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(A study on the description by Zhao Rukua)

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Historical studies on ancient Southeast Asia mostly rely on Chinese sources, of which Zhao Rukua's ^(趙汝适) Zhu Fan Zhi ^(諸蕃志) is one of the most important. We know very few about the author. There are no biographical documents found concerning his life. Scholars only found his name in the family tree of the second emperor of the Song Dynasty in a chapter of Song Shi ^{宋史} (History of the Song Dynasty). That means that he is a descendant of the royal family of the Song Dynasty. From the preface of his work written by the author himself we know that he was a customs officer of the southeastern port city of Quanzhou ^{泉州}. In the preface the author also tells us his motive of writing this book.

Zhao Rukua was a hard working scholar. During his service in Quanzhou he studied many Zhu fan Tu, i.e. either maps of different countries or charts of navigation. As he could not find written materials, it was impossible for him to make a comparative study. So he began to interview foreign merchants. He asked them about geographical knowledge of their homeland and the maritime route, not only to China but also to their neighbouring countries, and the economic situation in these countries as well. He translated and compiled these materials and named his book Zhu Fan Zhi ^{諸蕃志} which means “A description of different countries” was finished in the first year of the Bao Qing period, that was 1225 A.C. from its content we know that some paragraphs of his book were copied from another earlier book called Ling Wai Dai Da ^{嶺外代答} written by Zhou Qufei ^{周去非} in 1178 A.C. Hence his description of Southeast Asia was relating to the second half of the 12th century to the first quarter of the 13th century.

Some parts of his text were cited by authors of the 14th century, but the original edition of the Zhu Fan Zhi was lost. In the early Qing period scholars found that its text was still kept in chapter 4262 of the famous encyclopedia of the Ming Dynasty which is called Yong Le Da Dian. It was then transcribed and printed by different editors. The major pan of Yong Le Da

Dian, including the chapter containing the Zhu Fan Zhi, was lost during the Second Opium War in the 1860's when Beijing was occupied by the English and French invaders.

In the 18th century Chinese scholars compared the text of Zhu Fan Zhi and the chapter of descriptions of foreign countries in Song Shi (History of the Song Dynasty) when they were compiling the Si Ku Quan Shu (Great Comprehensive Collection of Classic Chinese Literature), and they found that the chronological order and the arrangement of both texts were the same. So they concluded that in the Yuan Dynasty the description of Zhu fan Zhi was used during the compilation of the Song Shi (1). The text of Zhao Rukua was studied by many Chinese scholars in the past whose notes were contained in every edition of this work, but of whom the only one we know was called Li Diaoyuan.

In the last quarter of the 19th century the German scholar Friedrich Hirth translated a paragraph of Zhu fan Zhi in his work "China and the Roman Orient." The most important study made by Western scholars was the joint work of Friedrich Hirth and the American scholar W. W. Rockhill in 1912 sponsored by the Academy of St. Petersburg. They translated the text into English with notes and published it under the title "CHAU JU-KUA: His work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitles Chu-fan-chi." The publication immediately attracted the attention of many foreign scholars. In the same year Paul Pelliot gave a commentary of their work (2). Since then there has been more scholars who studied and used the descriptions of Zhao Rukua.

In the 1930's the Chinese scholar Feng Chengjun compared the different editions of the Zhu Fan Zhi with descriptions in Tong Dian 通典 (written by Du Yu 杜佑 in the Tang Dynasty), the Ling Wai Dai Da 嶺外代答 of Zhou Qufei, the Weng Xian Tong Kao 文獻通考 (written by Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 in the 13th century), and the Song Shi (History of the Song Dynasty), and published a new edition of the text in 1956. His work contains many new notes based on the researches of Hirth, Rockhill, and Pelliot (3).

In this article we would like to give a description of the ports under the dependency of San Fu Qi and also the trade among them in the 12th – 13th centuries, and compare them with sources earlier or later than the Zhu Fan Zhi. Our description is arranged in order of the ports which appear in the text of the Zhu Fan Zhi. The text of Zhao Rukua in this article is based on Feng Chenjun's edition. The pronunciation of Chinese words in Middle Chinese is based on

the reconstruction of Guo Xiliang's Han Zhi Gu Yin Shou Ce (Ancient Pronunciation of Chinese Words) (4).

