, but not as a result of missions from them, are enclosed in brackets;
- (iv) I have accepted Professor Wheatley's location of P'an-p'an, Lang-ya-hsiu, and Ch'ih T'u on the Malay (Golden Khersonese, Fig. 47);
- (v) I have assumed that Kan-t'o-li in its prime controlled the adjacent harbours of Jambi and Palembang. From the texts, however, it is not possible to conclude

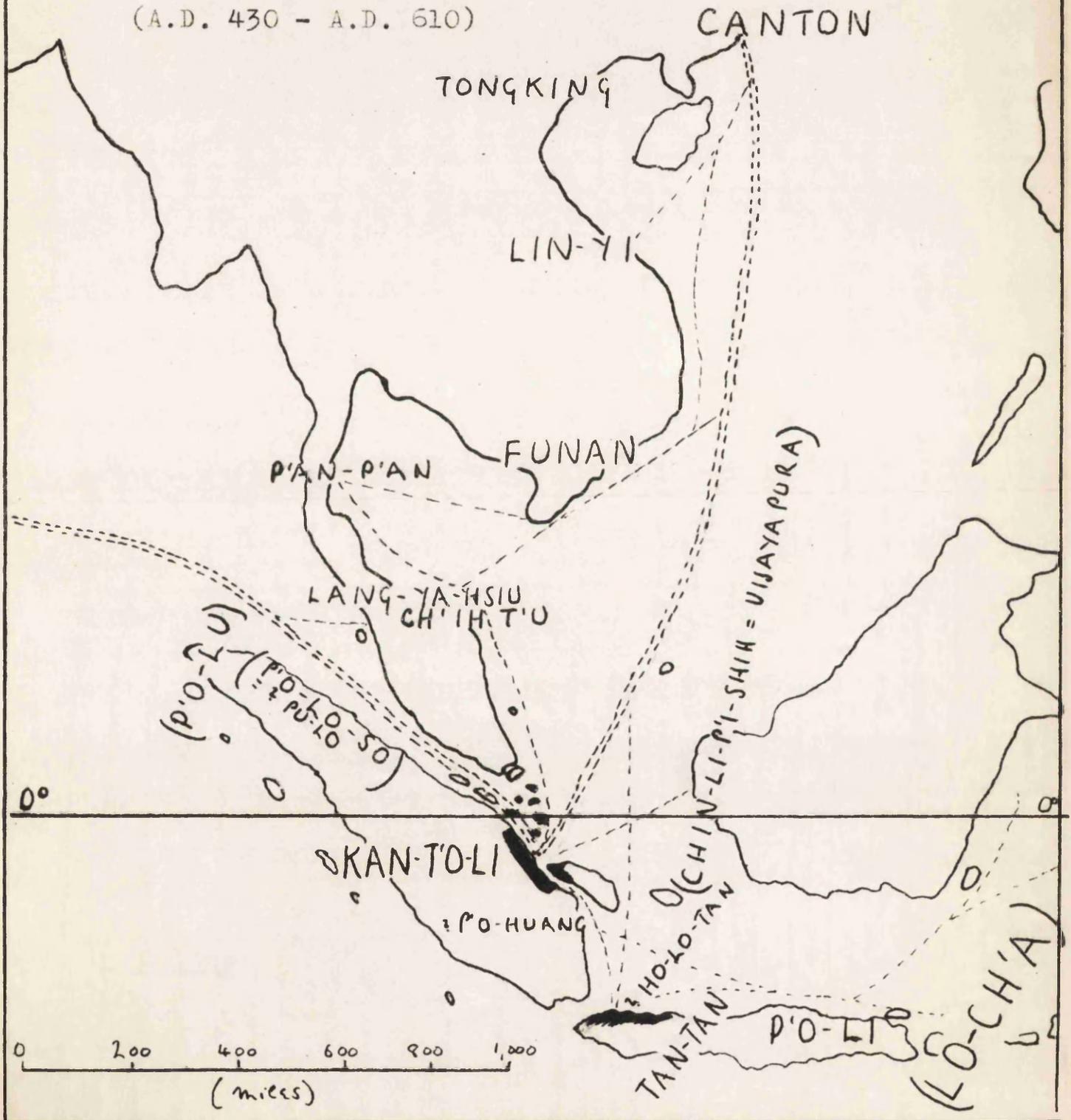
- more than that it was the proto-Malayu in the sense of Jambi, Palembang, or both (see pages 455-462);
- (vi) my reasons for locating the port of P'o-lu = 'Barus' at the extreme north of Sumatra are on pages 395-408;
- (vii) P'o-lo-so's position is based on the seventh century information about P'o-lo (see pages 393-4 and 409). This is the location which seems most probable for P'o-lo-so;
- (viii) faute de mieux I have placed P'o-huang in the region of Tulang Bawang (see pages 443-444);
- (ix) there is no certainty for the location of Ho-lo-tan. The choice seems to be between Palembang and somewhere in western Java, and I have preferred the latter alternative (see pages 475-477);
- (x) there are very strong grounds for locating Tan-tan and P'o-li in Java and in that order (see pages 47 - 443). I do not, however, want to be quoted as suggesting that they should be associated with particular archaeological sites in Java, though I consider that P'o-li, with its long coastline, was almost certainly somewhere in the eastern half of the island. The Chinese may even have thought that Bali was part of the P'o-li kingdom, for it is difficult to believe that the crude population of Lo-ch'a included the Balinese;

