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**Southeast Asia in the *Suishu*:
A Translation of *Memoir 47*
with Notes and Commentary**

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Southeast Asia in the *Suishu*: A Translation of Memoir 47 with Notes and Commentary

INTRODUCTION

In 581 the Regent of the Northern Zhou Dynasty usurped the child emperor's throne and proclaimed a new dynasty, which he called the Sui. Reigning as Emperor Wen, he defeated the state of Chen and gained control of the south, reuniting China after nearly four centuries of political fragmentation. During his reign, Emperor Wen directed extensive administrative reforms and eased antagonisms among regions and ethnic groups. The Sui's fall in 618 is generally blamed on the misrule of his son, Emperor Yang. Later court historians decried his preoccupation with exotic goods and wasteful foreign military adventures, matters in which Southeast Asia figured prominently.¹

The Tang Dynasty's official historians compiled the *Suishu* 隋書 (*Book of the Sui*)² between 629 and 636 under senior editor Wei Zheng 魏徵.³ Like most of the 24 Chinese dynastic histories, the *Suishu* has memoirs (*liezhuan* 列傳) devoted to foreign lands. Memoir 47, titled *Nanman* 南蠻 "The Southern Barbarians," comprises accounts of four Southeast Asian kingdoms: Linyi, Chitu, Zhenla and Poli. The *Suishu*'s editors copied or assembled each from one or more uncited documents including the records of emissaries. The similarly formatted accounts address geography, kingship, customs (typically regarding dress, food, betrothal, marriage, mourning and burial), tributary trade, and curiosities. The sameness of points covered and the order in which they are addressed reveal a model, or perhaps merely a convention, for records of foreign lands.

Most of the material contained in Memoir 47 was originally recorded by imperial officials involved in the administration of commanderies, the conduct of tributary trade relationships, or in the case of Linyi, warfare. These circumstances largely determined what information was collected and preserved. A case in point is the section on Chitu which was extracted from the report of a probably three-year-long Chinese embassy to that kingdom. Its central narrative focuses on ceremonial aspects of the mission's reception, transmission of a Chinese imperial edict, and the drafting of a memorial by Chitu's King. Memoir 47 contains extensive notes on the kings, kingship, regalia, and official titles of the four Southeast Asian polities. Much of this information was no doubt used to establish protocols for interaction with these foreign royal courts. Brief records of the lineages of the Chitu and Zhenla kings suggest efforts to confirm the legitimacy of these rulers. Passages on betrothal, marriage, funerary and other customs give a face to the kingdoms and define them within the context of the Confucian concept of rites as a measure of civilization. While never straying far

¹ A comprehensive account of the Sui, from which this brief summary was condensed, is Arthur Wright's *The Sui Dynasty*.

² This translation follows the Zhonghua shuju (ZHSJ) edition of the *Suishu* which is now generally accepted as standard. The original layout has been followed with one exception: for clarity and readability, I have inserted paragraph breaks (indentation with no preceding blank lines) to mark topic changes in some of the longer blocks of text. The *Suishu*'s original paragraphing is marked with indentation, preceding blank line breaks and subject headings. Bold type distinguishes titles and subject headings not found in the original text.

³ The Tang Court ordered the compilation of histories of the Sui, Liang, Chen, Northern Qi and Northern Zhou dynasties in 622. The first effort did not produce a finished draft. The official historians resumed work in 629 and finished the Sui annals and memoirs in 636. The *Suishu* was presented to the court in 656 after an additional ten monographs dealing with other northern and southern dynasties from the period 502-617 were completed (Publisher's introduction to the ZHSJ edition of the *Suishu*, p. 1).

from matters conducted on behalf of the imperial court, the eye-witness accounts of Chitu and Zhenla are enlivened by dashes of enthusiastic travelogue that display curiosity if not wonder at the strange lands they describe.

Memoir 47 contains transcriptions of over 60 non-Chinese (primarily Sanskrit) words. Reconstructed Early Middle Chinese (EMC) pronunciations are to be found in footnotes marking the first occurrence of each.⁴ Early Middle Chinese was a “single, coherent, form of the Chinese language, namely the elite standard common to educated speakers from both north and south in the period of division that came to an end with the Sui reconquest of the south in 589.”⁵ The officials who drafted the constituent parts of Memoir 47 would have adhered to this elite standard dialect, presumed to have been the language of the Imperial Court.

For the most part, non-Chinese words in Memoir 47 were rendered with the relatively standard set of characters used to transliterate Sanskrit in Buddhist texts. Many of these words can be interpreted with certainty, but more than half remain unidentified or conjectural due in part to the apparent shortening of names and dropping of syllables. The still fragmentary knowledge of the languages of these ancient kingdoms further hampers interpretation of non-Sanskrit words such as official titles.

Some of the Sanskrit words in Memoir 47 are conventional transliterations from Chinese Buddhist texts that would have been known to monks and educated laity of the Sui period. In this regard, the names Ju-tan 瞿曇 (EMC kuʔ^h dəm/dam, Gautama) and Jiu-mo-luo 鳩摩羅 (EMC kuw ma la, Kumāra) are well-attested in Sui and pre-Sui writing, as are the words *duo-luo* 多羅 (EMC ta la, *tala*), the Palmyra palm; *an-luo* 菴羅 (EMC ʔəm/ʔam la, *amra*), the mango; *po-na-suo* 婆那娑 (EMC pa na' sa, *panasa*), the jackfruit; *po-luo-men* 婆羅門 (EMC ba la mən, *Brāhmaṇa*), a Brahmin; *cha-li* 刹利 (EMC tʂ^haɪt/tʂ^hɛ:t li^h, *Kṣatriya*), the Ksatriya caste; and *she-li* 舍利 (EMC ʃia^h li^h, *sārikā*), the mynah. In two cases, conventional transliterations of Sanskrit words were used in the formation of new compounds. First is the Linyi title *Sa-po-di-ge* 薩婆地歌 (EMC sat ba di^h ka). In Buddhist texts, *sa-po* transliterates *sarva* (all, whole, universal). It is joined with *di-ge*, interpreted here as *adhikār* (one possessing authority), to transcribe *Sarvādhikārin* (General Superintendent). The second example is the “surname” of the King of Poli, *Cha-li-ye-qie* 刹利耶伽 (EMC tʂ^haɪt/tʂ^hɛ:t li^h jia ɣia). As noted above, *Cha-li-(ye)* transliterates *kṣatriya*. It is joined to *qie*, interpreted as the Sanskrit suffix *ka* (“belonging to”), to produce *kṣatriyaka*, “belonging to the Ksatriya caste.” The relative sophistication of these two transcriptions indicates that people with knowledge of Sanskrit, perhaps serving as interpreters, had a role in at least some of the exchanges with these polities.