San Fu Qi 三佛齊

In Middle Chinese (hereafter written as mc.) it should be pronounced Sam Biwet Dzei. It is the Chinese transcription of Sriwijaya in the Song to the Ming period, in Arab sources known as Sribuza.(4a0). The description of San Fu Qi has drawn the interest of many scholars since the last quarter of the 19th century. Grünenweldt translated it in 1879 and Schlegel made some study about it, while Ferrand did an excellent research based on the works of above mentioned scholars (4a1). Zhou Quifei in the Ling Wai Dai Da described that its geographical position was extremely important that ships of the countries as east as Java and as west as Arabia must pass its straits for trade (4a).

Zhao Rukua said that San Fu Qi had fifteen countries or dependencies at that time. In another place he gave a list of the dependent countries of San Fu Qi the number of which was also fifteen.

According to Zhao Rukua, ships start from Quanzhou in China during the winter season. It took more than one month to arrive at Ling Ya Men 凌牙門 with the north monsoon. Here the "Men" in Ling Ya Men is a pure Chinese word which means entrance or gate. The pronunciation of Ling Ya -in me is Lieng Nga. It should be Lingga (now usually identified as the strait of Singapore) and the name appeared very often in Chinese navigation sources but with different transcription forms. Merchants used to trade one third of their goods here and then enter the country of San Fu Oi.

According to another author, Zhou Zhizhong from Guangzhou 廣州, it took half a month to arrive at San Fu Oi(4b). And Juang Xingzheng 黃省曾, a geographer of the late Ming period, except repeat the descriptions of the authors of the early Ming period, gave also the navigation course from Java to San Fu Qi in his book (4c).

There was no locally minted coin in this country, Zhao Rukua continued, and the people there minted white gold (silver?) for exchange purposes. A lot of merchandise from Da Shi Zhu Fan (Arabia or Muslim and other foreign countries) was brought here. Non-Chinese

merchants used to exchange goods of the local people with gold, silver, porcelain, different silks, sugar, iron, liquor, rice, camphor, etc. This country controlled the maritime route between east and west. If ships passed without wanting to trade with them, they would send out their warships to fight them. Therefore all ships came here for trade.

According to Gong Zhen's 鞏珍 Xi Yang Fan Guo Zhi (Description of the countries in the Indian Ocean), in the early 15th century, people there paid their trade with Chinese coins and their king also bought local products for tribute to China (5).

1. Peng Feng 蓬豐

In mc. Pong P'iung, in Song Shu 宋書 (History of the Song Dynasty which existed from 420 to 479 A.C. and was one of the southern dynasties) it was written as Po Hang (in early mc. Bua Ghung). In the Dao Yi Zhi Lue 島夷誌略 of Wang Da Yuan 汪大淵 and Xing Cuo Sheng Lan 星槎勝覽 of Fei Xing 費信 the Chinese transcription of this name is Peng Heng, in the chart Zhen He's navigation it is Peng Hang,(8) and in Xi Yang Chao Gong Dian Lu and in chapter 325 of Ming Shi 明史 (History of the Xing Dynasty) it is written as Peng Heng 彭亨. This name also appears in later books such as the Dong Xi Yang Kao 東西洋考, (9) Shun Feng Xiang Song and Zhi Nan Zheng Fa (10). It is Pahang in present day Malaysia.

According to Dong Xi Yang Kao, in Peng Heng there is a place called Shi Ya (Stone Cliff) and a mountain called Jin San 金山 (Gold Mountain), and another mountain called Di Pan where a special kind of mat called Jia Wen mat was woven. The mat got its name from a special kind of plant from which it was made. This Di Pan mountain was mentioned again in another page of this book which said that the water outside the Di Pan mountain is 28 tuo (1 tuo is about 1. 65M) and inside of it 43 tuo deep. The editor of this Dong Xi Yang Kao, Xie Fang 謝方, identified Di Pan mountain with the island Chao Man Dao (Pulau Tioman) ((10a). And the last place mentioned by the Dong Xi Yang Kao in Pahang is Lang Bin. The author Zhang Xie also gave a list of local productions and described that in the Ming period the king of Pahang built hotels here. Merchants could choose big or small rooms according to what they wanted to pay. They stayed in these hotels and traded with the local people. The

hotels were not far from the port. When sleeping in the hotels the merchants could hear the noise of the beating of watches coming from the ships in the night (11).