- (xi) Lo-ch'a is a name connected by the Chinese with the population of the eastern Archipelago (see pages 421-426). If it is objected that the Chinese would not have described the people of Kutei in eastern Borneo, with their Brahmans, as 'demons', the reply must be that the Chinese are unlikely to have heard of Kutei in the fifth and sixth centuries;
- (xii) I do not give an exact location for Vijayapura in western Borneo, but I regard its position there as certain;
- (xiii) I have not attempted to plot P'o-ta on the map. My suggestion is that it was somewhere in Java (see page 456).

Map 3

The 'tributary' kingdoms of
South East Asia

(A.D. 430 - A.D. 610)

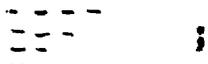


Map 4Western Indonesia in A.D. 695Explanatory note

Here, too, I wish to protect myself from being quoted in support of exact locations for some of these kingdoms. On this map I indicate

(1) the location, but only in terms of islands, of the prominent toponyms of western Indonesia in A.D. 695, the year when I Tsing finally left the region for China. I have assumed that Lo-yüeh on the Malay Peninsula was a seventh century toponym which survived long enough to be recorded by Chia Tan (see page 396 and page 316). I have omitted certain minor toponyms in order to reduce the element of speculation. These are:

- (a) Mo-ho-hsin, between Srivijaya-Palembang and Ho-ling; (page 443);
- (b) To-lo-mo, mentioned in connexion with Tan-tan (page 442);
- (c) To-p'o-té^g, mentioned in connexion with Ho-ling (page 468);
- (d) the places mentioned by I Tsing as lying beyond Vijayapura (page 389);

(ii) the trading coast, offshore islands, and waters which I believe were dominated by the fleets of Srīvijaya in 695. But I do not know what was the relationship at that time between Srīvijaya and western Java. I imagine that Srīvijaya attempted some form of surveillance of the shipping activities of western Java, and I have indicated this possibility by broken lines  ;

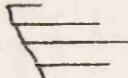
I do not suggest exact locations for Ho-ling, Tan-tan, and P'o-li, though I am confident that they were all in Java and that I have plotted them in their correct juxtaposition. Chüeh-lun is the name of the population of the eastern Archipelago (see pages 422-424).

