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Champa in the *Song hui-yao*: A draft translation

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Translation of the Account of Champa contained in the *Song hui-yao ji-gao* (宋會藥輯稿) of the 12th century¹

The country of Champa² lies to the south-west of China. Sailing across the ocean to the south, San-fo-qi³ is a five-day journey. Overland, to the country of Bin-tuo-luo⁴ is a one-month journey. This country is subject to Champa. To the east, the country of Ma-yi⁵ is a two-day journey, while Pu-duan⁶ is a seven-day journey. To the north, it is a two-day journey to Guang-zhou, and to the north-east it is a one-month journey to Liang-zhe.⁷ To the north-west, it is a two-day journey to Jiao-zhou,⁸ but overland it is a half-month journey. [Champa's] territory extends from east to

¹ This account is contained in the 197th volume (蕃夷四) of the original text. The Champa text is found on pp. 7744-7755 of Volume 8 of the edition published by Zhong-hua shu-ju in Bei-jing in 1957.

² “Champa” is the common translation of the Chinese term “Zhan-cheng” (占城), literally “the city of the Chams.”

³ Conventionally translated as Srivijaya, but seemingly a Chinese representation of the Arabic toponym Zābaj, through Hokkien vernacular pronunciation sña-but-zue of the characters 三佛齊. For a discussion of the references to Zābaj in Arabic texts, see G.R. Tibetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Materials on South-east Asia*, E.J. Brill, Leiden and London, 1979. pp. 100-118.

⁴ This toponym Bin-tuo-luo (賓陀羅) appears to be a variant of Bin-tong-long (賓瞳龍), which is the most common Chinese representation of the name Pandurang[a]. For some studies of this polity, see P. Dupont, “Le Sud indochinois aux VI^e et VII^e siècles. Tchen-La et Pāduranga”, *Bulletin de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises*, XXIV-1 (1949), pp. 9-25; and Paul Pelliot, “Textes chinois sur le Pāduranga” in *BEFEO*, Tome III (1903), pp. 649-654. However, some Chinese texts suggest two similarly-named polities subordinate to Champa in this period. The 12th-century text *Ling-wai dai-da* (嶺外代答), under its account of the country of Champa, notes: “Subordinate [to Champa] are the country of Bin-tong-long and the country of Bin-tuo-ling” (其屬有賓瞳龍國賓陀陵國). See Zhou Qu-fei, *Ling-wai dai-da jiao-zhu* (Variorum edition of *Ling-wai dai-da* annotated by Yang Wu-quan), Zhong-hua shu-ju, Bei-jing, 1999. See p. 77. Most commentators consider this to be an error on the part of Zhou Qu-fei, probably as a result of taking two variant Chinese representations of the toponym Pandurang(a)/Phan Rang to be two separate polities. Panduranga was likely a major port in the 11th century. See the two early 11th-century Islamic tombstones from Panduranga as detailed in Paul Ravaisse, “Deux inscriptions çoufiques du Campā”, *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 20: 2 (1922), pp. 247-289. Doubt has, however been cast upon the provenance of these two inscriptions.

⁵ “Ma-yi” (麻逸) is one of various ways of representing a polity name/toponym, often rendered as Mait. There seems to be an agreement that it lay in the modern Philippines Islands. Some suggest that it was the precursor of Maynila/Manila, while others aver that it represented Mindoro.

⁶ “Pu-duan” (蒲端) likely represents the toponym Butuan, a name which continues in use today for Butuan City which is located in the Agusan Valley within the modern province of Agusan del Norte in the northeastern part of Mindanao, the Philippines. The *Song-hui-yao ji-gao* also contains an account of Pu-duan, which has been translated into English by William Henry Scott in *his Filipinos in China before 1500*, China Studies Program, De La Salle University, Manila, 1989, pp. 27-28. For details of the 9th-13th century boats excavated in the Butuan area, see Margarita R. Cembrano, *Patterns of the Past: The Ethno Archaeology of Butuan*. For further details of Butuan-Champa connections, see Geoff Wade “On the Possible Cham Origin of the Philippines Scripts” in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* Vol 24:1 (March 1993), pp. 44-87. See particularly pp. 83-85.

⁷ Literally, the “two Zhe” (兩浙), the name of a Song administrative circuit, administered from the modern Hang-zhou and comprising much of the modern province of Zhe-jiang, Shang-hai Municipality and the southern part of Jiang-su Province.

⁸ Jiao-zhou (交州), a Tang administrative division including the Red River Valley. The capital varied in location over time, but the reference here suggests that the time/distance measured is to the Red River delta.

west for 700 *li*⁹, and from north to south for 3,000 *li*. The south is called Shi-bei¹⁰ *zhou*¹¹, the west is called Shang-yuan¹² *zhou*, and the north is called Wu-li¹³ *zhou*. The country has no walled cities, but has over 100 villages. The village clans¹⁴ number 300-500 or perhaps even 700. There are also district and town names.

The land produces fibrous and high-quality gharu wood,¹⁵ betel-nut,¹⁶ ebony,¹⁷ sapan wood, white cane, bee's wax,¹⁸ kapok, floral cloth, damask, white fine cotton cloth, rattan mats, *bei-duo* leaf¹⁹ mats, and gold, silver and iron ingots. In terms of grains, they do not have wheat. They do have [non-glutinous] rice, millet and hemp. For each *hu*²⁰ of seeds which the officials provide, the tax payable is 100 *hu* of product. They have lotus, sugar-cane, bananas, and coconuts. In terms of birds and animals, there are many peafowl and rhinoceros. They also raise many cattle and water buffalo. However, they do not have donkeys. There are also mountain cattle,²¹ but they cannot be used for ploughing. They are only killed in sacrifice to the spirits. When they are about to be slaughtered, a medium is instructed to offer prayers, which sound thus: "A-luo-he-ji-ba"²². In translation, this means: "May he be early reborn." When people capture rhinoceros or elephants, they are all given to the king. Many of the people of the country ride elephants. Some use mountain chairs made of soft cloth, while others trade for horses in Jiao-

⁹ A Chinese *li* is usually ascribed an equivalence of one-third of a mile.

¹⁰ "Shi-bei" (施備), obviously representing a non-Chinese name. Some have attempted to see "Sri Vijaya" in these two characters, but this equivalence is difficult to endorse. In the *Ming shi-lu* of the early 15th century, a port named Shi-pi-nai Port (尸毘奈港口) is recorded in Champa (*Tai-zong shi-lu* juan 60.1a-4a of 1406 CE). This likely represents the same name as does "shi-bei". "Shi-pi-nai" is apparently a transcription of Sri Vinaya (Sri Banoy), the port of the former Cham capital at Cha Ban. It is the modern port of Qui Nho'n.

¹¹ "Zhou" (州) is a widely used term for Chinese administrative divisions, variously rendered as region, prefecture or department.

¹² "Shang-yuan" (上源), literally "Upper Source". This may well be a translation rather than a phonetic representation of the name of the region.

¹³ "Wu-li" (烏里), a representation of a non-Chinese term. Likely equivalent to the Cham toponym Ulik/Ralīk, as attested in a 12th century Mi-so'n inscription. See L. Finot, "Notes d'épigraphie XI Les inscriptions de Mi-so'n", in *BEFEO*, Tome IV (1904), pp. 972 and 975.

¹⁴ "Cun-luo-hu" (村落戶).

¹⁵ "jian-chen xiang" (箋沉香). This might also be translated as "Poor and fine qualities of gharu wood" See Paul Wheatley, "Geographical Notes on some Commodities involved in Sung Maritime Trade", *JMBRAS*, Vol. 32., pt 2, (June 1959), p. 71 and Friedrich Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi*, St Petersburg, 1911, p. 206.

¹⁶ Using the Chinese name "bin-lang", which derives from the Austronesian term "pinang".

¹⁷ 烏楠木 (wu-man-mu). The fact that earlier representations use the characters 烏文木, which give a similar pronunciation in Cantonese, suggests that at least part of the term is the transcription of a non-Chinese name for ebony. See Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 216. This could be linked with the Cham name "mökia" or the Khmer "mak peng".

¹⁸ 黃臘, rather than the more common 黃蠟.

¹⁹ 貝多葉. The leaves of the Nipa or Palmyra palms. *Bei-duo* derives from Sanskrit "patra", for leaf.

²⁰ A Chinese unit of volume. During the Song period, approximately equivalent to 33.5 litres.

²¹ Probably the gaur (*bos gaurus*).

²² Most likely the Arabic/Islamic phrase "Allahu akhbar" (Allah is Great). The "ji" is pronounced "kip" in Hokkien..

zhou. They eat the flesh of mountain goats and “shui si”.²³ Their customs and clothing are similar to those of the country of Da-shi.²⁴ They do not have silk or silkworms. Rather, they use fine white cotton cloth to bind the abdomen and it hangs down to the feet. The upper garments have narrow sleeves. They gather the hair into a coiffure, but let the remaining long strands trail down the back. In their trading, they do not use strings of cash. They use only gold and silver as value standards. For smaller amounts, they sometimes use cottons or pieces of brocade to fix the value of trade goods. In terms of musical instruments, they have the *hu-qin*,²⁵ flutes, drums and large drums. The musical groups also include dancers. The king binds his hair²⁶ at the back of the head, and drapes himself in a cotton robe. He wears a gold filigree crown, decorated with seven varieties of jewels. He also wears necklaces as ornaments for the clothing. The shins are left exposed and he wears leather shoes without socks. Women also gather their hair at the back of the head, but do not use hairpins or combs. Their clothing and modes of salutation are the same as those of the men. Every day at noon, the king sits in his meditation seat. Sometimes, he goes out on his elephant, either hunting or watching fish. In either case, it will be several days before he returns. If it is a journey nearby, he will ride in a cloth litter, while if the trip is distant, he will ride on an elephant or a wooden sedan-chair, carried by four persons. At the front of the entourage, there would be a person carrying the betel-nut dish who would lead the way, while the followers would number over 1,000, each carrying bows and arrows, swords, spears and shields. When the people see [the royal entourage], they make a single prostration. He goes out every day or so. Each year, when the paddy is ripe, the king cuts a handful of paddy. His followers and a mass of women then compete to reap the paddy. The king appoints either his elder brother as deputy king, or his younger brother as secondary king. There are eight senior officials, two each for the east, west, south and north, and they separately handle their respective duties. They are without salary, but the localities which they administer are required to provide for them. In addition, there are a further 50-plus civil officials, with titles such as bureau director, deputy director, and exam graduate.²⁷ They handle matters such as administration of storehouses. They are likewise unsalaried, but are provided with turtles and fish to eat and are exempted from conscription²⁸ demands. There are also 12 treasury²⁹ keepers, and over 200 commanders of the military troops. These officials are all without monthly salaries. There are over 10,000 crack troops³⁰, each of whom is provided with two *dou*³¹ of paddy grain monthly and from three to five pieces of cloth for both their winter and summer clothing. In the evening, solely the king sleeps in a bed, while all the various ministers sleep on floor mats. When the ministers close to

²³ “shui-si” is an unidentified water mammal. It was reportedly similar to a cow, according to the *Nan-yue-zhi* (南越志). The *Xin Wu-dai shi* also records that the people of Champa eat this “shui-si”.