Meanwhile, according to the Shun Feng Xiang Song 顺风相送 in Peng Keng 彭坑 there is an island called Dou Yu (Dou Island) and another island called Tie Zuan Yu (a Chinese name meaning Iron Drill Island). There is a mountain called Da Zhao Chuan Shan (Mountain of Ship-building). Another place there is called Kun Shen. East to the port of Pahang is a shoal. The port is shallow; the depth of the water in the southern part of the port is 20.5 tuo and southeast to it is Zhu Pan Shan (Zhu Pan Mountain) which is considered as another Chinese transcription of the name Di Pan. (11a) There the water is 4 tuo deep. It is a good place to anchor. (12) The Shun Feng Xiang Song and Zhi Nan Zhen Fa also described different maritime routes to Pahang.

2. Deng Ya Nong 登牙儂

In mc. it should be pronounced Teng Nga Nuong, in the Dai Yi Zhi Lue 岛夷志略 it is transcribed as Ding Jia Lu 明史 (History of the Ming Dynasty) and in the Dong Xi Yang Kao and Shun Feng Xian Song it is Ding Ji Yi. In the chart of Zhen He's navigation it is written as Ding Jia Xia Lu. (13) There are also other different forms of transcription. It is Trengganu on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. However, Xie Fang, the editor of the Dong Xi Yang Kao, made a mistake to place it in Indragiri of Sumatra. (13a).

The Dong Xi Yang Kao gave some place names of this country, such as Du Shi Men 碣石門 (a pure Chinese name which means "gate made from one stone"), Tie Ding Yu 铁钉屿 (also a Chinese name, meaning Steel Nail Island). The author explained that this name came from the shape of the island and out of it the water flowed very rapidly. The last place mentioned by the author is E Yu Yu a Chinese name which means Crocodile Island. The author said that the name also came from its shape. There is also a list of local products in this book. In the paragraph on trade the author said that the people of Trengganu trader with Chinese merchants only by coming to the Chinese ships. And the price there was cheap. (14)

The author of the Shun Feng Xiang Song gave the compass direction and the course of navigation from Pahang to Trengganu. (15)

3. Lin Ya Si Gia 凌牙斯加

It should be pronounced Lieng Nga Sie Ka in mc. All the scholars identified it with the Langkasuka of the Nagarakretagama and with the Langashuka of the Arabic Kitab al-Minhaj al-Fakhir fi-‘ilm al-Bahr al-Zakhir. It is a very old name. In chapter 54 of the Liang Shu 梁書 (History of the Liang Dynasty, 503-557 A. C.) it is transcribed as Lang Ya Xiu (in early mc. Lang Nga Sieu). This is the first time that this name appeared in historical literature. Langkasuka was an important port in ancient times. It was recorded many times in different Chinese sources with different opinions about its position. Wang Bang Wei 王邦維 of Beijing University gave a good summary about these studies. (17) In the chart of Zhen He there is a place called Lang Xi Gia 浪西加 (Langkasuka) on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula between Sun Gu Na (Songkla) and Ji Lan Dan 吉蘭丹 (Kelantan) which should be its right position. (18). In the Xing Cuo Sheng Lan there is a paragraph about Langkasuka, here transcribed as Long Ya Xi Liao 龙牙犀角.

Zhao Rukua said that it took ships six days and nights from Dan Ma Ling (Tambralinga) to Lin Ya Si Gia with the monsoon, and people could also get there by the overland road. The author gave a list of “local products”, but some are believed to be imported goods. Trade between the local people and non-Chinese merchants was carried out in this way: they used liquor, rice, silk products, and porcelain, etc. for exchange, but they calculated its costs with gold and silver, for example a deng 登 (Chinese unit) of liquor costs one liang 两 (Chinese traditional unit of weight, about one ounce) of silver or two qian (Chinese traditional unit of weight, 1/10 of liang) of gold. And 2 deng of rice is equivalent to 1 liang of silver while 10 deng of rice costs 1 liang of gold.

So we know that at that time the rate between gold and silver in this region was 1:5, while the rate between rice and liquor was 1:2. Moreover we may conclude that the Chinese units of weight for gold and silver such as liang 两 and qian 錢 were accepted in local markets. Zhao Rukua also said that Langkasuka sent tribute to San Fu Qi three times a year.

4. Ji Lan Dan 吉蘭丹

In mc. Kiet Lan Tan. Wang Dayuan in his book gave the same name. In the Yuan period it was also called Ji Lan Yi De or Ji Lan Yi Dai 吉蘭亦帶 (Yuan Shi 元史, History of the Yuan Dynasty).

The name of the port of Ji Lan Dan appeared in the chart of Zhen He to the north of Jin Jia Xia Lu 丁家下路 (Trengganu).(19) In Chinese sources of the late Ming and the Qing Dynasty this place is transcribed in different forms. It is today's Kelantan in the Malay Peninsula.