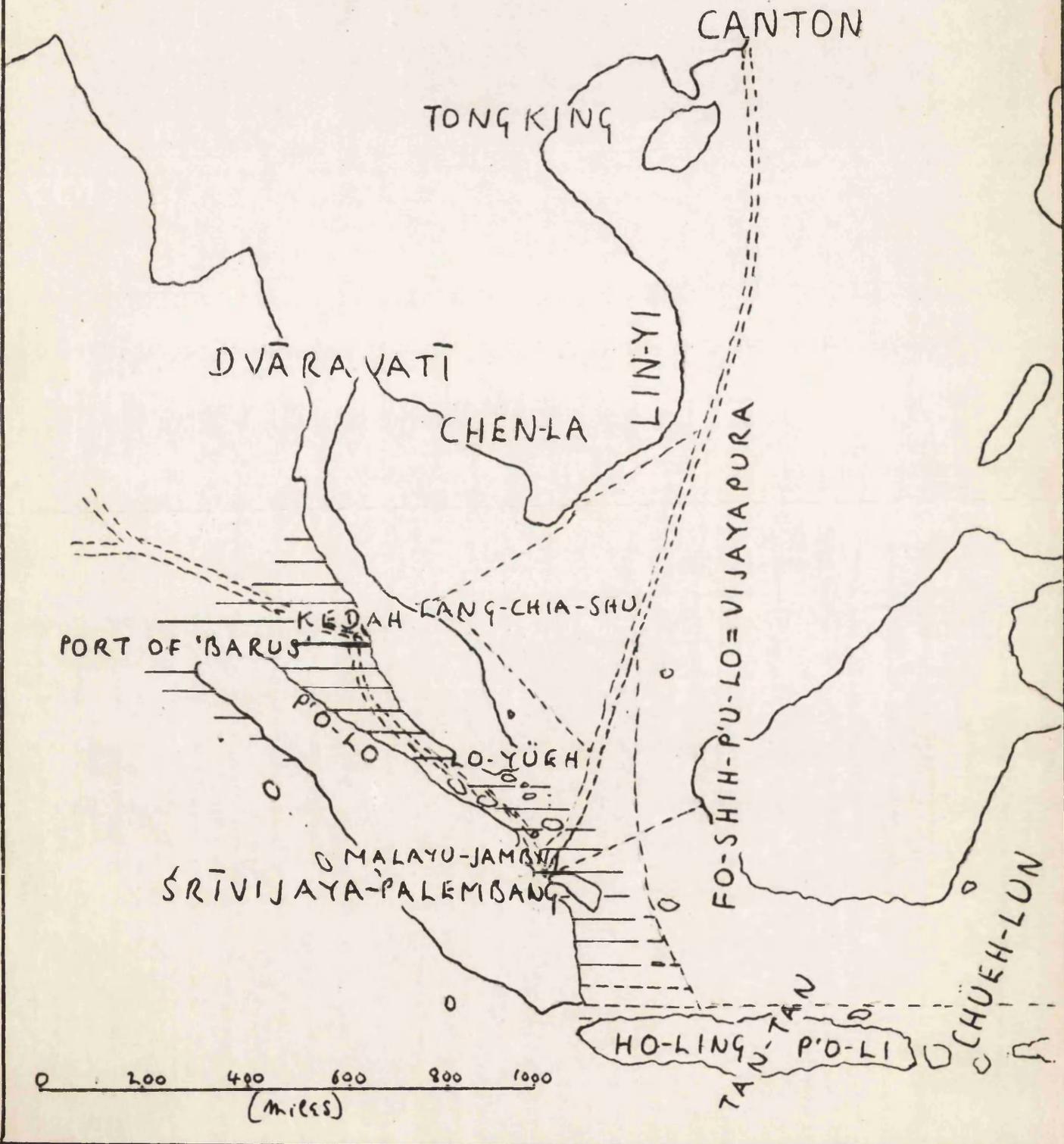
Map 4

Western Indonesia in A.D. 695

Major shipping routes: - - - -

Minor shipping routes:

Coasts and waters dominated by the fleet of Śrīvijaya: 



Map 5

General map of South East Asia