Transcriptions of the names of Linyi’s early kings (Fan Xiong, Fan Wen, and Fan Fo) date to the 3rd and 4th Centuries, so reconstructions of their pronunciations based on Early Middle Chinese may not be reliable.⁶ Words for three types of cloth mentioned in this text, *chaoxia*, *gubei*, and *baidie*, entered the Chinese language at unknown times and places, probably in the course of maritime or overland trade.

⁴ International Phonetic Alphabet transcriptions used in this paper are drawn from Pulleyblank’s *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation*.

⁵ This classification of Early Middle Chinese is from Pulleyblank (p. 2). Early Middle Chinese has the same time frame (6th Century) as the “Ancient Chinese” defined in Karlgren’s *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*.

⁶ There is presently no comprehensive reconstruction of the Chinese language spoken before the *Qie-yun* 切韻, a rhyming dictionary of 601 that has served as the foundation and starting point of reconstructed Chinese phonologies to date (Pulleyblank p. 20).

THE POLITIES

Linyi 林邑 was founded around the year 192 following a rebellion in Xianglin 象林 (literally “Elephant Forest”), the southernmost district of Rinan Commandery 日南郡.⁷ In the centuries that followed, Linyi challenged Chinese control over the remainder of Rinan and at the time of the Sui, controlled its entire territory. While Chinese sources provide information on Linyi’s northern frontier, they offer little insight into the southern range of the kingdom’s influence. General Liu Fang’s southward march terminated at a capital which has been identified as Trà Kiệu in Quảng Nam Province. The *Suishu* does not state what lay just beyond this city.

The *Suishu*’s account of Linyi opens with a very brief summary of the kingdom’s founding, early history, and conflicts with previous Chinese dynasties. This section is composed of severely abbreviated extractions from earlier histories with no original material. The body of the Linyi account is an interesting narrative that records official titles, regalia, and customs. Unfortunately, it contains neither dates nor references to historical events which would confirm its time of authorship. Finally, there is a report on Liu Fang’s military campaign and sack of Linyi’s capital in 605. Liu Fang’s biography (Memoir 18 of the *Suishu*), which contains additional geographical information and historical details regarding Linyi, is included as Part II of this paper.

Chitu 赤土 is the subject of one of the most vivid eye-witness accounts of a foreign land in the early Chinese histories, but it has not been conclusively identified with any archaeological site. Early studies placed it in Thailand’s Chao Phraya river basin. Subsequent work has focused on the Malay Peninsula, with Paul Wheatley proposing the Kelantan River.⁸ The *Suishu*’s account of Chitu seems to have been extracted from a single source, the *Chituguo ji* 赤土國記 (*Record of the Red Earth Kingdom*) written by Chang Jun 常駿, who led an embassy there in 607-610. This work is lost except for nearly identical extracts copied into the *Suishu*, *Beishi* 北史, *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 and *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考. Similar, but generally abbreviated versions occur in the *Tongdian* 通典 and *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 (Wheatley p. 26). The *Suishu* provides the earliest known record of Chitu and there are no additional substantive accounts of this kingdom in later histories.

The Chitu account does not address the daily life or work of Chang Jun’s embassy apart from activities associated with their duties as bearers of an imperial edict. Their stay in Chitu from 607-610 coincided with the three tributary trade missions known to have been sent from that kingdom. This suggests that Chang Jun’s group had a role in organizing these annual shipments of exotic goods.

⁷ Rinan (Vietnamese Nhật Nam) was a Chinese commandery established in the late 2nd century B.C. It originally comprised five districts (*xian* 縣) which extended from Mount Heng 橫山 (Hoành Sơn) in what is now Vietnam’s Hà Tĩnh Province, southward to the area of the present city of Huế. Taylor (p.60) describes Xianglin as “a cultural frontier” where “Han officials encountered Hinduized currents of Indian civilization as they flowed along the trade routes of Southeast Asia.”

⁸ Wheatley provided a concise summary of studies regarding the location of Chitu and a detailed analysis of the emissaries’ itinerary in *The Golden Khersonese* (pp. 32-36). A translation of the *Suishu*’s account of Chitu is the subject of pp. 26-30 of that volume. The translation offered below is based on a punctuated edition of the *Suishu* not available in Wheatley’s time and has a number of important differences in interpretation.

Zhenla 真臘 was the Chinese name of the principal Khmer polity occupying territory in what is now Cambodia. The *Suishu's* opening statement regarding Zhenla establishes its relative location and states that Yi-she-na City 伊奢那城 (Īśānapura) was its capital.⁹ It further explains that Zhenla had recently annexed Funan 扶南, a kingdom to which it had originally been subject. This introduction is followed by a description of the land which is written with a level of detail indicating first-hand observation. There is no mention of the author or dates and purpose of his visit. However, first-hand accounts of foreign lands in the early dynastic histories were generally written by court-deputed travelers and there is no reason to believe that is not the case here. The *Suishu* notes the arrival of an emissary accompanying regional products from Zhenla in 616. The last recorded exchange between Khmer and Chinese courts prior to this was a mission from Funan to the Liang in 539.¹⁰ Protocols governing the receipt of emissaries, handling of goods, and other aspects of a tributary trade relationship would have lapsed during this long hiatus and change of dynasties. Accordingly, the author of the Zhenla account may have been a Sui official dispatched to Īśānapura to establish a relationship with the new Khmer polity and coordinate the tribute mission of 616.