The Dong Xi Yang Kao placed it together with Da Ni 大泥 (Patani, in southern Thailand) and gave a description of the political changes there, but mistook it for Bo Ni (Brunei). The author also said that at the end of Jia Jing (1522-1566 A.C.) two thousand sea robbers gathered here and plundered merchant ships. (20) The Shun Feng Xiang Song described the navigation courses and compass direction from Wu Yu 浯屿 (Jin Men Island of China) and Bangkok to Kelantan, and also that of the return voyage. The Zhi Nan Zheng Fa gave the course and compass direction from Jiao Liu Ba (Jakarta) to Thailand and mentioned that Ji Lan Dan was one of the ports of call. (21)

5. Fu Lo An 佛羅安

In mc. Biwet La An. In the Dao Yi Zhi Lue this name is written as Fu Lai An 佛來安. Hirth and Rockhill identified it with Beranang on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula and most of the scholars accepted this suggestion.

Zhou Qufei said earlier that it was a dependent state of San Fu Qi and the governor was appointed by the latter. (22) According to the Zhu Fan Zhi, Beranang should send tribute to San fu Qi three times a year. With regard to the traffic between Beranang and San Fu Qi, Zhao Rukua said that it took ships four days from Langkasuka to Beranang and people could arrive there by the overland road. However, according to Zhou Zhizhong, it took ships four days from San Fu Qi to Beranang and they also could go by the land road.(23) As San fu Qi and the Malay peninsula are separated by sea, Zhou Zhizhong must have mistaken Beranang for San Fu Qi.(24)

Zhao Rukua gave a list of the local products of Beranang and its imported goods from China. The merchants who brought Chinese goods here and sold it in the local market were mostly non-Chinese.

6. Ri Lo Ting 日羅亭

In mc. Yiet La Ding. Most scholars believed that it should be identified with Yirudingam of the Tanjore inscription and placed it on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. (25)

7. Qian Mai 潜美

In mc. Dziem Mei. Feng Chenjun did not agree with the identifications of other scholars and thought that it should be Khmer (Kampuchea). (26) We think, however, that the problem is not yet solved.

8. Ba Ta 拔当

In mc. Bat Dap. Feng Chenjun suggested that it should be the country of the Batak in Sumatra. In the chart of Zhen He there is a place name Hua Mian which means decorated face. (27) The name Hua Mian country also appeared in the Xing Cuo Sheng Lan, while the name of this country in the Ying Ya Sheng Lan and the Xi Yang Fan Guo Zhi was Na Gu Er 那姑儿 and Na Gu Er 那姑儿. The Xi Yang Fan Guo Zhi described that Na Gu Er was a small country, abig hill village only, and situated in the northwest of Sumatra. Its territory extended to the border of Sumatra. All the people here were decorated with a kind of three angles of blue flower, using a needle. Therefore their king was called King of the Decorated Face. (28)

9. Dan Ma Ling 单马令

In mc. Tan Ma Lieng. It should be the Sanscrit name of Tambralinga. In the Dao Yi Zhi Lue it was written as Dan Ma Ling 丹马令, and it was said that its neighbours were Sha Li 沙里 (unidentified) and Beranang. Coedes identified it with Nagara Sridharmaraja, today's Ligor. But Pelliot thought that Nagara Sridharmaraja, today's Ligor. But Pelliot thought that Nagara Sridharmaraja should be Zhao Rukua's Deng Liu Mei 登流眉. Based on Pelliot's study Feng Chenjun suggested that Dan Ma Ling and Deng Liu Mei should be two different Chinese transcription forms of the same. (29) And the editor of the Dong Xi Yang Kao put it in the region of the Tembeling River of Pahang in Malaysia. (30)

Zhao Rukua a list of local products and said that the non-Chinese merchants exchanged the local goods with silk umbrella (perhaps used as a parasol), silk textiles, liquor, rice, sugar, porcelain, pots and earthen bowls, gold and silver plates or jars, etc. This country

gathered gold and silver which they obtained through trade with other countries like Ru Lo Tingto be sent tribute to San Fu Qi.