²⁴ Da-shi (大食), deriving from the Persian name Tazi, referring to a people in Persia, it was later used by the Persians to refer to the Arab lands. The Chinese used it from the Tang dynasty until about the 12th century to refer to Arabs.

²⁵ A generic name for two-stringed bowed instruments.

²⁶ The Chinese term suggests an ancient style of dressing the hair in a bun.

²⁷ These titles are all formal Chinese titles and suggest little about the actual titles or functions of the Champa officials.

²⁸ Here the *Song shi* variant of *mian tiao yi* (免調役) is preferred to the *Song Hui-yao*'s *mian tiao she* (免調設).

²⁹ The *Song shi* variant *tang-lin* (幣廩) is here preferred to the *Song Hui-yao*'s *bi-lin* (幣廩).

³⁰ *sheng-bin* (勝兵).

³¹ A Chinese unit of volume, equivalent during the Song dynasty to approximately 6.7 litres.

the king see the ruler, they kneel³² in a mark of respect. Those who are a little more distant just join their hands in salute. It is their custom to annually, on the 15th day of the 12th lunar month, to bind together timber into a pagoda outside the city walls. The king and the ordinary people place clothing as well as aromatic and medicinal materials on the pagoda and then they burn it as a sacrifice to Heaven. When people fall ill, they immediately gather fresh medicinal herbs and ingest them.

In terms of punishment, they have cangues and chains. For minor transgressions, four persons spread-eagle the offender on the ground, and a rattan pole is used to beat him. Two people, one on each side, take turns in beating him. Depending on the crime, the number of lashes might be 50 to 60 or even up to 100. Those sentenced to death are tied to a tree, a spear is rammed down the gullet and their head is removed. For wilful murder or robbery with murder, it is ordered that the offender be trampled by elephants or that an elephant grips the offender with his trunk and dashes him to the ground. The elephants are all used to this, and when an offender is brought to them, the elephant handlers are told to instruct them several times, after which they understand their task. In respect of illicit sexual liaisons, both the man and the woman submit an ox as atonement for the offence. Those who lose the king's property are bound with cord at an isolated pond. Only when full restitution of the property is made are they released from there.

In previous dynasties, this country rarely had contact with China. During the Xian-de reign of the Zhou (954-60 CE),³³ an envoy sent by their king Shi-li Yin-de-man (釋利因德漫)³⁴ offered tribute.³⁵ In the twelfth month of the first year of the Jian-long reign of Tai-zu (Dec 960/Jan 961),³⁶ the envoys including Pu He-san (菩訶散)³⁷ and Bu-jun (布君), who had been sent by the king Shi-li Yin-ta-man (釋利因塔蠻),³⁸ came to offer tribute of local products including rhinoceros horn and elephant tusks. In the first month of the second year of the reign (Jan/Feb 962), the envoy Pu He-san (菩訶散) and others, who had been sent by the king Shi-li Yin-tuo-pan (釋利因陀盤), came and offered tribute to the Court. The memorial was written on *bei-tuo* leaves³⁹, and it was contained within a box made of aromatic wood. They presented in tribute rhinoceros horn, elephant tusks, “dragon brain” camphor, other aromatics and medicinal

³² The term used here is “hu-gui” (literally: the “foreign kneel”). It refers to a form of genuflection introduced to China by Buddhist monks from India and Central Asia, by which the right knee is placed on the ground next to the left foot.

³³ A reference to a reign title used 954-960 CE during the Posterior Zhou dynasty of the Five Dynasties

³⁴ Likely representing Śri Indravarman.

³⁵ The *Song Shi* (juan 489) account of Champa provides more details of this mission noting: “During the Xian-de reign of the Zhou, the official Pu-he-san (菩訶散) who had been sent by their king She-li Yin-de-man (釋利因德漫)³⁵ offered tribute of local products. These included a rhinoceros horn belt in the form of clouds and dragons, as well as a Pu-sa (Boddhisatva) stone. Also included was rose-water (薔薇水), which when dripped on clothing would remain just as fragrant even after a year, and wild-fire oil (猛火油), which burned even more fiercely when water was added. These were both contained in glass bottles.”

³⁶ This is a reference to the first reign title of the first Song ruler and is equivalent to a year 960/61 CE.

³⁷ Likely representing Abu Hassan.

³⁸ Likely representing Śri Indravarman.

³⁹ From Sanskrit “patra”. The palm leaves used in many pre-modern Southeast Asia societies for inscribing texts.

materials, four peacocks, and 20 Da-shi⁴⁰ vases. When the envoys were about to begin on their return journey, there were given differing rewards in accordance with their rank. Also, they were given liberal gifts of dishes and silks to especially confer upon their ruler. In the ninth month of the third year (October 962), the envoys who had again been sent [by Champa] came to Court and offered tribute of 22 elephant tusks and 1,200 *jin*⁴¹ of frankincense.⁴² In the third month of the fourth year of the Qian-de reign (Mar/April 963), the chief envoy Yin-tuo-fen-li-di-po-luo (因陀玢李帝婆羅) and the deputy envoy Bai-bu-luo-di-dong (白不羅低冬) who had been sent by their king Xi-li Yin-tuo-pan (悉利因陀盤)⁴³ came to Court to offer tribute of a male rhinoceros horn, two elephant tusks, 20 lengths of white cotton cloth (白氎), 35 lengths of “Ge” thin silk (哥縵),⁴⁴ a pair of embroidered “Ge” thin silks, and 14 sets of “qin-se” (親色) “Ge” thin silks, as well as various kinds of medicinal products.⁴⁵ The king’s wife Bo-liang-pu-mao (波良僕瑁) and his son Cha-luo-ji-zhan-mou-lü-xiu-qiong (茶羅繼占謀律秀瓊)⁴⁶ also each offered tribute of rhinoceros horns, elephant tusks, “dragon-brain” camphor, tortoise-shell, aromatics and medicinal materials. On presenting the memorial, the envoy and deputy envoy also presented memorials, rhinoceros horns, elephant tusks and local products. They had conferred upon them robes, gold belts, silver utensils, saddled horses, bedding, towels and shoes, variously, in accordance with their rank. In the sixth month (Jun/Jul 963) they were sent back to their country. In the seventh month (Jul/Aug 963) Prince Li Yu (李煜) of the Jiang-nan Country⁴⁷ memorialised advising: “An envoy from the country of Champa, while proceeding to offer tribute, on leaving out state, left me the following : One rhinoceros horn, two elephant tusks, 30 *liang* of “dragon brain” camphor, 10 *jin* of green “dragon brain” camphor, 30 *jin* of frankincense, 30 *jin* of gharu wood, 70 *jin* of lesser quality gharu wood (煎香), 50 *jin* of “stone-pavilion” gum (石亭脂), 100 *jin* of white sandalwood, 70 *jin* of lac (紫礦), 20,000 nutmegs (荳蔻), three pieces of “dragon brain” rear camphor (龍腦後三片), 50 *jin* of pinang, four decorative rattan

⁴⁰ The term Da-shi (大食) was derived from a Persian name *tāzīk* for the Tajik. It was later used by the Persians for the Arabs and was adopted by the Chinese as a generic term for the Arabs. Presumably here, it refers to the Abbasid empire.

⁴¹ During the Song, a *jin* averaged about 630 grams.

⁴² For details of the role of frankincense in East Asian trade, see Paul Wheatley, *Geographical Notes on some Commodities involved in Sung Maritime Trade* (1961: p. 47-49.), and the various references listed on page 249 in Friedrich Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi*, St Petersburg, 1911.

⁴³ Another variant likely representing Śri Indravarman.

⁴⁴ The nature of this textile is unknown, but the “ge” appears to be phonetic and likely indicates a provenance rather than a type of textile. Could this be a reference to the Arab name Kalah, referring to a Southeast Asian polity, known in Chinese as “ge-luo” (哥羅)? Possibly the name Kra, and a reference to a polity in the Isthmus area.

⁴⁵ The *Song Shi* notes that the tribute gifts also included a trained elephant. See *Song Shi*, (Zhong-hua shu-ju edition) juan 489, p. 14080.

⁴⁶ The *Song Shi* gives as the name of the king’s son Zhan-mou-lü-xiu-qiong (占謀律秀瓊). See *Song Shi* (Zhong-hua shu-ju edition) juan 489, p. 14080.

⁴⁷ The Southern Tang dynasty.

mats, two pieces of Champa “gu-ban” “gu”⁴⁸ thin silks (占城孤班古縵)⁴⁹, one piece of “gu” thin silk from the country of Ma-li-yan-luan in Java (閩婆馬禮偃鸞國古縵),⁵⁰ one piece of “gu” thin silk from Sha-wan in Java (閩婆沙剌古縵),⁵¹ one piece of embroidered “gu” thin silk from Java, one piece of embroidered “gu” thin silk from Da-shi,⁵² one piece of “gu” thin silk brocade from Da-shi, five lengths of Champa “water-embroidered” woven cloth (占城繡水織布), and one piece of Sha-wan brocaded “gu” thin silks from Java. These products are now offered to the Emperor.” An Imperial command noted: “The regular appearance of the distant *yi*⁵³ at the Court in respect of our culture is a practice which has extended to these countries. The offering of presents has gradually become a normal procedure. The ritual is troublesome but they retain faith, and they send their presents from afar to the Court. These all deeply manifest loyalty and diligence in the service of the Court. We should accept these. In future, if there are ritual presents, they need not be sent on to the Court.” In the ninth month (Sep/Oct 963), the envoy Li Ban who had been sent offered tribute of a huge elephant, blue in colour, and some barbarians to control it. He was able to wave his trunk while kneeling. It was ordered that a gold saddle be used to decorate it, and it was sent to the Du-ting postal station (都亭驛), where the capital’s populace who went to see it thronged the roads. Li Ban and others also presented elephant tusks, aromatics and medicinal materials. The envoys then had conferred upon them utensils, silks, copper coins and silk clothing and they were sent back.

In the fifth year (968), the envoys Li Ban 李半 and Li Bei-qiang 李被琚⁵⁴ who had been sent [by Champa] came to Court. In the third year of the Kai-bao reign (970/971), envoys who had been sent offered in tribute a female elephant. In the fourth year (971/72), the envoys who had been sent by [the king] Xi-li Duo-ban (悉利多盤), the deputy king of the country Li Nou (李), the king’s wife (nee Guo 郭氏), and son Pu-lu-ji-bo-luo (蒲路雞波羅) came to offer tribute. In the third month of the fifth year (Apr/May 972), the envoy Pu He-san (蒲訶散), who had been sent by their king Bo-mei-shui (波美稅),⁵⁵ came to offer tribute of local products. In

⁴⁸ The “gu” here is likely the same or similar to the function of “ge” noted in the footnote. That is to say it may well be an abbreviated provenance name, which then became the name of a type of textile.

⁴⁹ The “gu-ban” likely refers to the place of origin of the textile within Champa.

⁵⁰ Could this be linked to the Javanese toponym Malihyang, as mentioned in early 10th century Javanese inscriptions? See Antoinette M. Barrett Junes, *Early Tenth Century Java from the Inscriptions*, Dordrecht, Foris Publications Holland, 1984. See p. 121.