Two comparisons of Zhenla to Chitu in this text appear to reflect knowledge of Chang Jun's *Chituguo ji*. If accepted as original to the account (and not interpolations by the *Suishu's* editors), these references confirm the time of authorship to after 610 when Chang Jun had returned to China. As noted above, the *Suishu's* section on Linyi quotes documents from different eras. This does not seem to be true of the Zhenla account, which for the most part, appears to have been copied from a single source. Only the short epilogue which summarizes tribute activity was evidently added to the main narrative, probably by the *Suishu's* editors. These few lines report the courteous reception of Zhenla's emissary in 616 and note that no further missions came to the Sui Court from this kingdom.

Poli 婆利's location has been the subject of much speculation. O.W. Wolters' summary of the scholarly attempts to place it on the map is almost despairing: "Po-li has been located in Borneo by Bretschneider, on the northern coast of Sumatra by Groeneveldt, and at Asahan on the north-east coast of Sumatra by Schlegel. Pelliot identified it with Bali, Gerini with the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, Moens with southern Sumatra and also with Java, Obdeijn with Bangka off the south-eastern coast of Sumatra, and Hsü Yün-ts'iao with Panei on the north-eastern coast of Sumatra. Sir Roland Braddell identified it with Borneo and thus completed the cycle of identifications where Bretschneider began as long ago as 1871."¹¹ Having noted the difficulty in mapping early Indonesia based on Chinese imperial histories, Wolters offered his own analysis, placing Poli on the eastern coast of Java.¹²

The lack of visual images in the very brief Poli account makes this information seem second-hand. The notes regarding the kingdom's relative location, official titles, customs, and products may thus have been provided by Poli's emissaries during their visit to the Sui court in 616.

⁹ Sambor Prei Kuk in Cambodia's Kompong Thom Province is now widely assumed to be the site of Īśānapura based on two inscriptions: the 7th-century K. 438 (Cœdès 1952 p. 27) and the 10th-century K. 436 (ibid p. 22, line 28). The former inscription mentions Īśānapura. The latter Angkor period inscription refers to "Īśānapurī."

¹⁰ *Liangshu* p. 790.

¹¹ Wolters p. 169

¹² Ibid p. 201

PART I – TRANSLATION OF BOOK 18, MEMOIR 47 OF THE *SUISHU***The Southern Barbarians (*Nanman* 南蠻)**

Southern barbarians of various types live intermingled with Chinese and are called Yan 蜒, Xiang 獠, Li 俚, Liao 獠, and Yi 貊. None have monarchs or chiefs; they reside in caves as available. From ancient times to the present, these have been referred to as the Hundred Yue (*Baiyue* 百越). These groups practice cutting the hair and tattooing the body. They enjoy raiding each other and so diminish and become weaker. They are gradually being subordinated to China, all [their territories] coming to be listed as commanderies and districts, [and the people] becoming the same as the masses [of Chinese]. We will not repeat what has been recorded elsewhere in detail. During the Daye Reign (605–617) over ten kingdoms from the wild south brought tribute. Traces of these matters have largely been destroyed and [the kingdoms] have not been heard from again. Now, records of only four of these kingdoms remain:¹³

Linyi¹⁴***The Foundation of Linyi and its Early Kings***

Linyi had its beginning in the rebellion of the Jiaozhi 交趾 woman Zheng Ce 徵側 during the late Han Dynasty.¹⁵ [Later in time] Ou Lian 區連,¹⁶ [a] son of the district Labor Section official, killed the District Magistrate and declared himself King.¹⁷ [One of Ou Lian’s successors] being without sons, was succeeded by Fan Xiong 范熊,¹⁸ the son of a sister.¹⁹ [Fan Xiong] died and was succeeded by his

¹³ This paragraph is an introductory statement by the Tang official historian. The claim that southern barbarians lacked chiefs and lived in caves is an inaccurate and scornful generalization of non-Chinese groups on the frontier. The statement regarding the barbarians’ gradual subordination to Chinese rule points to the southward expansion of the Han and the assimilation of minorities in southern China which continues today.

¹⁴ The name Linyi 林邑 means “Forest Fief.”

¹⁵ Jiaozhi (Vietnamese Giao Chỉ) was in the area of what is now the city of Hanoi. Zheng Ce (Vietnamese Trưng Trắc) and her sister Zheng Er 徵貳 (Trưng Nhị) led a rebellion against a corrupt Chinese prefect in 40 AD and Zheng Ce was proclaimed Queen by regional lords. People of Rinan Commandery, whose Xianglin District was later to become Linyi, joined in the uprising (Taylor p. 38). One way of interpreting the statement, “Linyi had its beginning in the rebellion of the Jiaozhi woman Zheng Ce,” is that Zheng Ce’s brief queenship inspired Linyi’s own assertion of indigenous rule 150 years later.

¹⁶ Ou 區 (EMC ʔəw) may also be pronounced *qu* (EMC k^huă), though the former is standard when the character occurs as a surname. The *Liangshu* (Memoir 48; p. 784) has Ou-ta 區達 in place of Ou Lian 區連.

¹⁷ The *Suishu*’s brief summary of these events is so terse as to invite misinterpretation. As noted above, Zheng Ce and Ou Lian were separated by some 150 years. The *Shuijingzhu* (Book 36) states that Ou Lian seized power during “the disorder of the [Han] Chuping Reign (190-194) when people held disloyal thoughts.” The district referred to is Rinan Commandery’s Xianglin 象林 District.

¹⁸ Michael Vickery has proposed that the *Fan* 范 in Fan Xiong (EMC buam’ wuwŋ) and the names of the Linyi kings that follow in this text, Fan Wen (EMC buam mun) and Fan Fo (EMC buam but), represents the Khmer or Mon-Khmer title, *poñ* (Vickery 1998, pp. 203, 446). *Poñ* were probably “chiefs who combined ritual and political roles” in small localities before the development of kingship (ibid p. 204). While Linyi has been widely regarded as a Cham polity, the occurrence of this title among its rulers raises the possibility that its main ethno-linguistic group was Mon-Khmer (Vickery 2005 pp. 17-18).

son, Yi 逸. A man from Rinan 日南, Fan Wen 范文, as consequence of a rebellion, became a servant attached to Yi and taught him to build palaces and manufacture [military] devices. Greatly trusting Wen, Yi made him commander of his troops and [Wen] became widely popular among the people. [Later] Wen denounced Yi's sons and brothers, who either fled or were exiled. When Yi died, the kingdom was without a successor [to the throne], so Wen established himself as king. After this, [Wen's son] Fan Fo 范佛 was crushed by Dai Huan 戴桓, the Awe Spreading General of the State of Jin.²⁰ [Decades later] the Song Dynasty's Regional Inspector for Jiaozhou, Tan Hezhi 檀和之, led an army to attack them and penetrated deep into their territory.²¹ There was travel of emissaries back and forth up to the Liang (502-556) and Chen (557-589) dynasties.