Zhou Zhizhong gave a short description of this country during the Yuan period: there was a chief but no king. In the Qing Yuan 庆元 period (1195-1200 A. C.) of the Song Dynasty (the Shi Lin Guang Ji 事林廣記 and San Cai Tu Hui put it in the second year of Qing Yuan, i. e. 1196 A. C.) five jars of gold and a golden umbrella were sent to China as tribute from this country. The Yuan government wanted to get profit from this country, but they did not come. There were many rich people there and they liked to hoard treasures. (31)

10. Jia Lo Xi 加羅帝

In mc. Ka La Xiei. At the end of the description about Kampuchea Zhao Rukua said that to the south of Kampuchea there was the dependent country of San Fu Qi which was called Jia Lo Xi. This sentence was copied by the Xi Yang Chao Gong Dian Lu and the Dong Xi Yang Kao. Feng Chengjun identified it with Grahi, that is today's Chaiya. (32).

11. Ba Lin Feng 巴林馮

In mc. Pa Liem Biung. It was also called Jiu Gang 旧港 (Old Port) by the Chinese, (32a) and is today's Palembang.

At the time when Zhen He sailed to the Indian Ocean Palembang was subjected to Java. Gong Zhen said that there were many Chinese who came there from Guang Dong 廣東, Fu Jian 福建, Zhang Zhou 泉州 and Quan Zhou 泉州. In the early years of Hong Wu 洪武 (1368-1398 A. C.) a Chinese called Chen Zuyi escaped here from Guang Dong together with his family and other people and later became the head of a pirate band. Another Chinese called Shi Jinqing 施进卿 who was also a native of Guang Dong sailed to Palembang as an envoy of the Ming government in 1407. He captured Chen Zuyi and sent him back to China where he was executed. The Ming government then ordered Shi Jinqing to be the head in Palembang. After his death he was succeeded by his daughter instead of his son.(33) In the Dong Xi Yang Kao there is a detailed history of the relations between Palembang and China until 1423 A.C.(33a) And in the chart of Zhen He we can find the name Jiu Gang (Old Port).(34)

The Dong Xi Yang Kao gave two place names in Palembang, one of which is called Peng Jia Shan 彭家山 (a pure Chinese name, meaning Mountain of the Peng Family), that is Bangka of the present day. This name can also be found in Zhen He's navigation chart, the Xi Yang Chao Gong Dian Lu, the Shun Feng Xiang Song, and the Zhi Nan Zheng Fa. Another place name mentioned by the Dong Xi Yang Kao is Cheng Tian Wan Shou 咸天万寿 which means the Temple of Long Life Protected by the Sky. This name was given during the Song Dynasty. By the middle of the Ming period, this temple had been abandoned. (34a) The Shun Feng Xiang Song described that east to the port against Bangka was a shallow sea where the depth of the water was 3 Tuo, and further from the coast the water was 30 Tuo deep, but there was a submerged rock. Seamen should, therefore, be careful. (34b)

Except the same description by Gong Zhen, the Xi Yang Chao Gong Dian Lu gave also the course and compass direction to navigate from Java to Palembang. (35) There is also information about navigation courses from Cape Varela in Vietnam to Java, between Zhu Pan Mountain (Pahang) and Jiu Gang (Palembang) to Shun Ta 順塔 (Sunda, the western part of Java) and tile return voyage; the course between Chi Kan 赤坎 (Gui Ren in Vietnam) - Jiu Gang (Palembang) - Shun Ta (Sunda) and v. v.; the course between Jiu Gang (Palembang) and Du Man 杜滿 (Tuban, in eastern java) v.v., the course between Malaka and Jiu Gang; the course from Yao Liu Ba (present day Jakarta) to Thailand; the course from Yao Liu Ba (Jakarta) to Japan, and from Yao Liu Ba to China.(36)

The Dong Xi Yang Kao gave a list of local products, but some of them are believed to be imported goods. With regard to the trade the author said that the costs of merchandise there were calculated with gold, but in reality it was paid by pepper. If the price was 2 Liang of gold, it would be paid with 100 Dan (about 75 KG) of pepper. The people there liked to buy foreign women. Merchants of other countries brought a lot of girls there to be exchanged with pepper. But after they were conquered by java the economy declined and only a few merchants went there. (37)

12. Xing Tuo 新拖

In mc. Sien Ta. It is also written as Sun Ta 順塔 in the old note of Zhu Fan Zhi and as Shun Ta in the Shun Feng Xiang Song as it mentioned the different courses to and from Palembang. It is identified with Sunda in the western part of Java. In the description of java

in the Xi Yang Fan Chao Gong Dian Lu there is place name called Sun Tuo Lo 孔陀羅. The editor of the text, Xie fang, thought that it also should be a Chinese transcription of Sunda. (18)

According to Zhao Rukua, there was a port in Xing Tuo and the water in that port was 6 Zhang (Chinese unit of length, about 3.33 metres). Because the activities of pirates there were only a few non-Chinese merchants came for trade.