⁵¹ Possibly the major village of Sawyan as mentioned in 10th century Javanese inscriptions. See Antoinette M. Barrett Junes, *Early Tenth Century Java from the Inscriptions*, Dordrecht, Foris Publications Holland, 1984. See p. 123.

⁵² Da-shi is a generic reference to the Arab world.

⁵³ A generic term for non-Chinese persons.

⁵⁴ The *Song Shi* gives the name as Li Bei-cuo (李被磋). See juan 489, p. 14080.

⁵⁵ The *Song Shi* gives the king’s name as Bo-mei-shui-he-yin-cha (波美稅褐印茶), likely in part a representation of Parameshwaravarman. The final element (*cha*) is unusual, appears to be unconnected with the ruler’s name and may represent “Shah”, (Persian: شاه), the Persian term for monarch. Momoki Shiro suggests that *cha* (茶) is, in fact, a scribal error for *tu* (荼), which might, in conjunction with the penultimate graph *yin*, suggest “Indera”.

the fourth month of the sixth year (May/Jun 973), the envoy Bu-ni-qi (布你齊), who had been sent by their king Xi-li Pan-pan-yin-cha (悉利盤盤印茶), came to offer tribute. In the sixth month (July 973), the envoys sent by the [king] Bo-mei-mei-shui-yang-bu-yin-cha (波美美稅楊布印茶)⁵⁶ offered tribute of local products. In the first month of the seventh year (Jan/Feb 974), the envoy sent by the king Bo-li-shui-he-cha (波利稅褐茶)⁵⁷ came to offer tribute of two peacock feather umbrellas, and 40 *jin* of “beacon iron” (烽鐵).⁵⁸ In the ninth year (976/77), the envoys who had been sent [by Champa], including Zhu-tuo-li (朱陀利) and Chen-tuo-ye (陳陀野), came to offer tribute.

In the second month of the second year of the Tai-ping Xing-guo reign of Tai-zong⁵⁹ (Feb/Mar 977), the envoy Li Pai (李牌), the deputy envoy Li Ma-na (李麻那), and the administrator Li Tu (李屠), who had been sent by the king Bo-mei-shui-yang-bu-yin-cha (波美稅楊布印茶) offered local products and presented in tribute four pieces of Yue-nuo cloth (越諾布),⁶⁰ two *jin* of “dragon brain” camphor, 1,000 *jin* of diverse aromatics and medicinal materials, 50 *jin* of cloves, 25 *jin* of lower-grade gharu wood. In the fifth month of the third year (Jun/Jul 978), the envoys who had been sent by the king and his son Da-zhi (達智) came to offer tribute. In the 12th month of the fourth year (Dec 979/Jan 980), the envoy Li Mu-zha-duo (李木吒哆), who had been sent [by Champa] came to offer tribute. In the third month of the sixth year (Apr/May 981), Li Huan (黎桓) of Jiao-zhou advised that he wished to present to the capital 93 Champa prisoners.⁶¹ The emperor ordered that those in Guang-zhou⁶² detain the prisoners, look after them, provide them with clothing and grain and then send them back to Champa. A proclamation of instruction was issued [for their king]. In the intercalary 12th month of the seventh year (Jan/Feb 982), the envoy sent by the country came riding an elephant in order to offer tribute of local products. It was Imperially commanded that the elephant be left in Guang-zhou and be fed and looked after there. In the ninth month of the eighth year (Oct/Nov 983), the envoys sent by this country presented a trained elephant able to bow and prostrate itself. It was ordered that it be kept at Ning-ling County in the capital region.

⁵⁶ Likely a representation of Parameshwaravarman (Shah?).

⁵⁷ Likely a representation of Parameshwaravarman (Shah?).

⁵⁸ Quite likely Middle Eastern forged steel, famous for Persian swords and known later as “Damascus steel”.

⁵⁹ The second ruler of the Northern Song dynasty.

⁶⁰ This was a type of cloth manufactured in Baghdad, Ghazni and Asia Minor. See Paul Wheatley, *Geographical Notes on some Commodities involved in Sung Maritime Trade* (1961: p. 61.)

⁶¹ Li Huan was Lê Hoàn, Emperor of Đại Cồ Việt. Jiao-zhou (Giao province) was the Chinese name for the administrative unit which became Đại Việt. For some details, see K.W. Taylor, *The Birth of Vietnam*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1983, p. 282 and 296 for some details of Lê Hoàn.

⁶² The port of Canton in the Pearl River Delta.

In the second month of the second year of the Yong-xi reign (Feb/Mar 985), the envoy Po-luo-men Jin-ge-ma (婆羅門金歌麻) who had been sent by the ruler of that country, She-li Tuo-pan Wu-ri-huan (施利陀盤吳日歡), came to Court and offered “dragon brain” camphor, tortoise shell, elephant tusks, Yue-nuo (cloth) (越諾布), and nameless unusual things. Robes, headwear, a belt, a saddle and a bridle were conferred upon them. They [the Cham envoys] also laid plaint that they had been invaded by Jiao-zhou. It was commanded that orders be sent to the king requiring that he protect his country and develop cordial relations with neighbours. In the third month of the third year (Apr/May 986), the envoy Li Chao-xian (李朝仙) who had been sent by their king Liu Ji-zong (劉繼宗) came to Court and offered in tribute two rhinoceros horns, 10 *jin* of fresh “dragon-brain” camphor, 50 *jin* of “su” gharu wood,⁶³ 50 *jin* of cloves, 200 *jin* of “qian” (錢) gharu wood, and 80 *jin* of gharu wood. Chao-xian also presented two elephant tusks and 10 *jin* of white “dragon brain” camphor. In the ninth month (Oct/Nov 986), Dan-zhou⁶⁴ advised that Pu Luo-e (蒲羅邊) had been forced off by Jiao-zhou⁶⁵ and had led over 100 members of his clan to come to allegiance. In the fourth year (987/88), Guang-zhou advised that the Lei-zhou⁶⁶ port office had sent on the Cham person Shi-dang Li-niang (使當李娘) and 150 members of his clan who had come to allegiance. It was commanded that they be divided and settled in the two counties of Nan-hai⁶⁷ and Qing-yuan.⁶⁸

In the first month of the first year of the Duan-hong reign (Jan/Feb 988), the envoy who had been sent to present tribute of local products proceeded to the Eastern suburbs on a tour. He had wine and food conferred upon him in order to reward him. In the 11th month (Dec 988-Jan 989), Guang-zhou reported that a Champa *yi* person Hu Xuan (忽宣)⁶⁹ and others had, with 301 members of their clans, come to allegiance. In the 10th month of the first year of the Chun-hua reign (Oct/Nov 990), the new king Yang-tuo-pai (楊陀排)⁷⁰ claimed that he had been born (自稱所生) in the country of Vijaya (佛逝國).⁷¹ The envoy Li Zhen(李臻) and the deputy envoy Pu He-san (蒲訶散) who had been sent by Yang-tuo-pai, came to Court to offer tribute of trained rhinoceros as well as 10 spiral rhinoceros horns, 15 elephant tusks, one *jin* of Cambodian gharu wood, two *jin* of white “dragon brain” camphor, and 33 *jin* of “Shan-de-ji”(山得雞). The envoy and his deputy also presented spiral rhinoceros horn, medicinal materials, rhinoceros horn and

⁶³ 速香 For which, see Paul Wheatley, *Geographical Notes on some Commodities involved in Sung Maritime Trade* (1961: p. 71.)

⁶⁴ A prefecture on the island of Hai-nan.

⁶⁵ The term is the former Chinese administrative division, but the reference is to the polity of Đại Cồ Việt.

⁶⁶ The peninsula extending towards Hai-nan from the Asian mainland.

⁶⁷ An administrative unit including the area around the modern Guang-zhou (Canton).

⁶⁸ An administrative unit located just to the north of the modern Guang-zhou. Near the modern Qing-yuan.

⁶⁹ Possibly “Hussain”.

⁷⁰ Georges Maspero in his *Le Royaume de Champa* (1928; p. 126-27) suggests that this new king was Harivarman.

⁷¹ The *Song Shi*, however, notes the claim as that the new rulers had newly established (新坐) the country of Vijaya.

elephant tusks, myrrh, gourds, “ba” (巴)⁷² “dragon-brain” camphor, white cardamom, as well as rose-water. Robes, clothing, towels, belts, bedding, boots, official’s tablets, utensils and silks were conferred upon them, differently, in accordance with their rank. In the memorial, they laid complaint that Jiao-zhou had attacked them and that all the wealth and riches of the people of the country had all been carried away. The Emperor conferred Imperial orders upon Li Huan, requiring that both sides protect their own territory. In the 12th month of the third year (Dec 992-Jan 993), the envoy Li Liang-fu (李良甫) and the deputy envoy Ya-ma-luo-po-di (亞麻羅婆低),⁷³ who had been sent by their king Li-tuo-pai (李陀排),⁷⁴ offered tribute of 10 spiral rhinoceros horns, 20 elephant tusks, 36 *jin* of gharu wood (煎香), one *jin* four *liang*⁷⁵ of white “dragon-brain” camphor, six pieces of wrapping cloth, 13 *jin* of pinang, 64 *jin* of “shan-de-ji”, and 50 coconuts. The envoy and the deputy envoy also presented elephant tusks and rhinoceros horn, spiral rhinoceros horn, tortoise shell, and gharu wood (煎香). Two white horses and military weapons were conferred upon their king. Those of Champa liked white horses and that is the reason that these were conferred. A monk of this country, named Jing-jie (淨戒), also offered gold⁷⁶ “dragon-brain” camphor, gold bells, an incense censer, Buddhist sceptres and so on. All had munificent rewards conferred upon them.

In the first month of the first year of the Zhi-dao reign (Jan/Feb 995),⁷⁷ the envoy Li Bo-zhu (李波珠), who had been sent by the king Yang-bo-zhan (楊波占) came to Court and offered tribute. The memorial of Yang-po-zhan read: “When Li Liang-fu returned [from his visit to the Court], he received Imperial kindness and you conferred upon me two lithe horses, five banners, five silver-decorated swords, five spears wound with silver, five bows and five crossbows, as well as arrows. Having received such kindness, I tremble in gratitude. I bow down and bow down again. I was born and grew up abroad, distant from the Heavenly capital. I have humbly been subject to the Sagely wisdom and great awe-inspiring virtue of the Emperor. Ignoring the fact that ours is an insignificant place on the coastal fringe, I sent an envoy to the Court, and the Emperor did not reject him. Rather, our uncivilized minor state had extraordinary gifts conferred upon us. I am just a native official and still relatively uncultured, and in times past, we external *fan*⁷⁸ were frequently engaged in attacking each other. The people were treated like mustard plants,⁷⁹ and they scattered like the winds. And neither of us protected our own borders. In recent times, I have received the Emperor’s conferred gifts of trained fine horses, banners, and military weapons. The neighbouring countries have heard of this, and know that I have received the grace of the Great State.⁸⁰ They all fear Heaven’s might and dare not plot harm. Now our country is at peace and the people who fled have come back. If it were not for the Heavenly virtue of the Emperor in offering us protection, how would this have been possible! Our country looks up to

⁷² Possibly abbreviation for “Ba[rus]” camphor?