¹⁹ The parenthetical phrase that begins this sentence was added for context and clarity. The *Jinshu*, *Liangshu* and *Shuijingzhu* reveal that the *Suishu*'s account of Fan Xiong is truncated, giving the incorrect impression that his reign followed immediately after that of Ou Lian. As noted above, Ou Lian declared his kingship between 190-194. Fan Xiong is recorded in the *Jinshu* (Book 57, Tao Huang 陶璜 Memorial, p. 1560) as having declared himself king after the fall of the State of Wu in 277. The *Jinshu*'s statement regarding these two kings has a relatively clear timeline: "At the close of the Later Han, the District's Labor Section official, surnamed Ou, had a son called Lian who killed the [District] leader and established himself as King. His son[s] and grandsons succeeded him. Their last King [in Ou Lian's line] was without heir so a son of a daughter, Fan Xiong, succeeded." (*Jinshu* Memoir 67, p. 2545.)

²⁰ According to the *Jinshu*, Fan Wen usurped the throne in 336. Accounts in the *Jinshu*, *Liangshu*, and *Shuijingzhu* together relate that after he consolidated his power among regional chieftains, Wen assembled a mass of some 40-50 thousand people and attacked the Chinese commandery of Rinan to his immediate north. Wen captured Rinan in 347 and killed the corrupt Governor whose body he sacrificed to heaven. He subsequently slaughtered a Chinese army sent against him, raided Jiude 九德 Commandery, and sent an emissary to the Chinese Regional Inspector to request that the frontier between Linyi and the Chinese commanderies be moved north to Mount Heng. The request was denied. Wen withdrew from Rinan but returned shortly thereafter and pressed even further north, attacking Jiuzhen over a period of four years. In the process, he defeated an army sent against him from Jiaozhou and Guangzhou but died later from a spear wound. His son, Fan Fo, assumed the throne and continued his father's aggressive tactics, but was brought to submission by Chinese campaigns in 353 and 359.

²¹ Expanded accounts of this expedition against Linyi are found in the *Songshu* (Memoir 57), *Liangshu* (Memoir 48), and *Nan Qishu* (Memoir 39). Together, these sources relate the following sequence of events: In 431, Linyi raided Jiude Commandery and Sihui 四會 (a port on the Sui River, northwest of the city of Guangzhou) with over 100 multi-storied junks. This precipitated the dispatch of a 3,000-man army, which mounted an unsuccessful siege against the Linyi city of Qu-su 區粟 (written Qu-li 區栗 in some sources). In 433 Linyi's King, Fan Yang-mai 范陽邁, sent an emissary with regional products and a memorial to the Chinese court requesting control of Jiaozhou (the Chinese administrative territory which at that time comprised much of northern Vietnam, Guangzhou and Guangxi); the Emperor refused. Linyi continued raiding and even unsuccessfully sought troops from Funan to employ in a campaign against Jiaozhou. The *Songshu* states that the Chinese Emperor became indignant over King Fan Yang-mai's impertinence and in 446 ordered Jiaozhou's Regional Inspector, Tan Hezhi, to chastise him. After a bitterly fought campaign, the city of Qu-su was taken and Fan Yang-mai forced to flee. The conquering army sacked the city of precious metals and melted down a gold and silver image stated to have been 10 *wei* 圍 (arm spans) in size.

Description of Linyi; Official Titles; The King's Apparel and Royal guard; Musical Instruments

This kingdom extends thousands of *li* from north to south. The land is rich in fragrant woods and precious items. Its products are largely similar to those of Jiaozhi. City walls are built of brick and smeared with lime from shellfish. Doors face east.

They have two honored officials. The first is called the *Xi-na-po-di* 吸那婆帝;²² the second is called the *Sa-po-di-ge* 薩婆地歌.²³ They have three ranks of subordinate officers: the first is called *Lun-duo-xing* 倫多姓, followed by *Ge-lun-zhi-di* 哥倫致帝, followed in turn by *Yi-ta-qie-lan* 乙他伽蘭.²⁴ Outer officials (*waiguan* 外官, officials serving outside the capital) are separated into over 200 divisions.²⁵ The senior officials [of this category] are called *Fu-luo* 弗羅.²⁶ Those next in rank are called *Ke-lun* 可輪.²⁷ They are like the clerks (*chai* 差) of regional governors and district magistrates [in China].

The king wears a gold embroidered crown shaped like a *zhangfu* 章甫 [headdress].²⁸ He dresses in *chaoxia* 朝霞 cloth²⁹ [with] an *yingluo* 瓔珞 of pearls irregular and round;³⁰ his feet tread in leather shoes (*fu* 履). He sometimes drapes himself with a brocade robe.

²² *Xi-na-po-di* (EMC xip na' ba tɛj^h) is a transcription of the Sanskrit *Senāpati* "Master of Troops." This title was assigned in Thailand until 1932 and remains in use in Cambodia.

²³ *Sa-po-di-ge* (EMC sat ba di^h ka) is a transcription of *Sarvādhikārin*, "General Superintendent." In Buddhist texts, *Sa-po* 薩婆 transliterates the Sanskrit *sarva*, "all, whole, universal." In this instance, *di-ge* transcribes *adhikār* - one possessing authority, a governor or superintendent. *Adhikār* is found as an element in some modern Khmer and Thai official titles.

²⁴ The Sanskrit or other derivations of *Lun-duo-xing* 倫多姓 (EMC lwin ta siaj^h), *Ge-lun-zhi-di* 哥倫致帝 (EMC ka lwin tri^h tɛj^h), and *Yi-ta-qie-lan* 乙他伽蘭 (EMC ?it t^ha gia lan) remain undetermined.