The Dong Xi Yang Kao gave a historical description of the relationship between China and Sunda. The title of the description is Xia Gang 下港 ("Xia" means next or under, and "Gang" means port). The author explained that Xia Gang was also called Jao Liu Ba 交留吧 and Shun Ta (Sunda). Historical relations between China and Sunda began in the Tang period. The author gave an account of historical relations with China until 1460 A.C. Some place names, including those worth visiting in the Sunda area were mentioned. Many of them are believed to be gathered from old historical records. These place names are:

1. Xin Chun 新村 (meaning "new village"). The author explained that its old name was Si Chun (Si Village). There were many Chinese here (about 1000 families), and therefore it was called Xin Chu. The head of the village was a native of Yue (Guang Dong 廣東). Contrary to what was told by Zhao Rukua, the Dong Xi Yang Kao said that many ships came there for trade. There were plenty of goods of different kinds. The name Xin Chun (New Village) also appeared in the Xi Yang Fan Guo Zhi which said that the distance between Du Ban 杜板 (Tuban) and Shin Chun was half a day's walk. It was situated east of Tuban, formerly it had been Ge Er Xi 車兒昔 (Gersik)
2. Xi Shan
3. Fu Ding Shan 覆鼎山 (Upside-Down-Cooking-Vessel Mountai). The author explained that the shape of the mountain was like a cooking vessel which was upside down.
4. Su Lu Ma Yi 蘇魯馬益 (the present town of Surabaya). It was a port near a big state. There was a good forest, and the population was more than a thousand families, more than half of them were Chinese. The name Su Lu Ma Yi appeared also in the Xi Yang Fan Guo Zhi which said that the people from Xin Chun went southward about more than a day's travel to arrive at the port of Su Lu Ma Yi. The water there was not salty

and not deep. It was difficult for big ships to enter the Harbour. If one took a small ship the distance to that place was more than 20 Li. The local name was Su Er Ba Ya. There was also a chief of the village who ruled over more than a thousand local families. There were also Chinese. (38c)

5. The village of Ma No Ba Xie 麻若巴歇 (Majapahit) where a battle took place between the army of the Yuan and the Javanese. Later it was mispronounced as Man Zhe Bo Yi 滿若伯夷. There were about 200 to 300 families and 7 to 8 chiefs. The name Man Zhe Bo Yi also appeared in the Xi Yang Fan Guo Zhi which said that people started from Su Lu Ma Yi (Surabaya) with small ships, sailed a distance of 80 Li, and then arrived at a wharf called Zhang Gu 漳估 (Changkir). After landing the people continued to walk in a southwest direction for (one and) a half day, and then arrived at Man Zhe Bo Yi. Here the local people were about 200 to 300 families and the number of chiefs who assisted the king was 7 to 8. (38d) The Xi Yang Chao Gong Dian Lu has another detailed description about Majapahit. (38e)
6. Zhang Gu Shan 漳沽山 (Mountain of Zhang Gu). It was the place where the merchants landed and the place of the wharf Zhang Gu (Changkir) mentioned above (in the Dong Xi Yang Kao).
7. The land of Lang Rei Yie 郎軍野. The Tang Shu (History of the Tang Dynasty) mentioned that the king climbed it and watched the sea from this place. If an instrument is placed there on the day of midsummer the shadow shall be at 2 Chi (Chinese traditional unit of length, about 0.33 metre) and 4 Chun (about 0.1 Chi).
8. The Ying Wu Shan 鸚鵡山 (Parrot Mountain) which was thus called because there were a lot of parrots.
9. The Stone Anchor which was said to be left behind by Zhen He. Its weight was 100 Jin (about a half KG). But even with the strength of more than two thousand men the stone could not be lifted. After it was finally moved to another place, there was pestilence continually, so the king ordered to return it to its former-place.
10. The Ji Li Men 吉利門 (Lucky Gate), the place where the army of the Yuan arrived.
11. The town of Zhe Po (Java). According to the description in the Tang Shu (History of the Tang Dynasty) about Ke Ling 訶陵 island, the king lived in Zhe Po town.

12. The town of Po Lu Jia Si 婆露加斯. The Tang Shu said that none of its 28 neighbouring countries could subjugate it.

13. The port of Dan Shui 淡水. The distance between this port and Su Lu Ma Yi 蘇魯馬益 was about 20 Li (one Li is about 500 metres).