⁷³ Likely representing “Amaravati.”

⁷⁴ Likely an error for Yang-tuo-pai.

⁷⁵ During the Song, a liang averaged 40 grams.

⁷⁶ The “gold” is omitted in the *Song Shi* text.

⁷⁷ The text gives “Yuan-dao reign”, an obvious scribal error.

⁷⁸ A generic term for non-Chinese

⁷⁹ Suggesting that they were seen as insignificant trifles.

⁸⁰ Referring to the Song.

the Emperor's benevolence and sagacity, which covers all like Heaven and supports all like the Earth. I have been contemplating on the great grace bestowed. The excellence of the Son of Heaven has arrived in the country in which I live, coming over the wide seas. Not only did we receive presents of horses and weapons from tens of thousands of *li* away, but they have safely arrived. This is all the result of your sagely virtue. Previously, our country submitted memorials to the Court, but there was never a case where banners, bows and arrows were conferred upon us. On this occasion, how fortunate we are to be the recipients of such special grace. The spread of Heavenly majesty has strengthened our land. Even unto death I will not be able to respond sufficiently in gratitude. My tribute envoys proceeded to the Court and returned with goods. Your grace is as weighty as a mountain and cannot be manifested in its entirety. Now I am especially sending a special envoy Li Po-zhu, a deputy envoy Li He-san⁸¹ and an administrator Li Mo-wu⁸² to offer in tribute 10 rhinoceros horns, 30 elephant tusks, 10 *jin* of tortoise shell, two *jin* of "dragon-brain" camphor, 100 *jin* of gharu wood, 90 *jin* of ripe yellow qian-impregnated gharu wood⁸³ and 60 *jin* of sandalwood, 14,300 mountain fowl (山得雞),⁸⁴ 200 *jin* of pepper, and five woven mats. Although these above-noted products are certainly not rare or strange, they do express our sincerity. I was born and reside in a foreign land and fortunately we now live in a time of peace. We do not value the rare and precious, but do appreciate fine horses. If the Emperor considers that our foreign land has not committed crimes, we implore that when our envoys return, you would be willing to confer such upon us. Further, originally over 300 of the people of our country drifted away, and now reside in Nan-hai.⁸⁵ Subsequently, an order was issued allowing them to return home. There are now still some in Guang-zhou. Formerly, our country had a tributary envoy named Luo Chang-zhan (羅常占), who is now in Guang-zhou. It is requested that all those [Champa people] in Guang-zhou be tallied and gathered, have their original domiciles recorded (具籍) and handed over to Chang-zhan, and that it be ordered that boats be built, so that when the winds are right, the chieftains can return to the country. It is hoped that their lives can be made peaceful, and they can be gathered to man their former territory. My desire is to I offer my gratitude for your grace over 10,000 *li*, and to serve the Emperor with one heart." The Emperor read the memorial and sent an envoy Cao Ling-yun (曹令贇)⁸⁶ to Guang-zhou to conduct investigations and to hand over to Bo-zhu all those who wished to return. When the Cham envoys departed on their return journey, two white horses were conferred upon them. Gradually, this became a standing practice.

On the second day of the third month in the third year of the reign (11 April 997), an envoy sent [by Champa] came to Court and offered tribute. In the fifth month (Jun/Jul 997), the envoys Li Bu-liang (李補良) and Ya-tuo-luo-pan-si (押陀羅潘思)⁸⁷ who had been sent by the king

⁸¹ Ali Hassan?

⁸² Ali Mohammed?

⁸³ 夾箋黃熟香-- For which, see Paul Wheatley, *Geographical Notes on some Commodities involved in Sung Maritime Trade* (1961: p. 71).

⁸⁴ In previous references this product was denominated in *jin*. Further research is necessary on the nature of the term and the product it represented.

⁸⁵ For background to these people, see references under 987/88 above.

⁸⁶ The surname here is guessed on the basis of an obscure character.

⁸⁷ It is possible that this may be the name of a single person.

Yang-fu-gong-pi-shi-li (楊甫恭毘施離)⁸⁸ came to offer tribute. [The envoy was also appointed by the country's king Ying-bu-pi-zi-shi-he-li (盈卜皮紫室訶哩)]⁸⁹ In the second month of the second year of the Xian-ping reign of Zhen-zong⁹⁰ (Feb/Mar 999), the envoy Zhu-chen-yao (朱陳堯), the deputy envoy Pu-sa-tuo-po (蒲薩陀婆) and the administrator Li Gu-lun (李姑倫), who had been sent by the king Yang-pu-ju-bi-cha-yi-she-li (楊普俱毘茶逸施離),⁹¹ presented rhinoceros horn, elephants tusks, tortoise shell, aromatics and medicines in congratulation on the Emperor's assumption of the throne. Yao and the others had conferred upon them headwear, belts, clothing, and bedding each according to his rank. In the ninth month of the first year of the Jing-de reign (Sept/Oct 1004), the envoys they had sent came with local products to offer in tribute. They also requested that there be conferred upon them two fine horses, two sets of horse masks (馬面), armour, bows, swords, spears, and banners. It was Imperially commanded that these be provided to them. In the fourth month of the second year (May/Jun 1005), envoys who had sent [by Champa] offered tribute. In the fifth month of the fourth year (May/Jun 1007), the envoy Bu-lu-die-di-jia (布祿爹地加) whom they had sent [by Champa] presented local products and offered them in tribute. The king's memorial was offered in a box and was written with gilded calligraphy and perfumed with rare aromatics. The memorial read:

Dated the seventeenth day of the fifth month in the third year of the Jing-de reign (15 June 1006). I, Yang-pu-ju-bi-cha-she-li (楊普俱毘茶室離), the king of the country of Champa, bow down and court death for my audacity. I have heard that when the Two Emperors⁹² conferred territory, to the south they only reached to Xiang and Chu,⁹³ and that when the three dynasties of kings⁹⁴ fixed their boundaries, they extended not even as far north as You⁹⁵ and Yan.⁹⁶ I gaze upon this glorious age and observe that it is actually following in the footsteps of old. I prostrate myself before Your Imperial Majesty, before the life force provided by Heaven and Earth, and before the majesty of the Sun and the Moon. You have created awe in assuming the place of reverence, and through your ascension of the throne. Compassion has been diffused to all under Heaven, while cultured influence and learning are manifested throughout the land. The achievements and virtue of the former kings are reflected in the excellence and vigour of those who come after. This is what the people bear in mind and none aspire to wrest the Imperial throne. There is no place which does not have living beings and, wherever there is land, the people there are your servants and

⁸⁸ Likely Yang Pu Ku Vijaya

⁸⁹ The sentence within the square brackets is an interlinear comment rendered in smaller characters.

⁹⁰ The temple name of the third emperor of the Northern Song.

⁹¹ The second character is corrected (王→普) according to the *Song Shi* version. This is apparently a representation of the title Yang Pu Ku Vijaya Sri.

⁹² A reference to the mythical emperors Fu-xi and Shen-nung.

⁹³ Ancient states just to the south of the Yangtze.

⁹⁴ A reference to the rulers of the Xia (mythical), Shang (1766-1123 BCE) and Zhou (1122- 255 BCE) dynasties.

⁹⁵ An ancient toponym referring to an area which extended from the north of the modern province of Hebei into Liao-ning province.

⁹⁶ An ancient toponym referring to an area extending from approximately the modern Bei-jing to the modern Liao-ning, on the north of the Bo-hai Gulf.

concubines. The pure ways imbue all and the rain of beneficence bathes all sides. All who are thus bathed and illuminated stand terrified in awe.

I was born in an isolated border region, but fortunately was influenced by Chinese ways. Living in ant hills and hornet hives was our original way, but now dragon buildings and phoenix halls are seen everywhere. Further, since we availed ourselves of Heaven's majesty,⁹⁷ we have been able to secure our territory, our neighbours have not aggressed and our lives have been comfortable. Each year, I respectfully send an official to transmit our regards to the Superior Country.⁹⁸ The grace Your Majesty bestows reaches even to the marsh reeds, while the blessings extend even to the suckling pigs and the fish. On my envoys return, you also especially conferred military weapons upon them. We can only gaze towards the burning incense in the Imperial Palace, and feel joy and respectfully accept what has been conferred. While our hearts recognise the great fortune we enjoy, we wonder how we can repay this huge blessing. The Sagely Lord has shown consideration for this submissive prince, and I sincerely beseech that you be willing to forgive my failure to appear personally at Court. Now I am especially sending my trusted envoy Bu-lu-die-di-jia (布祿爹地加), my trusted deputy envoy Chu-bu-ma-xia-jia-ye (除逋麻瑕珈耶),⁹⁹ and the administrator Pi-ba-di (皮霸抵) together with others to gather together local products and deliver our annual tribute from the distance. Although our ritual is like the rude tribute of the state of Chu, and our tribute is as weak as the wine of the state of Lu, we sincerely gaze toward your Imperial sagacity, and pray that your great lenience will allow us to evade severe punishment.

On the day my trusted envoy and the others depart to return home, it is humbly hoped that they can have conferred upon them additional military equipment and weapons. Disgraceful as I am as a minister, I must inform Your Majesty. I am without robes or a carriage, and lack the battle-axe and halberd of majesty. I dare not manufacture these myself and I can only look toward their provision through conferral. In this request, I offend against the throne and am greatly deserving of death.

Bu-lu-die-di-jia (布祿爹地加) advised that their country had formerly been subject to Jiao-zhou (交州),¹⁰⁰ but later it had given its allegiance¹⁰¹ to Fo-shi¹⁰² (佛逝) (Vijaya),¹⁰³ and to the north they lost over 700 *li*¹⁰⁴ of their former territory. When the envoys departed on their return home, very substantial gifts were conferred upon them.

⁹⁷ A flowery reference to Chinese military power or influence.

⁹⁸ A reference to the Song polity.

⁹⁹ Possibly ...Mahajaya.

¹⁰⁰ The former Chinese administrative division which included the Red River Valley. More likely here a reference to Đại Cồ Việt.

¹⁰¹ Literally: "fled to"

¹⁰² The *Song Shi* gives Fo-you (佛遊) as the polity name, an obvious scribal error.

¹⁰³ This refers to the flight from Indrapura to Vijaya, following the sacking of the former by Lê Hoàn, the emperor of Đại Cồ Việt in the early 980s.

¹⁰⁴ A *li* is traditionally reckoned as approximately one-third of a mile.