²⁵ Divisions (部) most likely refers to geographical areas rather than administrative departments.

²⁶ *Fu-luo* 弗羅 (EMC put la) transliterates the Sanskrit *putra* (son) in Buddhist texts. The modern Cham *patra*, "prince," and *patra-patri*, "princes and princesses" (Moussay p. 271) appear to be derived from *putra* (as in the Sanskrit *rajaputra/rajaputrī* – prince/princess). Conjecturally, the *fu-luo* cited here were princes who governed regions outside the capital.

²⁷ *Ke-lun* 可輪 (EMC k^ha' lwin) bears a similarity to *kloñ/khloñ*, a title that occurs in many pre-Angkorean and Angkorean inscriptions. It is a functional title denoting a chief or leader (Vickery 1998 p. 196). This in turn resembles the modern Cham title *klong* (written *klauñ*), a term employed in addressing divinities or deified kings (Moussay p. 148).

²⁸ The *zhangfu* is an ancient type of headdress said to have been made of silk or leather (figure 1).

²⁹ The *Suishu*'s descriptions of the Linyi, Chitu, and Zhenla kings all note the wearing of *chaoxia* cloth. As royal adornment, it would have been a high quality or luxury item. Hirth and Rockhill (p. 218) identified *chaoxia* as a transcription of the Sanskrit *kaśeya* – silken stuffs. Others, notably Beal (p. 166) and Pelliot (1959 p. 453) understood the name in its literal sense: *chao* can mean morning, dawn, or royal court; *xia* denotes rosy or variegated rays of light such as in a dawn sky. Pelliot accordingly interpreted this compound as "dawn-rosy."

³⁰ As known in Chinese Buddhist art, *yingluo* 瓔珞 (variants 瓔珞 and 櫻珞) are typically long strings of beads or precious stones worn over the shoulders of Bodhisattva images (figure 2). The original meaning of *ying* 纓 is a tassel, particularly one that is part of a headdress. *Luo* 絡 lends its meaning of a joined strand or a halter. The compound *yingluo* first appeared in Chinese Buddhist texts, where it was used to translate several Sanskrit words: *mukta-hara*, a necklace of pearls; *ratnavali*, a string of precious stones; and *rucaka*, a garland, golden ornament or necklace (Li pp. 55-6). It is possible that this broad term could have covered additional types of large necklace or pectoral jewelry.

The sons of good families maintain a guard of about 200 men. All carry gold-ornamented swords. They have bows, arrows, swords and spears. Making crossbows out of bamboo, they spread poison on their arrows.

As to music, they have *Qin* 琴, *Di* 笛, *Pipa* 琵琶 and *Wuxian* 五絃 [instruments] quite similar to those in China. They beat drums to alert their populace and blow gourds to ready their troops.

Physical Characteristics and Clothing of the People; Marriage and Mourning; Buddhism, and the Use of Indian script

These people have deep set eyes and prominent noses. Their hair is curly and black in color. They are accustomed to going barefoot, and wrap their bodies with lengths of cloth (*fubu* 幅布). During cold months, they wear gowns (*pao* 袍). Women wear their hair in a mallet topknot (*zhuiji* 椎髻). They make palm leaf mats.

For each marriage they have a go-between offer gold and silver bracelets, two pots of wine and a number of fish to the girl's family. Thereupon, they choose an auspicious day [for the wedding]. The groom's family convenes relatives and guests and they sing and dance together. The bride's family invites a Brahmin³¹ to accompany the girl to the boy's house. The husband-to-be cleanses his hands because [the Brahmin] draws the girl to present to him.

When a king dies, he is cremated after seven days; for officials it is three days, and common people one day. In each case, the body is held in a coffin and there is excited music and dancing in procession as it is borne by sedan to a place on the water. [There, they] pile up firewood and burn it. They recover the remaining bones, which in the case of kings, are placed in a golden *ying* (jar)³² and submerged into the sea. [The remains of] officials are placed in a bronze *ying* (jar) and submerged into the bay, while common people are sent into the river[s] in fired clay [vessels].

Men and women all cut their hair and follow the funeral [procession] to the place on the water, mourn to the utmost, then cease. Returning home they do not weep. Every seven days they burn incense and scatter flowers, renew their weeping, mourn to the utmost, and cease. They complete seven weeks [of such mourning] and then desist. Reaching 100 days, and [then] three years [after a death] they again mourn like this.

The people all revere the Buddha. Their written script is like that of India (Tianzhu 天竺).

Liu Fang's Sack of Linyi

When the Exalted Founder [of the Sui Dynasty] pacified [the State of] Chen, [Linyi] sent an emissary to offer regional goods.³³ After this, tribute visits to the Court ceased. At that time there was no trouble under heaven, [but] all the officials said Linyi had many rare and precious things [and thereby excited interest in it]. At the end of the Renshou Reign (601-604), [the Court] dispatched General-in-chief Liu Fang 劉方 as Huanzhou Circuit's 驩州道 Military Campaign Commander-in-Chief to lead the Regional Inspector of Qinzhou 欽州, Ning Changzhen 甯長真, the Regional Chief of

³¹ Brahmin is interpreted from *po-luo-men* 婆羅門 (EMC ba la mən) a long-recognized transliteration of *Brāhmaṇa* that occurs in Buddhist texts predating the Sui.

³² *Ying* 甕 - a jar with a small mouth and two to four ears.

³³ The last elements of the Chen fell to the Sui in 589.

Huanzhou, Li Yun 李暈, and Commander Qin Xiong 秦雄 to attack [Linyi] with over 10,000 infantry and cavalry as well as thousands of convicts. [Linyi's] king, Fan Zhi 梵志, commanded his troops to mount huge elephants to do battle and Fang's army was disadvantaged. Fang thereupon dug many small pits and covered them with grass. He then used troops to provoke [Fan's army] and Fan Zhi attacked with his entire force. Fang engaged them in battle and feigned going north. Fan Zhi pursued to the location of the pits and most of his force was caught in the traps. Panic spread among the troops and the army fell into chaos. Fang put his troops in columns and attacked, crushing them. After successive battles [leading to] abrupt defeat, they abandoned the city and fled. Fang entered their capital³⁴ and seized their 18 principal temple images³⁵ which had all been cast in gold. This [the 18 images] was because they have had 18 reigns. Fang withdrew his troops and Fan Zhi returned to his old territory, sending emissaries to acknowledge his transgressions. Afterwards, he sent tribute to the Court without cease.