The author first gave a list of local products and then described the trade among Chinese, Portuguese, and Dutch merchants with the local people:

When Chinese ships approached the port, a chief came and negotiated with the ship's captain. The Chinese presented a basket of ranges and two small umbrellas. Then the chief reported to the king. When ships anchored in the port, merchants usually had to present gifts. The king had four local Chinese and two natives as his financial secretaries, and the Chinese who could speak the (...) language acted as interpreters. Each ship needed one interpreter. The (...) ordered to dig two ditches outside the town; he also established hotels. In the morning people went to the ditches for trade. Trade stopped at noon. The king collected taxes every day. The Hong Mao Fan 紅毛番 (Foreign People with Red Hair, i.e. the Dutch) who came to Xia Port (Sunda) built a storehouse of earth to the east of the big ditch, and the storehouse built by the Fu Lang Ji 佛朗机 (Feranggi or Franks, i.e. the Portuguese) was to the west of the big ditch. These two foreign people came here every year. They used silver coins for trade, while the local people used tin coins. Every 1000 coin was equivalent to one Guan 貫, and 10 Guan is one Bao (bag). A Bao of tin coins (10,000) is equal to a Guan silver coin. The Xi a Port (Sunda) was a place where people could easily find connections to other places. When the Chinese arrived while the ships of other local dependent countries had not yet come, the Chinese merchants sold their goods in exchange for silver or tin coins. When the goods from the other countries had arrived, the Chinese bought these with their silver and tin coins. Some of the Chinese started their return journey earlier, while others postponed their departure as they had to wait for these foreign ships. (39)

The Xi Yang Fang Guo Zhi gave the navigation course from Champa (in Vietnam) to Xin Chun (New Village), (40) and the Shun Feng Xiang Song gave several courses and the compass direction to and from Sunda. (41)

14. Jian Mie 堅蔑

In mc. Kam Miet. Feng Chengjun thought it should be Kampar in the east coast of Sumatra. In the chart of Zhen He's navigation there is a port called Gan Bei 甘杯. The editor Xiang Da found it difficult to identify the place, but Feng Chengjun suggested that it should be another transcription form of Kampar.(42)

Zhao Rukua said that this place was at the main crossroads so that many ships stopped here. From San Fu Qi with the good monsoon it took ships half a month to arrive here. In the past it was a dependent state of San Fu Qi, but as a result of war its chief declared himself as a king. In the paragraph about Gu Lin (Quilon) in the Lin Wai Dai Da the author, Zhou Qufei, said that the ships of Jian Mie went to Quilon every year and sold elephants and cows.(43)

15. Lan Wu Li 藍無里

In mc. Lam Miu Lie. In the Dao Yi Zhi Lue the name is Nan Wu Li 喃無里, in the Ying Ya Sheng Lan, the Xi Yang Fan Guo Zhi, and the Xi Yang Chao Gong Dian. Lu it was written as Nan Bo Li 南薄里, and in the Ming Shi (History of the Ming Dynasty) the name is Nan Bo Li. In the navigation chart of Zhen He there is a place called Nan Wu Xing 南五星 which must be a mistake for Nan Wu Li 南無里. The original name is Lambri which is in Samudra (- Pasai).

The Xi Yang Fan Guo Zhi described that ships started from Samudra and sailed directly westward for three days and nights with the good monsoon, and then arrived in the country of Lambri. It was situated on the coast. There were only more than 1000 families, all of them Muslims. Coins were used there for trading.

In the Shun Feng Xiang Song different navigation courses are given passing the sea of Lambri. (44).

16. Xi Lan 細蘭

In mc. Siei Lan, i. e. Ceylon or present day Sri Lanka. We believe that the description about Sri Lanka needs to be elaborated in a separate study. Although it is here mentioned that Xi Lan was a dependency of San Fu Qi, more evidence is needed to substantiate such claims. But whatever the nature of Xi Lan's relationship with Sriwijaya, it is once again made clear in

the the Zhu Fan Zhi that in the thirteenth century the link between these countries was still close as it had been in previous centuries.

Notes

(1) Feng Chengjun, *Zhu Fan Zhi Jao Zhu* (Annotated edition of the *Zhu Fan Zhi*), p. 1.

(2) *Toung Pao*, 1912, pp. 446-181.

(3) See note (1), *Zhong Hua Hua Ju*, Beijing, 1956.

(4) Published by Beijing University, 1986.

(4a0) *Xi Yang Fang Guo Zhi*, edited and annotated by Prof. Xiang Da, published by *Zhong Hua Shu Ju* Beijing, 1982. See p. 33, note (I).

(4a1) *Journal Asiatique*, 1917, pp. (...) - 335.