In the first year of the Da-zhong-xiang-fu reign (1008/1009), the envoy Tuo-pang-ya-sheng (陀旁亞聲) who had been sent [by Champa] came to offer tribute. There was a meeting at the base of Tai-shan,¹⁰⁵ and in a ceremony their envoy was appointed as a Commandant (中郎將). In the fourth month of the third year (May/June 1010), the envoy Zhu Bo-li (朱渤禮) who had been sent by the king Shi-li-li-xia-li-zhao-ma-shu (施利離霞離罩麻庶),¹⁰⁶ came to offer tribute. The king also advised that while each year the Emperor conferred upon Champa white horses, they were not appropriate for use in their land and he requested that they be given two yellow-red¹⁰⁷ horses, armoured horses, horse masks (馬面), five swords and daggers decorated with silver flowers and gilded, 150 hard-pointed (金剛) armour-piercing arrows, five silver-decorated lances (桶槍),¹⁰⁸ five alternating-colour reversible pennants (錯綵轉光旗), five white birch bows, five silver-decorated mechanisms, five crossbows bound with gold thread, and two small halberds. The requests were granted. In the 11th month of the fourth year (Nov/Dec 1011), the envoy Pu-sa-duo-po (蒲薩多婆), the deputy envoy Pu-duo-bo-di (蒲多波底) and the administrator Chen Yi (陳義) who had been sent [by Champa] came to offer tribute of 62 elephant tusks, 11 spiral rhinoceros horn, 29 medicinal rhinoceros horn (藥犀), 300 pieces of tortoise shell, 50 *jin* of top-quality gharu wood, 350 *jin* of “qian” gharu wood, 210 *jin* of “huang-shou” gharu wood, 30 *jin* of cloves still on the branch (帶枝), and 60 *jin* of cardamom. The embassy staff also submitted 30 *liang* of ripe “dragon-brain” camphor, 80 *jin* of myrrh, 470 *jin* of lac (紫礦), 200 *jin* of nutmegs, 200 *jin* of pepper, 30 *jin* of myrrh and 100 *jin* of lac. The king also advised: “The produce of our country is not great and our local products are lacking in quality, and we are always thinking of strange and rare things to submit to the Court. We are always desiring rare and precious things to submit in tribute. It is thus that I have specially sent various envoys to the neighbouring *fan*.¹⁰⁹ Recently, in the country of San-fo-qi (三佛齊),¹¹⁰ we obtained a golden-haired lion (*shi-zi* – 師子).¹¹¹ The lion originally derived from the country of Tian-zhu (天竺),¹¹² and people there raised it. It was thereby tamed and was transported to Da-shi, and then on to San-fo-qi. In the *fan* language, they call it “zhan-mao” (戲貓) and the Tang¹¹³ people call it *shi-zi*. Now I am sending a special envoy to proceed to the Court to present the lion. On this day, for the convenience of the Court, I have also sent two *man*¹¹⁴ people from

¹⁰⁵ One of the sacred mountains of China, located in the modern province of Shan-dong.

¹⁰⁶ The *Song Shi* gives the king’s name as Shi-li-xia-li-bi-ma-di (施離霞離鼻麻底). See Zhong-hua shu-ju edition, juan 489, p. 14083

¹⁰⁷ Likely chestnut-colour horses.

¹⁰⁸ Possibly a scribal error for 梭槍.

¹⁰⁹ A generic term for non-Chinese people and polities.

¹¹⁰ Zabāg. At some times, this was apparently a reference to Srivijaya.

¹¹¹ The more correct form is 獅子.

¹¹² A generic reference to the Indian sub-continent.

¹¹³ A reference to the Tang dynasty. Here meaning “Chinese”.

¹¹⁴ A perjorative term referring to non-Chinese. Sometimes translated as “barbarian”.

our country to help in lifting the lion cage and to assist in guiding the lion out of the cage. The lion's appearance is truly yellow, the head is variegated, but the body is uniform in colour. It is truly frightening to gaze upon. I bow down and pray that you will tame and keep the lion for a long span of time." It was ordered that the lion be kept in the Yu-jin Garden (玉津園).¹¹⁵ On the eighth day of the 11th month (5 December 1011), the courtiers and officials of the various offices were summoned to the Chong-zheng Hall to watch the lion. The Emperor said: "The envoys claimed that they had crossed mountains and seas to seek for the lion and obtained their country's resources for it." Weapons and silks were conferred upon them. The two *man* people requested permission to remain in the garden in order to look after the lion. In the second month of the fifth year (Feb/Mar 1012), the Emperor was concerned that these people missed their homes. He thus ordered that they have conferred upon them plentiful supplies and that they be sent off to return to their country. In the first month of the seventh year (Feb/Mar 1014), the envoy who [Champa] had sent came and offered tribute. In the second month of the eighth year (Feb/Mar 1015), the envoy which [Champa] had sent came to offer tribute. In the fifth month (May/Jun 1015), the special envoy Bo-lun-he-luo-dai (波輪訶羅帶), the deputy envoy Liu Gong-jian (劉公簡) and the administrator Fang Jie (防接) submitted rhinoceros horn, elephant tusks, tortoise shell, frankincense, gharu wood and "qian" gharu wood, cardamom, and pinang, and came to offer tribute. Bo-lun-he-luo-dai stated that he had a younger brother Tao Zhu (陶珠), who had recently been carried off to Jiao-zhou, and that he had heard that Jiao-zhou had ordered him to accompany elephants being sent to the Court. At this time, they had reached the capital and he had been able to see his brother, and he wished to take him back to his home country. This was approved. In addition, clothing, and strings of cash were conferred upon Tao Zhu. In the intercalary sixth month (Jul/Aug 1015), spears, pennants, bows, crossbows, mechanisms, and armoured horses were conferred upon the king of Champa, in accordance with his request.

In the ninth month of the second year of the Tian-xi reign (Oct/Nov 1018), the envoy Luo-pi-di-jia (羅皮帝加) and others, who had been sent by their king Shi-hei-pai-mo-die (尸嘿排摩牒),¹¹⁶ came with 72 elephant tusks, 86 rhinoceros horns, 1,000 pieces of tortoise shell, 50 *jin* of frankincense, 80 *jin* of cloves (丁香花), 65 *jin* of cardamom, 100 *jin* of gharu wood, 200 *jin* of "zhan" gharu wood (棧), 68 *jin* of single-use (一劑), lesser "zhan" wood (別棧), 100 *jin* of aniseed, and 1,500 *jin* of pinang, to offer in tribute. Luo-pi-di-jia advised that some people of his country, on heading toward Guang-zhou, had been blown in their ships to Shi-tang (石堂),¹¹⁷ and thus even after several years they had not arrived. When the envoy departed on his return journey,¹¹⁸ it was commanded that there be conferred upon his king Shi-hei-pai-mo-die 47,000 *liang* of silver, weapons, and saddled horses.

¹¹⁵ Presumably a park somewhere near the palace in the Song capital at Kai-feng.

¹¹⁶ Maspero, in his *Le Royaume de Champa* (1928: 133), suggests (admittedly "très douteuse") a reconstruction of Sri Parameshwarawarmarajadhiraja, but the Chinese text does not support such a reconstruction.

¹¹⁷ More usually "石塘". Islands in the South China Sea, possibly the Paracels.

¹¹⁸ The *Song Shi* notes that the envoy departed in the third year of the reign, presumably sometime in the first half of 1019. See *Zhong-hua shu-ju* edition pp. 14083-14084.

In the fifth month of the seventh year of the Tian-sheng reign of Ren-zong¹¹⁹ (June 1029), Chi-da-ba (叱達巴) and Li Pu-sa (李菩薩),¹²⁰ who had been sent by the king of the country Yang-bu-ju-shi-li (楊卜俱室離),¹²¹ presented a memorial and offered in tribute a live phoenix, 30 rhinoceros horns, 70 elephants tusks, 245 pieces of tortoise shell, 2,000 *jin* of frankincense, and 780 *jin* of putchuk.¹²² The memorial said that the phoenix represented an expression of gratitude to the Emperor for the good fortune which the king enjoyed. In the 10th month of the eighth year (October 1030), the envoys Li Pu-sa (李菩薩) and Ma-xia-tuo-se (麻瑕陀瑟),¹²³ who had been sent to offer tribute,¹²⁴ presented the memorial and offered their ritual gifts. They had an audience at the Chong-zheng Hall and presented 700 *jin* of putchuk, over 40 rhinoceros horns, over 400 pieces of tortoise shell, 2,000 *jin* of frankincense, and 80 elephant tusks.

In the ninth month of the first year of the Qing-li reign (Sep/Oct 1041), the Tax Transport Bureau of the East Guang-nan Route¹²⁵ advised that the merchant Shao Bao (邵保) had been to the country of Champa and there seen that the military bandit E-lin (鄂隣) and over 100 of his men had forcibly established themselves (霸縻) in this country. It was commanded that the Route select two messengers to take an Imperial command, together with weapons and silks to confer upon the king of the country of Champa, requiring him to capture and send the bandit chieftain to the Court, and to completely eliminate his remaining gang members. [Champa did send E Lin under escort and brought his captured military and civilian followers to surrender following these orders.]¹²⁶ In the 11th month of the second year (Dec 1042/Jan 1043), the envoys who had been sent by the king Xing-bu-shi-li-zhi-xing-xia-fu (刑卜施離值星霞弗)¹²⁷ presented three trained elephants. In the first month of the second year of the Huang-you reign (Jan/Feb 1050), the country's ruler Ju-she-li-bo-wei-shou-luo-po-ma-ti-yang-bu (俱舍喇波微收羅婆麻提

¹¹⁹ The fourth emperor of the Northern Song.

¹²⁰ Possibly representing Ali Abu Said.

¹²¹ Again, we see a representation of the Cham title Yang Pu Ku Sri, but no indication of the ruler's name.

¹²² The identity of this aromatic remains enigmatic. Zhao Ru-kua in his *Zhu-fan-zhi* notes that it derived from the Hadhramaut coast of Arabia and the Somali coast. The true putchuk is apparently Himalayan. Known in Sanskrit as Tagara, *Valeriana wallichii* is a tufted hairy herb found in the temperate Himalayas. The rootstocks are aromatic. They yield aromatic oil, which contains valeric acid. For further discussion, see Paul Wheatley, "Geographical Notes on some Commodities involved in Sung Maritime Trade", *JMBRAS*, Vol. 32, pt 2, (June 1959), p. 62.

¹²³ The *Song Shi* (juan 489, p. 14084) gives this name as Ma-xia-tuo-pa (麻瑕陀琶), as does the *Song Hui-yao* in an entry below for 1071.

¹²⁴ The *Song Shi* (juan 489; p. 14084) notes that the ruler at this time was named Yang-bu-gu-shi-li-pi-lan-de-jia-ba-ma-die (陽補孤施離皮蘭德加拔麻疊), which can perhaps be reconstructed as Yang Pu Ku Sri Vikrantavarmadeva, a slightly different suggestion to that by Maspero, who opted for Yang Pu Ku Sri Vikrantavarman. See Maspero, *Le Royaume de Champa* (1928; p. 134, note 2).

¹²⁵ Approximately equivalent to the modern province of Guang-dong, and including the major international trade port of Guang-zhou.

¹²⁶ The section within square brackets appears as an interlinear note in characters smaller than the main text.

¹²⁷ Maspero in his *Le Royaume de Champa* (1928; p. 134, note 5) reconstructs this as Yang Pu Sri Jaya Sinhavarman, which appears to be a reasonable reconstruction if we treat the initial character as a copyist mistake.