Chitu

Chitu's Situation, King and Capital; Regalia and Official Titles

The Kingdom of Chitu is another race of Funan.³⁶ It is in the southern ocean. It takes over 100 days to get to its capital by water. Its soils are mostly red in color, hence its name.³⁷ To the east is the Kingdom of Bo-luo-la 波羅刺國; to the west, is the Kingdom of Po-luo-suo 婆羅娑國; and to the south is the Kingdom of He-luo-dan 訶羅旦國.³⁸ The north is separated [from other land] by the great ocean. The place is thousands of *li* [in size]. Its king is surnamed Ju-tan 瞿曇; his name is Li-fu-duo-sai 利富多塞.³⁹ He is ignorant of the kingdoms near and far [from him]. His father was acclaimed "the Śākya King (*Shiwang* 釋王)" because he left home to follow the Way, [abdicating to become a monk], passing on his position to Li-fu-duo-sai who has been in power for 16 years. He has three wives who are daughters of the kings of neighboring kingdoms.

³⁴ Stein (pp. 129, 317-318) placed this capital at the site of the Trà Kiệu ruins in Quảng Nam Province.

³⁵ The word used is *miaozhu* 廟主, literally "temple host," a broad term for a temple's central image, tablet, or devotional object (which could include a Shivalinga). The Liu Fang autobiography below states that "temple host golden people" (廟主金人) were seized, indicating the writer's belief that the "temple hosts" were golden images of anthropomorphic form.

³⁶ The sentence 赤土國、扶南之別種也 begins the first known reference to the kingdom of Chitu, comparing it to Funan which had been well-known to the Chinese since the 3rd Century and had come to typify the Indianized Southeast Asian world. This is a cultural point of reference and does not imply a political relationship between the two kingdoms.

³⁷ This statement confirms that Chitu 赤土, meaning "red earth," is a translation rather than a transcription of a name. A Sanskrit inscription written in 5th Century Pallava script found in Kedah on Malaysia's western coast attests to one polity with such a name. The inscribed prayer calls for the success of a voyage to be undertaken by Buddhagupta, a sailing master (*mahānāvika*) from Raktamṛttika (the Red Land). It is impossible to tell from the text whether Buddhagupta was departing from or going to Raktamṛttika (Wheatley pp. 33, 274).

³⁸ The derivations of Bo-luo-la 波羅刺 (EMC pa la lat), Po-luo-suo 婆羅娑 (EMC ba la sa), and He-luo-dan 訶羅旦 (EMC xa la tan^h) remain undetermined.

³⁹ Ju-tan (EMC ku^h dəm/dam) transliterates Gautama, the surname of the Buddha's family (Soothill and Hodous). The derivation of the name Li-fu-duo-sai (EMC li^h puw^h ta səj^h) is undetermined.

[The king] lives in Seng-zhi City 僧祇城⁴⁰ which has three layers of gates, each separated from the next by 100 paces. Each gate has painted images of immortals of the earth and sky as well as Bodhisattvas, and is hung with golden ornaments, bells and tassels. [Upon the arrival of the Chinese emissaries],⁴¹ tens of women either played music or bore golden ornaments. And they had adorned four women - their faces made up in the manner of the “Vajra Strong-men” [door guardian figures] on the sides of Buddhist pagodas - to stand on either side of the gates.⁴² Those outside the gates held soldier's weapons; those inside grasped white whisks.⁴³ The road between the gates was hung with white netting, studded with flowers.

The various buildings of the King's palace are all multi-storied, situated with doors on the northern sides. [The king] sat on a three-tiered platform.⁴⁴ He was clothed in *chaoxia* cloth, crowned with a crown of golden motifs, and hung with an *yingluo* of miscellaneous precious stones. Four girls stood in attendance; over 100 troops stood guard to the left and right. Behind the King's platform they had made a wooden niche, filigreed with a mix of gold, silver and *wuxiang* wood.⁴⁵ Behind that niche hung a golden nimbus.⁴⁶ Two golden mirrors stood on either side of the platform and golden urns were placed before the mirrors. In front of each urn was a golden censer, and at the front [of this arrangement] was a golden reclining bull.⁴⁷ Before the bull, they had set up a single, elaborate umbrella. To the left and right of the umbrella were elaborate fans. Hundreds of Brahmins and other people sat on the east and west [sides of the court] in multiple rows facing each other.

The King's [senior] officials comprise one *Sa-tuo-jia-luo* 薩陀迦羅,⁴⁸ two *Tuo-na-da-cha* 陀拏達叉⁴⁹ and three *jia-li-mi-jia* 迦利蜜迦⁵⁰ who together have charge of administrative matters. One *Ju-luo-*

⁴⁰ In Buddhist texts, Seng-zhi 僧祇 (EMC səŋ tɕi) transliterates *sāṅghika* – relating to the *saṅgha*; a complete set of land and buildings for a monastery (Soothill and Hodous). Versions of this text in the *Tongdian* and *Taiping huanyu ji* add that Seng-zhi City was also called Shizi cheng 師子城, the “Lion City” (Wheatley p. 30).

⁴¹ What follows could not be a description of the city gate on a normal day. The pageantry of this scene indicates a special event, perhaps part of the formal reception of the Chinese emissaries that is addressed later in the account.

⁴² Vajra Strong-men is derived from *Jingang Lishi* 金剛力士, usually identified as Vajrapanibalin.

⁴³ The martially outfitted women suggest a female guard, a feature of the Thai and Cambodian courts until relatively recent times (Wales 1931; pp. 47, 50, 109). Given the presence of bearers of whisks (still an item of regalia in Thai and Cambodian monarchies) it is possible that the women described as holding golden ornaments (*jinhua* 金花) were displaying other royal emblems.