(4a) Published by Shang Wu Press before 1949, according to the edition of *Zhi Bu Zu Zai Cong Shu*.

(4b) *Yi Yu Zhi* (Description of Different Regions), annotated and edited by Lu Junling, published by *Zhong Hua Shu Ju*, Beijing, 1981, see p. 41. In the Yuan period the author had been an officer and had also travelled six times to different countries as an envoy.

(4c) *Xi Yang Chao Cong Oian Lu* (Tributes from Different Countries), written by Huang Xingzeng, annotated and edited by Xie Pang, published by *Zhong Huan Shu Ju*, Beijing, 1982, see p. 33. The book was finished in 1620 A.C.

(5) *Xi Yang Fan Guo Zhi*, see p. 11. The author, Gong Zhen, was a native of Nanjing. He accompanied Zhen He to the Indian Ocean.

(8) *Zhen He Hang Hai Tu* (Chart of Zhen He's Navigations), ed. by Prof. Xiang Da, published by *Zhong Hua Shu 1 u*, Beijing, 1982, p. 48, chart 15.

(9) Written by Zhang Xie, edited by Xie Fang, published by *Zhong Hua Shu Ju*, Beijing, 1981, see p. 77. The author, Zhang Xie, was born in 1574 and died in 1640.

(10) Liang Zhong Hai Dao Zhen Jing (Two Charts of Navigation), edited and annotated by Prof. Xiang Da, published by Zhong Hua Shu Ju, Beijing, 1982, see p. 257 index.

(10a) See p. 176 and p. 268, index.

(11) Dong Xi Yang Kao, pp. 78-80 (see (9)).

(11a) Two Navigation Books, see index p. 241.

(12) Shun Feng Xiang Song, pp. 46-47, see note (10).

(13) Zhen He Hang Hai Tu, p. 47, chart 14, see note (8).

(13a) Dong Xi Yang Kao, index, p. 259.

(14) Dong Xi Yang Kao, p. 82.

(15) Liang Zhong Hai Dao Zhen Jing, pp. 63-154.

(17) Da Tang Xi Yu Qiu fa Gao Seng Zhuan Jiao Zhu (The Life of the Monks of the Tang Dynasty who travelled to the West), edited and annotated by Wang Bang Wei, published by Zhong Hua Shu Ju, Beijing, 1988. See pp. 74-76.

(18) See chart 14, p. 47.

(19) See chart 14, p. 47.

(20) pp. 55-59.

(21) Liang Zhong Hai Dao Zhen Jing, pp. 53, 61, 62, 174.

(22) Ling Wai Dai Da, p. 22.

(23) Yi Yu Zhi, p. 42.

(24) Yi Yu Zhi, pp. 42-43, note (2).

(25) Feng Chenjun, p. 15, note 12.

(26) Feng Chenjun, p. 15, note 13.

(27) See chart 18, p. 64.

(28) See p. 20.

- (29) Feng Chenjun, p. 10, note (1); p. 15, note (15); and p. 17, note (1).
- (30) See Index, p. 288.
- (31) Yi Yu Zhi, p. 40.
- (32) See p. 8, note (3); and p. 15, note (16).
- (32a) Xi Yang Fan Guo Zhi, p. 11, and Xi Yang Chao Gong Dian Lu, p. 33.
- (33) Xi Yang Fan Guo Zhi, pp. 11-12. This description of Gong Zhen was a revised copy of the description of Ying Ya Sheng Lan. Shi Jinqing travelled to the Indian Ocean with Zhen He.
- (33a) See pp. 5-62.
- (34) See chart 15, p. 48.
- (34a) See p. 63.
- (34b) See p. 43.
- (35) See p. 33
- (36) Liang Zhong Hai Dao Zhen Jing, pp. 43, 44, 46, 56, 57, 64, 65, 69, 70, 85, 174, 194.
- (37) Dong Xi Yang Kao, pp. 63-65.
- (38) See p. 28.
- (38a) See pp. 6-7.
- (38b) See p. 4.
- (38c) See p. 7.
- (38d) See p. 7.
- (38e) See p. 20.
- (39) Dong Xi Yang Kao, pp. 41-48.
- (40) See p. 18.
- (41) See pp. 56, 57, 64, 65, 67, 68.

(42) Feng Chenjun, p. 20, note (1); Zhen He Hang Hai Tu, chart 17, p. 52; p. 14 index.

(43) See note (4a), p. 23.

(44) Liang Zhong Hai Dao Zhen, p. 238, index.