楊卜)¹²⁸ offered tribute of 201 elephant tusks, 79 rhinoceros horns, and presented two memorials, one in *fan*¹²⁹ script and one in Chinese script. In the fourth month of the fifth year (Apr/May 1053), Pu-si-ma-ying (蒲思馬應) who had been sent [by Champa] came to offer tribute of local products. He had conferred upon him: a purple gauze loose shirt, a fine damask loose undershirt, tight leggings and outer trousers made of coarse damask, a waist belt small damask, a gold filigree and silver waist belt weighing 10 *liang*, a head wrap, silk shoes, 10 sets of robes, purple thin silk bedding, and a mat. The deputy envoy Liang-bao (良保) had conferred upon him: a purple gauze loose shirt, a fine damask loose undershirt, tight leggings and outer trousers made of coarse damask, a gold filigree and silver waist belt weighing 8 *liang*, a head wrap, silk shoes, and five sets of robes. The administrator Dan-bi (淡鼻) had conferred upon him: a purple gauze loose shirt, a thin silk loose undershirt, tight leggings and outer trousers made of fine damask, a gold filigree and silver waist belt weighing 8 *liang*, a head wrap, silk shoes, and three sets of robes. The 10 military officials accompanying them each had conferred upon them: a purple officially-bestowed shirt, a thin silk undershirt, tight leggings and outer trousers made of thin silk, silk waist belts, a head wrap, hemp shoes, and two sets of robes. When they came to depart in the intercalary seventh month (Aug/Sep 1053), Pu-si-wei-ying (蒲薩為應)¹³⁰ had conferred upon him: a purple gauze tight shirt, a fine damask tight undershirt, a waist belt made of fine damask, 10 *liang* of silver utensils, and twenty sets of robes. The deputy envoy Liang Bao had conferred upon him: a purple gauze tight shirt, a fine damask tight undershirt, a waist belt made of fine damask, seven *liang* of silver utensils, and 14 sets of robes. The administrator Dan-bi had conferred upon him: a purple gauze tight shirt, five *liang* of silver utensils, and 10 sets of robes. The 10 military officials accompanying them each had conferred upon them: three *liang* of silver utensils, and five sets of robes.

In the intercalary second month of the first year of the Jia-you reign (April/May 1056),¹³¹ the envoy Pu-xi-tuo-pa (蒲息陀琶) who had been sent [by Champa], came to offer tribute of local products. On the eighth day of the first month in the second year (14 Feb 1057), it was Imperially commanded that Guang-zhou confer upon the tribute envoy from the country of Champa 1,000 *liang* of silver. This was ordered as, when his boat had arrived at Tai-ping Prefecture,¹³² the levees along the river had collapsed and his entire luggage had sunk. This amount was thus specially conferred. In the ninth month of the 6th year (Oct/Nov 1061), the envoy Dun-pa (頓琶) and others who had been sent [by Champa], presented trained elephants. In the first month of the seventh year (Feb/Mar 1062), the Guang-xi Military Commissioner (安撫

¹²⁸ Assuming that the transposition of the last two characters to the end of the title is a copyist error, this name can be reconstructed as Yang Pu Ku Sri Parameshvaravati (?). Maspero *Le Royaume de Champa* (1928; p. 138, note 5) follows the *Song Shi* (juan 489, p. 14084) which erroneously records this name as a number of names of envoys.

¹²⁹ A generic name for non-Chinese people and cultures.

¹³⁰ This is obviously a reference to the chief envoy, whose name is noted above as Pu-si-ma-ying. One is an obvious scribal error, but it cannot be immediately ascertained whether the “ma” or “wei” is the original element. The *Song Shi* compilers opted for “ying” (see juan 489, p. 14084).

¹³¹ The first year of the Jia-you reign had an intercalary third month, not second month. The equivalent date given above (April/May 1056) is based on this being a reference to the intercalary third month.

¹³² An administrative district on the southern bank of the Yangtze, centred on an area between the modern cities of Nan-jing and Wu-hu.

經略司) advised: “Our investigation shows that the two countries of Champa and Cambodia 真臘, who are neighbours of Jiao-zhi,¹³³ have never been practised in warfare. They frequently suffer from invasions and occupation. However, in recent times, Champa has been developing its military defences in order to guard against Jiao-zhi. They are going to pass through the Guangdong Route on their way to offer tribute in the capital. It is hoped that they will be soothed through grace and trust.” This was agreed to. In the fifth month (June 1062), the envoy Dun-pa-ni (頓琶尼), who had been sent [by Champa], came to offer tribute of local products. It was commanded that there be conferred upon the king of the country She-li-lü-lü-cha-pan-ma-di-yang-pu (施里律律茶盤麻帝溥) two¹³⁴ white horses. This was in accordance with his request. [The above is from the State Statutes (國朝會要).]¹³⁵

On the fourth day of the first year in the Xi-ning reign of Shen-zong¹³⁶ (5 April 1068), the envoy Pu Ma-wu (蒲麻勿)¹³⁷ and others who had been sent [by Champa], offered tribute of local products. Ma-wu and the others had rewards conferred upon them in accordance with their rank. They presented a memorial from the *fan* king¹³⁸ of the country of Champa Yang-pu-shi-li-lü-tuo-ban-mo-ti-po,¹³⁹ requesting permission to purchase one or two postal relay horses. When the envoys were just about to depart on their return, it was commanded that two¹⁴⁰ white horses, a floral saddle cloth, a silver saddle, and a halter and bridle be specially conferred upon the king. As to the mules requested, it was instructed that for convenience, they be purchased in Guangzhou. Ma-wu and the others were given the titles of Commanders (歸德郎將).¹⁴¹ In the ninth month of the fourth year (Sep/Oct 1071), the senior envoy Li Pu-sa ma-xia-tuo-pa (李蒲薩麻瑕陀琶),¹⁴² and the deputy envoy Po-wang-ma-ke-gan-li 婆王麻可箆離) and the administrator Zuan-ba-bi-juan (鋤巴必咄) offered tribute. On the 22nd day of the fifth month in the fifth year of the reign (11 Jun 1072), the country of Champa offered tribute of glass, coral, wine utensils, together with “dragon-brain” camphor and medicinal materials, frankincense, cloves, cubebs (華澄茄),¹⁴³ and lac. It was commanded that on their departure they be extraordinarily rewarded.

¹³³ The Chinese term for the polity of Đại Việt.

¹³⁴ The *Song Shi* notes only one horse. See juan 489, p. 14084.

¹³⁵ The section within square brackets appears as an interlinear text in a smaller script than the main text.

¹³⁶ The sixth emperor of the Northern Song.

¹³⁷ Read in Cantonese, these characters offer a reasonable representation of the name Abu Mahmud, or Abu Muhammed. Someone of the same name (Pu Ma-wu) is recorded as the envoy of the country of Da-shi (大食) and as having offered tribute to the Song court in 1076. See *Song Hui-yao*, “Fan yi” section, Book 199, Vol. 8, p. 7846.

¹³⁸ This is the first time that the designation “fan” (barbarian) king is used in this text.

¹³⁹ Which can be fairly firmly reconstructed as Yang Pu Sri Rudravarmadeva.

¹⁴⁰ Again the *Song Shi* notes that only one horse was given. See juan 489, p. 14048.

¹⁴¹ Literally: “Commanders who had returned to virtue”.

¹⁴² This may well be reference to two persons-- Li Pu-sa and Ma-xia-tuo-pa—as both these names appear separately elsewhere within this text.

¹⁴³ Cubebs (Arab. ka ba bah) are the fruit of several species of pepper, belonging to the natural order Piperaceae. Also known as Java pepper or tailed pepper (lada berekor), it was used in both pharmacy and cuisine. It is a climbing woody shrub indigenous to south Borneo, Sumatra, and Java. For further information, see Hirth and

They thus had 2,100 *liang* of silver conferred upon them. [The *Song Shi* notes that in the seventh year (1074/1075), Li Qian-de 李乾德 of Jiao-zhou advised that the king (of Champa) had led 3,000 troops along with his wives¹⁴⁴ and children in coming to surrender, and that they had arrived in Jiao-zhou in the first month (Jan/Feb 1074).]¹⁴⁵

On the second day of the second month in the ninth year (9 March 1076), there was an imperial command: “The two countries of Champa and Cambodia have long been attacked and harassed by Jiao-zhi.¹⁴⁶ Now the Imperial army is proceeding to punish its crimes, and we can take advantage of the opportunity to combine our forces with theirs in order to carry out the purge [of Jiao-zhi]. When things return to peace, they should be given titles and richly rewarded. It has also been heard that many of the people of these countries have been captured by Jiao-zhi. I have already instructed the Bandit-Suppression Commission (招討司)¹⁴⁷ that when they arrive there, they are to identify such people and send them back [to their original countries]. However, in respect of Champa’s former territory, the situation does not really allow us to return it to the original country. We should also order them to come to the Court and soothe them with rich rewards. I have also ordered the Rong-zhou¹⁴⁸ Prefectural Judge Li Jiao (李教) and the Attendant of the Three Ranks Luo Chang-hao (羅昌皓) to take Imperial orders and to confer upon the two countries weapons and money in accordance with rank. On the 14th day of the fourth month (19 May 1076), orders were issued to and gifts conferred separately upon the kings of the countries of Champa and Cambodia, as well as on the generals and cavalry commanders (將帥司馬) of the country of Cambodia, requiring them to put the utmost effort into punishing Jiao-zhi, to awe and eliminate them through battle and take control of the country. Thereby they would be assisting in punishing the rebelliousness [of Jiao-zhi]. On the 12th day of the eighth month (12 Sep 1076), the envoy Ling-bao-ma-xia-bo-luo-di-ya-ni-lü (靈保麻遐鉞囉底尼律) and others, a total of 21 persons who had been sent [by Champa], offered tribute. The envoy advised: “Our country extends to the great ocean on the east, and from there we send out ships to the various countries. To the south, we border the country of Cambodia (真臘), and it is a one-month journey. It is better to proceed by the water route, whereby to the south one will reach the port of the country of Cambodia in 18 days. To the northwest of the country, Jiao-zhou is a forty day journey, but this is by the route through the mountains. The water route only requires 17 days. Under the country, we have 105 places, and we despatch people to govern and protect these places, much like prefectures and counties [under the Song]. Our country’s ruler is 36 years old. Whenever he goes out, he wears large shirts of Arab (大食) brocades or “Chuan” and “Fa”

Rockhill *Chau Ju-kua* (p. 28) and Wheatley *Geographical Notes* (p. 107). The Chinese term “bi-deng-jia” is obviously a representation of a term from another language, but it is not known from whence it derives.

¹⁴⁴ Or “wife”.

¹⁴⁵ The section of text within the square brackets is an interlinear note written in smaller characters than the rest of the text. Its reference to the *Song Shi* suggests that this may possibly be a note by the Qing editor. It is worth pondering why such a reference is excluded from the *Song Hui-yao* text.

¹⁴⁶ The polity of Đại Việt.

¹⁴⁷ The force being sent against the Vietnamese.

¹⁴⁸ An administrative division, located near the modern Rong County in the region of Guang-xi, China.

(川法)¹⁴⁹ brocades. On his head, he wears a golden crown decorated with seven types of precious objects, while around his body he wears seven necklaces decorated with gold. On his feet, he wears red leather shoes. He is carried in a sedan chair, covered by a parasol. His attendants, who carry spears and shields and surround him, number over 500 persons. Close to him are 18 women, bearing gold trays, on which is carried Pinang, while at the front there are people playing *fan* music leading the way.”