⁴⁴ *Ta* 榻, translated here as ‘platform,’ is a low bed, without arms or backrest, for sitting or lying upon.

⁴⁵ *Kan* 龕, translated here as ‘niche,’ is generally a recess in which an image is placed. In this case, it is probably a shallow structure, either free-standing or attached to the wall behind it. *Wuxiangmu* 五香木, meaning “five fragrant wood(s)” might be the name of a specific tree. It could also be a catch-all term for various fragrant woods.

⁴⁶ Nimbus translates *guangyan* 光焰, literally a “bright blaze” or “brilliance.” It is an archaic term for the flamboyant halo that surrounds many bronze Chinese Buddha images of this period.

⁴⁷ Bull is interpreted from *niu* 牛 which is genderless. The image probably represented Nandin, Shiva's gatekeeper and vehicle.

⁴⁸ Cœdès (1968 p. 78) suggested *Sa-tuo-jia-luo* (EMC sat da kia la) may be the Sanskrit *sādhukāra*, “doer of good,” or more likely, *sārdhakāra*, “fellow-worker.”

mo-di 俱羅末帝⁵¹ handles the punishment of criminals. Each city (城) is assigned one *Na-ye-jia* 那邪迦⁵² and ten *Bo-di* 鉢帝.⁵³

Chitu's Religion, Adornment, Marriage, and Mourning; Climate, Agriculture, and Liquor

Their custom is for all to pierce their ears and cut their hair. They lack the practice of kowtowing. They spread fragrant oils upon their bodies. They customarily venerate the Buddha while also regarding the Brahmins with esteem. The women wear their hair in a knot at the nape of the neck. Men and women all use *chaoxia* morning-cloud variegated-color cloth as clothing.⁵⁴ The prosperous households squander wealth without restraint, yet gold chains, unless conferred by the king, must not be worn.

For weddings, they choose an auspicious day. For five days in advance, the girl's family makes music and drinks liquor. The father grasps the girl's hands to present her to the son-in-law. On the seventh day [of the wedding festivity] they are a couple. Once married, they separate their property and live apart [from their parents]. Only young children live with their fathers.

If a parent or a sibling dies, they shave their hair and wear [mourning] clothes of plain [white] cloth. Then, a bamboo and wood canopy is built on the water. Inside the canopy they pile up firewood and place the corpse on top. They burn incense, set up pennants, blow gourds and beat drums to send off the deceased. They strike the fire and burn the wood; it then sinks into the water. [The procedure] is the same for the high-ranking and the humble. Only with a king, after burning is complete, do they collect the ashes and save them in a golden bottle (*ping* 瓶) which is kept in a temple building.

Winter and summer are usually warm; rains are many and clear days few. Sowing and planting are done without [regard to] season. Rice, millet, white beans and black hemp are especially suited [to the climate]. Their other products are mostly like those of Jiaozhi. They make liquor out of sugar

⁴⁹ The parallel Chitu account copied into the *Beishi* reads "one *Tuo-na-da-cha*" (EMC da nrai/nɛ: dat tɕ^ha:/tɕ^hɛ:). As noted by Wheatley (p. 28) versions in the later *Taiping yulan* and *Wenxian tongkao* have "two *Tuo-na-da-you* 陀拏達又" (EMC da nrai/nɛ: dat wuw^h). Cœdès interpreted the form *Tuo-na-da-you* as *dhanada*, "dispenser of good things," a title that appears on an engraved seal found at Óc Eo (ibid).

⁵⁰ Cœdès (1968 pp. 78, 294) interprets *Jia-li-mi-jia* (EMC kia li^h mjit kia) as the Sanskrit *Karmika*, "agent."

⁵¹ Cœdès (ibid.) interprets *Ju-luo-mo-di* (EMC kuǎ la mat tɕj^h) as the Sanskrit *Kulapati*, "head of the family," noting that it is a title seen in Cambodian inscriptions designating the head of a religious establishment.

⁵² *Na-ye-jia* (EMC na' jia kia) transcribes the Sanskrit *nāyaka*, "chief." It is found in Javanese and Sundanese as *nayaka*; in Madurese as *najokoh* (G. Ferrand, *La Kouen-louen*, in *Journal Asiatique*, May-April 1919, cited in Luce p. 174).

⁵³ Ferrand (ibid.) identified *bo-ti* (EMC pat tɕj^h) as the Sanskrit-Pali *pati*, "master," noting that this word is a component in Malay honorific terms.

⁵⁴ "*Chaoxia* morning-cloud variegated-color cloth 朝霞朝雲雜色布" is redundant. "Morning cloud variegated" is a literal interpretation of *chaoxia* 朝霞. The rendering suggests that the writer or an editor thought *chaoxia*, a newly introduced word at the time, required expansion. See note 28 above.

cane mixed with purple gourd roots (*ziguagen* 紫瓜根).⁵⁵ The color of the liquor is yellow-red; the taste is fragrant and appealing. They also make liquor out of palm sap.⁵⁶

The Expedition of Chang Jun and Wang Junzheng to Chitu; Their Itinerary, Arrival and Reception; Audience with the Chitu King; the Reading of a Decree and a Feast; Drafting of a Memorial on Gold Leaves; Return Voyage to China; Record of a Red Tide; Imperial Rewards for the Envoys

When Emperor Yang came to the throne, he summoned those who could communicate with distant lands. In the third year of the Daye Reign (607), Director of Military Colonial Lands, Chang Jun 常駿, Director of the Ministry of Forests and Crafts, Wang Junzheng 王君政 and others requested to serve as envoys to Chitu.⁵⁷ The Emperor, greatly pleased, granted Jun and the others each 100 rolls of silk and one set of seasonal clothing then sent them off. Five thousand gift items [were provided] to bestow on the king of Chitu.

On the tenth month of that year, Jun and the others left Nanhai Commandery 南海郡⁵⁸ by boat (*zhou* 舟). Throughout night and day for 20 days, they met advantageous winds.⁵⁹ They reached

⁵⁵ The Chinese *gua* 瓜 denotes a variety of gourds, melons, and cucumbers. It is impossible to say from the construction of this sentence whether it was the gourd or the root that was purple.