On the 25th day of the third month in the first year of the Yuan-feng reign (9 May 1078), the Forward Annam Route (前安南道), Mobile Brigade “Awe and Eliminate” Director-in-Chief Yang Cong-xian (楊從先), advised: “I recently sent Fan Shi (樊寔), who is serving in order to realise achievements, and others to proceed to instruct the king of Champa not to assist Jiao-zhi. Now, according to the claims of Shi and the others, Champa has sent 7,000 *fan*¹⁵⁰ troops, to hold the key passes against the Jiao bandits.¹⁵¹ They received from the ruler of the country a response letter written in *fan* script written on leaves.” It was commanded that the *fan*-script letter be submitted to the Court. Also Fan Shi and the others were also to be despatched to the Court. On the 14th day of the ninth month (22 Oct 1078), the Attendant of the Three Ranks, Luo Chang-hao (羅昌皓) advised: “Recently, I took Imperial orders and presents and proceeded to the country of Champa. Now I submit a complete map from Champa to Jiao-zhi. I did not fear the difficulties and dangers, and proceeded on my mission to the distant region. Although I was unable to complete the task assigned to me, I expended great efforts on the maritime routes. But there is no need for reward and another official should be sent.” On the 16th day (24 Oct 1078), an Imperial command was issued, noting: “The countries of Champa and Jiao-zhi are enemies. [When their envoys are at the capital], in going about their daily duties and at banquets and audiences, they are to be kept apart from each other. This was ordered in response to a request from the chief and deputy Cham envoys that they be allowed to avoid them.” [The *Lie-zhuan* records that later, when the envoys of the two countries offered tribute, the envoy of Champa requested that he be kept away from the Jiao people. It was Imperially ordered that, on the first day of the month when there was an audience at the Wen-de Hall, they would stand on separate sides, and that on the night of the full moon, the Jiao people would go to the Chui-gong Hall (垂拱殿), while the Champa people would go to the private quarters of the palace (紫宸).]¹⁵²

On the 15th day of the 10th month in the first year of the Yuan-you reign of the Emperor Zhe-zong¹⁵³ (23 Nov 1086), the Ministry of Rites advised that the senior tribute envoys Bu-ling-xi-tuo-qin (布靈息弛琴) and Pu Ma-wu (蒲麻勿) from the country of Champa requested permission to submit further products in tribute. This was approved. On the 3rd day of the 12th month (10 Jan 1087), they additionally submitted rhinoceros horn and other products. On their

¹⁴⁹ Possibly referring to the four waters (川), from which the modern province of Si-chuan gets its name. “Fa” brocades were well-known textiles from areas which are now South-west China.

¹⁵⁰ A generic term for non-Chinese. Sometimes translated as “barbarian”.

¹⁵¹ A reference to the Viet troops.

¹⁵² The section of text within the square brackets is an interlinear note in smaller characters, and is a later insertion taken from the *Song Shi*.

¹⁵³ The seventh emperor of the Northern Song.

departure, it was commanded that 2,600 strings of copper cash be conferred upon them. On the fourth day of the second month in the seventh year (14 March 1092), the chieftains of the country of Champa advised that in response to the Great Court's suppression of Jiao-zhi, that they wished to lead their forces to coordinate in the attacks. It was commanded that, as Jiao-zhi had, in recent times, frequently come to offer tribute to the Court, and repeatedly fulfilled the formalities as subjects, it was inappropriate to discuss the raising of an army. The Institute of Academicians was ordered to wait for a time and then to issue to the country of Champa an Imperial letter responding thus, noting that Champa and Jiao-zhi had long-standing enmity, and that it was thus that the proposed action was not approved. On the fifth day of the third month (14 April 1092), it was commanded that the tribute envoy Liang-bao-gu-lun-ga-dan (良保故倫軋丹) and the deputy envoy Bang-mu-zhi-tu (傍木知突) from the country of Champa be appointed as Commanders (包順郎將).¹⁵⁴

On the 11th day of the sixth month in the third year of the Chong-ning reign of Hui-zong¹⁵⁵ (4 July 1104), the envoy sent [by Champa] came to offer tribute. On the 11th day of the sixth month in the fourth year (23 July 1105), the tribute envoy Pu-sa-da-pa (蒲薩達琶), the deputy envoy Gu-lun-se-tang (古論思唐) and the administrator Li-zhan-pa (力占琶), who had been sent [by Champa] came and offered tribute. On the 12th day of the seventh month in the third year of Da-guan (10 August 1109), the envoys sent [by Champa] came to offer tribute. On the eighth day of the eighth month in the fifth year of the Zheng-he reign (29 August 1115), the Ministry of Rites advised: “The Maritime Trade Superintendency of the Fu-jian Route advised: ‘Since its revival,¹⁵⁶ this Route’s Maritime Trade Superintendency has established Lai-yuan Hostel¹⁵⁷ in Quan-zhou and sent officials to the countries of Luo-hu¹⁵⁸ and Champa instructing them and calling them to come, advising that they are permitted to bring their valuable goods and come to present them.’ Now there is another related issue. It is requested that in all the prefectures that the tribute envoys, deputy envoys, administrators and chieftains pass through, the military arrange courtesans and music to receive them and send them on, and that they be allowed to use carriages or horses. When they arrive at the domiciles of the prefectural officials and deputies or the circuit supervisors, the officials should wait and meet them, and then escort the guests to their horses. In all other matters, it is requested that matters be handled in accordance with the regulations governing the *fan* and the *man* in offering tribute. This ministry will investigate the matter and hand it down to the Court of State Ceremonial, which will examine the tally.¹⁵⁹ Then, in accordance with the Court of State Ceremonial’s examination of the tally, the Maritime Trade Supervisorate of the Fu-jian Route will, on the basis of the Imperial orders of the 6th day of the 2nd year of the Chong-ning reign (15 March 1003), receive them. As to accepting the two countries of Champa and Luo-hu who have come to offer tribute to the Court, Champa has already sent envoys and offered tribute to the Court on many occasions. In such cases, Guang-zhou sends them on to the Maritime Trade Supervisorate of the Fu-jian Route. Then there is the

¹⁵⁴ Literally: “Protection and Obedience” Commanders

¹⁵⁵ The eighth emperor of the Southern Song.

¹⁵⁶ This seems to be a reference to the establishment of the Quan-zhou Maritime Trade Supervisorate which occurred in 1087, resulting in a decline in the port of Fu-zhou and a rise in the fortunes of Quan-zhou.

¹⁵⁷ Literally a hostel for those who come from the distance.

¹⁵⁸ The polity of Lavo located in the Chao Phraya valley.

¹⁵⁹ A system whereby two halves of a tally are brought together to validate the authenticity of an envoy.

country of Luo-hu, which has never offered tribute before. The Maritime Trade Supervisorate should itself examine the tally, in accordance with the orders of the Zheng-he reign (1111-1118), and enquire of them whether their country is near or far, big or small, strong or weak, so that we can assess to which country that has already submitted tribute they can compare. Then they can memorialise this Ministry for assessment of the tally. As to those who have now come, our Maritime Trade Supervisorate should handle the matter without needing to verify the tally.” It was commanded that the matter be handled in accordance with the request by the Supervisorate and that if the ministry does not properly assess the tally, officials will be demoted one grade and sub-official functionaries will be demoted one salary grade. <translation of above memorial awaiting revision>

On the sixth day of the third month in the sixth year (6 April 1116), Yang Bu Ma-die (楊卜麻疊), the *fan* ruler of the country of Champa, advised: “In the past, I was enfeoffed as Grand Master of the Palace with Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon,¹⁶⁰ and was tasked with controlling from the distance (遙授) the Regional Chiefs of Lian-zhou¹⁶¹ and Bai-zhou.¹⁶² I exist beyond civilization, and am not provided with salary or food. I hope that the Great Court will provide me with a meagre salary, in order to add lustre and grandness to our small *fan* country.” This was approved. On the ninth day of the 12th month in the first year of Xuan-he (11 January 1120), it was commanded that Yang Pu Ma-die (楊卜麻疊), the king of the country of Champa, be appointed as Honorary Minister of Education,¹⁶³ Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers in the various military affairs of Lin-zhou,¹⁶⁴ Regional Inspector and Censor-in-Chief, serving as Military Commissioner of the Huai-yuan Army (懷遠軍), Surveillance and Supervisory Commissioner of Lin-zhou, and king of Champa. From this time on, every time there was the allocation of favours following Imperial sacrifices, there would be the issue of instructions adding further enfeoffments. [The above is contained in the *Xu Guo-chao-hui-yao*.]¹⁶⁵

On the 10th day of the first month in the Jian-yan reign of the Guang-yao Emperor (31 January 1129), a memorial was submitted, noting: <memorial awaiting translation>

On the eighth day of the third month in second year of the Shao-xing reign (26 March 1132), an additional 500 households were assigned as tax providers (食邑) and 200 households were assigned as grain providers (食實封) to Yang-bu-ma-die, the king of the country of Champa, Military Commissioner of the Huai-yuan Army (懷遠軍), Surveillance and Supervisory

¹⁶⁰ An honorific title, usually conferred upon high-ranking officials in China, particularly ministers of Personnel. See Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1985, p. 168, entry 1159.

¹⁶¹ A prefecture located near the modern He-pu in Guang-xi, on the Nan-liu River just to the west of the Lei-zhou peninsula.

¹⁶² A prefecture located near the modern Bo-bai in Guang-xi, on the Nan-liu River, just to the west of the Lei-zhou peninsula.

¹⁶³ An honorific or prestige title during the Song dynasty, with no functions in the realm of education.

¹⁶⁴ A prefecture, centred near what is today Yi-shan on the Long River in Guang-xi, between 108° and 109° E., and 24° and 25° N

¹⁶⁵ The sentence in square brackets is an interlinear note, added by the Qing editor.

Commissioner of Lin-zhou, Grand Master of the Palace with Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon, Grand Mentor, Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers in the various military affairs of Lin-zhou, Regional Inspector and concurrently Censor-in-Chief and Supreme Pillar of the State. [After this, favours were conferred following the state sacrifices.]¹⁶⁶

In the 25th year of the Shao-xing reign (1155/56), [the king's] son Zou-shi-ba-lan (鄒時巴蘭) inherited the throne, submitted tribute of local products and sought enfeoffment. It was commanded that he be appointed to his father's positions. On the 14th day of the eighth month (12 September 1155), the senior ministers (宰執) memorialised: The Guang-dong Military Commission has advised that the country of Champa is planning to submit trained elephants in tribute" The Emperor noted: "Since the time of the first Emperors,¹⁶⁷ when there is to be a major ritual, it is necessary to use the so-called *liu-yin* (六引) music. Now there are trained elephants arriving. If they have not yet arrived, just await them." On the 21st day (19 September 1155), Zheng Zhen, who was in charge of the maritime Trade Supervisorate in Fu-jian memorialised: "An envoy sent by the country of Champa has arrived bearing a memorial and local products to present to the Court. **<Remainder of memorial relating to ritual still in process of translation>** On the second day of the 10th month (29 October 1155), the Ministry of Rites advised: "The demoted (已降) commander from the country of Champa should be permitted to offer tribute, and this should be conducted in accordance with the old precedents. On his departure, he should additionally have conferred upon him kingfisher feathers, a tight-fitting jacket made from fine *fa* brocades (法錦)¹⁶⁸, a waist belt decorated with 20 *liang* of gold, 200 *liang* of silver utensils, 300 pieces of clothing and thin silks, a saddle decorated with eighty *liang* of silver and a bridle. As for a horse, the Fine Horses Office should be ordered to prepare one in advance to confer upon him." This was approved. On the 14th day of the 11th month (10 December 1155), the chieftains Sa-da-ma-pang-mo-jia-duo-man-weng-dou-gang (薩達麻滂摩加奪滿翁都綱)¹⁶⁹ and his subordinates, a total of 20 persons, who had been sent *fan* leader of Champa Zou-shi-pa-lan, came to the Court to offer tribute, as detailed: 150 *jin* of gharu wood, 390 *jin* of gharu wood,¹⁷⁰ two pieces of gharu wood "head" weighing 12 *jin*, 3,690 *jin* of superior fibrous gharu wood (箋香), 120 *jin* of medium-grade fibrous gharu wood, 480 *jin* of blocks of fibrous gharu wood "head", 239 *jin* of fibrous gharu wood "head", 300 *jin* of "bay" aromatic (澳香), 3,450 *jin* of superior "su" gharu-wood, 1,440 *jin* of medium-grade "su" gharu-wood, 168 elephant tusks, 20 rhinoceros horns, 60 *jin* of tortoise-shell, 120 *jin* of "zan" gharu wood (暫香), 180 *jin* of finely-sliced aromatics, 360 kingfisher feathers, 10 lamps of "fan" oil (番油), and 55,020 *jin* of "wu-li" aromatic (烏里香).¹⁷¹ On the 28th day (24 December 1155),

¹⁶⁶ The sentence contained within the square brackets is an interlinear note, inserted by the Qing compiled.

¹⁶⁷ Of the Southern Song.

¹⁶⁸ A type of textile produced in the area which is called

¹⁶⁹ The number of chieftains and the separation of their names remains to be ascertained.

¹⁷⁰ The repetition of "gharu wood" is correct, according to the text.

¹⁷¹ The nature of this aromatic is unknown, but it must have been a quite common commodity for such a huge volume to be transported to the Song.

the Ministry of Rites advised: “As to the system by an Imperial letter is issued to the country of Champa in response to it coming to offer tribute, it is requested that, in accordance with the model proposed by the Institute of Academicians, we follow the system used for the country of Jiao-zhi, whereby the Imperial letter is issued following the offering of tribute.” This was approved. <Four-page interlinear note still in process of translation>

On the sixth day of the 12th month (31 December 1155), the senior ministers memorialised: “Both the Ministry of Rites and the Ministry of War have memorialised that the country of Champa has come to Court and offered tribute and that the king of the country and the persons who offered tribute have all been assigned titles. We have examined this matter and understand that the former *fan* king of the country of Champa Yang-bu-ma-die (楊卜麻疊) was initially enfeoffed. Then, in the third year of the Chong-ning reign (1104/05), he was assigned the title of Deputy Military and Surveillance Commissioner of the Huai-yuan Army (懷遠軍), Grand Master of the Palace with Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon, Honorary Minister of Works, Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers in the various military affairs of Lin-zhou, Regional Inspector, Censor-in-Chief, Supreme Pillar of the State, king of the country of Champa. He was assigned 1,000 households from whom he could draw tax payments and 500 households from whom he could draw payments in kind. Now, Zou-shi-pa-lan has just inherited the post and he does not have any official titles. He has requested that, like Yang-bu-ma-die when he first inherited the throne, he be enfeoffed with titles and have conferred upon him gifts including 1,000 *liang* of silver and 1,000 pieces of thin silk, a set of loose robes, a waist belt decorated with 20 *liang* of gold, 100 sets of fine robes, and 200 *liang* of gold and silver filigree utensils, and a further 100 sets of robes. He also requested that the person who submitted the tribute, Sada-ma (薩達麻), be given a title in accordance with the precedents set down in the *Guo-chao Hui-yao* (國朝會要), whereby when the envoy Tuo-pang-ya-sheng (陟旁亞聲) who had been sent by this country came to offer tribute in the first year of the Da-zhong-xiang-fu reign (1008/1009), there was a meeting at Mount Tai and when the rites were complete, the envoy was appointed as a Commandant, and also in accordance with the precedent whereby in the first year in the Xi-ning (1068/69), the envoy Pu Ma-wu (蒲麻勿)¹⁷² and others offered tribute, and then Ma-wu was especially appointed as a Commander (歸德郎將). The Emperor approved this and noted that it should be made a precedent. <section still under translation omitted> On the 26th day of the 10th month in the 32nd year of the Shao-xing reign (4 December 1162), it was ordered that Zou-shi-pa-lan be assigned a further 200 households from which he could draw payments in kind (食實封).

On the eighth day of the sixth month in the first year of the Qian-dao reign of the Emperor Shou-huang (17 July 1165), it was imperially ordered that Zou-shi-pa-lan be assigned a further 500 households from which he could draw tax payments and a further 200 households from which he could draw payments in kind. <Long interlinear note awaiting translation> On

¹⁷² Read in Cantonese, these characters offer a reasonable representation of the name Abu Mahmud, or Abu Muhammad. It is interesting to note that someone of the same name (Pu Ma-wu) is recorded as the son of the “headman” from the country of the Arabs (大食) and as having offered tribute to the Song court in 1073. See *Song Hui-yao*, “Fan yi” section, juan 7.33a.

the seventh day of the first month in the fourth year of the Qian-dao reign (17 February 1168), it was Imperially ordered that Zou-shi-pa-lan be assigned a further 500 households from which he could draw tax payments and a further 200 households from which he could draw payments in kind. On the fourth day of the third month (13 April 1168), it was commanded that the Ministry of Rites draw up a command in response to Champa's actions in the 35th year of the Shao-xing reign (1165), and send details of the regulations to the Shang Shu for scrutiny. Previously, the envoy Yang Bu Sa-da-ma (楊卜薩達麻) and others who had been sent by Zou-ya-na (鄒亞娜), the *fan* ruler of Champa, had offered tribute of local products. It was commanded that one-tenth of that offered be received and that the envoy be excused from coming to Court. Then the Maritime Trade Supervisorate of Fu-jian advised that Wu-shi-dian (烏師點), and other persons of the country of Da-shi had laid plaint that the goods that Champa had offered in tribute had been stolen from their country. **<Debate on how the Court and its officials were to deal with this issue remains to be translated>**

In the seventh year of the Qian-dao reign (1171/72), some Fu-jian persons from the government's maritime Ji-yang Army (吉陽軍)¹⁷³ drifted to Champa. At that time, the country [Champa] was engaged in warfare with Cambodia, whereby the combatants rode elephants. However, there was no obvious victor in the battles. The persons from Fu-jian advised the king about warfare on horseback and instructed him in the use of bows and crossbows and the skills necessary when shooting arrows from horseback. The king was greatly pleased, and he prepared a ship in which to send them back to Ji-yang. He gave them rich rewards, in order to buy horses. They obtained several tens of horses, which were then used in battle, and victory was thereby achieved. On the third day of the seventh month in the first year of the Chun-xi reign (2 August 1174), it was commanded that the envoys of the country of Champa were excused from coming to Court, and it was ordered that Quan-zhou¹⁷⁴ deal with the memorial in accordance with the regulations. It had been ordered that those who had come earlier were to wait. At this time, the Institute of Academicians handed down an Imperial order responding to Zhang Jian (張堅), the Maritime Trade Supervisor of Fu-jian, advising: "The tributary envoy from the country of Champa, Yang Bu Sa-da-ma-weng-bi-dun (楊卜薩達麻翁畢頓), the deputy envoy Jiao-ling-li-xing-weng-ling (教領離力星翁令), and the administrator Xia-luo-ri-jia-yi-wang-chi-ce (霞羅日加益王遲惻) arrived at this Superintendency, and they brought with them a memorial from the *fan* chief Zou-ya-na. They also presented some products, all within a silver tube, and expressed their desire to travel to the Court. Thus, there was this Imperial proclamation issued. On the 23rd day of the 12th month (17 January 1175), the Institute of Academicians advised: "In the third year of the Qian-dao reign (1167/68), Zou-ya-na of Champa presented tribute, and claimed that he was the due heir of Champa. It was ordered that, as Zou-ya-na had not been officially enfeoffed by the Court, it was difficult to refer to him as king of the country. An Imperial order was thus issued requiring the Institute of Academicians to respond to him, designating him the heir to the throne of the country of Champa.

¹⁷³ The Ji-yang Army was based at the south of Hai-nan Island, in the area around San-ya, where a Cham descendant population lives today.

¹⁷⁴ The major port and site of the Maritime Trade Supervisorate in Fu-jian.

On the 10th day of the ninth month in the second year of the reign (26 September 1175), there was command noting that that the *man*¹⁷⁵ king of the country of Champa had been in unofficial communication with the officials of Qiong,¹⁷⁶ and had sent men in ships across the sea to Hai-nan to buy horses. The local officials had prohibited this and, angered, [the Chams] returned and looted people and property. It was ordered that the military official Zhang Shi (張弼) draft to give to the Qiong officials in response, instructing [Champa] that China's horses have never been permitted to be sent beyond the borders, and instructing them to return the people and other things plundered and to make no more disturbance in future. In addition, Zhang Shi was instructed to give written warning that the Court knows than Lin Bao-ci (林寶慈) of the Ji-yang Army and the magistrate Wang San-jun (王三俊) had guided people of Champa there to openly buy horses, with the aim of making great profits. Now this office will urgently obtain and check the records and memorialise in advice.

On the fifth day of the third month of the third year of the reign (15 April 1176), the Maritime Trade Supervisorate of the Fu-jian Route memorialised noting that the *fan* Champa official handling affairs Guan Ning (館寧) had brought from the *fan* leader Zou-ya-na a memorial in an ivory casket. It was commanded that the Institute of Academicians compile and despatch a letter of response. On the 13th day in the seventh month (19 August 1176), the Guang-xi General Route Surveillance Commission advised that the Hai-nan officials had sent persons to take a letter to Champa requiring them to send back the people they had captured. Apart from those who had died of illness, there remained 83 persons. These were detailed in the orders sent to Champa. <Section still under translation omitted>

In the fifth month of the fourth year of the Chun-xi reign (May/Jun 1177), Champa used a boat-borne force to attack Cambodia. [The Cambodians] sued for peace but were ignored and massacred. Consequently they became great enemies. In the *ji-wei* year of the Qing-yuan reign (1198/99), Cambodia launched a massive attack on Champa. Initially, Champa sent a missive indicating their surrender, but the Cambodians exterminated everyone and established a Cambodian as ruler of the area.

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¹⁷⁵ A generic term for non-Chinese.

¹⁷⁶ A reference to the island of Hai-nan generally, and specifically to Qiong-zhou on the north of the island (located near the modern capital of Hai-kou), which was the seat of regional government.