⁵⁶ This is the "palm wine" or "toddy" which is still consumed throughout rural Southeast Asia. The sentence reads 亦名椰漿爲酒." The character *ming* 名 is evidently a copyist's error for *yi* 以 and has been corrected accordingly in translation (see ZHSJ editors' footnote to the *Suishu*, p. 1834).

⁵⁷ The Ministry of Forests and Crafts (*Yubu* 虞部) was responsible for forest products (Hucker p. 591). This fact is significant in that such goods probably composed the bulk of Chitu's tributary trade with China.

⁵⁸ This is now the port of Guangzhou.

⁵⁹ The tenth month of 607 was between 26 October and 24 November. However, Book 3 of the *Suishu's* Imperial Annals (p. 71) has a different departure date, 13 April 608. The first date, which can be attributed to Chang Jun himself, is most likely correct. Setting off in late October or November, the emissaries' boat would have met the northeast monsoon and sailed with the wind toward the Malay Peninsula. The statement about meeting advantageous winds suggests that they did so. If they had left in April as recorded in the Imperial Annals, their boat would have had to sail against the prevailing wind of the southwest monsoon.

Presuming his departure from China in 607, Chang Jun's travel coincided with a series of three annual tributary trade missions from Chitu. Envoys from Chitu arrived with regional products on 9 April 608 and then again on 14 March 609 (*Suishu* Book 3, pp. 71, 72). As will be seen below, Chang Jun returned to China in 610 in conjunction with the third mission. It seems probable that the Chinese party had a role in preparing these missions while residing in Chitu, perhaps guiding the selection and inventorying of goods.

The *Suishu's* Imperial Annals (p. 71) specifies that Chang Jun was sent to serve as emissary to Chitu and to reach Luo-cha (遣屯田主事常駿使赤土、致羅刹). There is no mention of Luo-cha in Chang Jun's account as copied into the *Suishu* and other books. The *Xin Tang Shu* (Memoir 147, p. 6,299) states that contact with Luo-cha was a consequence of Chang's mission to Chitu, but does not explain how this occurred: "... to its (Poli's) east is Luo-cha; its customs are similar to Poli's. Sui Emperor Yang dispatched Chang Jun as emissary to Chitu and consequently (Luo-cha) entered into communication with China." Elsewhere in the same source it is noted, "Luo-cha is east of Poli. During the Zhenguan Reign (627-650) an emissary from Linyi visited the Tang Court together with emissaries from Poli and Luo-cha."

The original text of the *Suishu's* Imperial Annals has Luo-ji 羅罽 rather than Luo-cha. This apparent error is cited and corrected in the ZHSJ edition. There is no mention of a Luo-ji kingdom in any other source, but as noted above, Luo-cha is well attested. A statement regarding Chang Jun's mission in the *Suishu's* Monograph of Foods and Traded Goods (p. 687) has Luo-cha.

Jiaoshi (lit. ‘Scorched Stone’) Mountain 焦石山 and passed it, anchoring to its southeast at the island of Ling-qie-bo-ba-duo 陵伽鉢拔多, the west of which faces Linyi.⁶⁰ There is a shrine at the summit. Again travelling south, they reached Shizi (Lion) Rock 師子石. From there, islands are in a continuous series. Again travelling two or three days, they looked to the west and saw the mountains of the Kingdom of Lang-ya-xu 狼牙須國. Then, heading south, they reached Jilong Island 雞籠島,⁶¹ arriving in the territory of Chitu. Its King sent a Brahmin, Jiu-mo-luo 鳩摩羅,⁶² with 30 *bo* 船 [ships]⁶³ to welcome them. Blowing gourds and beating drums to fete the Sui emissaries, they provided a golden-hasped hawser to tie onto Jun's ship (*chuan* 船). In a little over a month they reached their capital.⁶⁴

The King sent his son, [who was a] *Na-ye-jia*⁶⁵ to invite Jun and the others for an audience. He had first dispatched people to bring golden *pan* 盤⁶⁶ filled with fragrant flowers together with mirrors and tweezers, two gold boxes filled with fragrant oil, eight gold bottles filled with perfume and four lengths of *baidie* 白疊 (cotton) prepared for the emissaries' bathing.⁶⁷

In Buddhist texts known during the Sui, Luo-cha (EMC la tɕ^hait/tɕ^hɛ:t) transliterates the Sanskrit *rākṣasa*, demons and devourers of men. The term was also used to describe the barbarians of ancient India (Soothill and Hodous p. 471). Wolters (pp. 198-199) suggested that the people of Poli may have contemptuously referred to primitive people residing beyond their kingdom as “Luo-cha (*rākṣasa*).”

⁶⁰ The location of Ling-qie-bo-ba-duo (liŋ gia pat bəit/bɛ:t ta) has not been firmly established but the name is likely a transcription of Liṅgaparvata (Wheatley p. 35). Liṅgaparvata is Sanskrit, meaning “Mountain of the Linga.”

⁶¹ This is a descriptive name meaning “Chicken Basket-cage Island.” The basket-cage is typically a dome of loosely plaited bamboo strips that can be placed over chickens to contain them.

⁶² In Buddhist texts, Jiu-mo-luo 鳩摩羅 (EMC kuw ma la) transliterates the Sanskrit *kumāra*: a child, youth, prince (Soothill and Hodous). It is a frequently encountered personal name in contemporary India.

⁶³ The word *Bo* (EMC baijk/bɛ:jk) is of non-Chinese origin. Such ships were of considerable size, over 200 feet in length and able to hold 600 to 700 men (Wang pp. 38-39).

⁶⁴ Luce (p. 175) and Wang (p. 67) interpreted this to mean that the Chinese envoys were towed up a river from the sea to an inland capital. Other scenarios are imaginable. For example, the Chitu ships may have tied the emissaries’ boat to one of their own to lead it through unfamiliar and possibly dangerous waters to a capital elsewhere on the coast.

⁶⁵ The ZHSJ editors have underlined *Na-ye-jia* to indicate their reading of it as a proper noun. Though it appears to be used as such, as stated in footnote 51 above, *na-ye-jia* transcribes the Sanskrit *nāyaka*, “chief.”

⁶⁶ As an ancient bronze vessel type, the Chinese *pan* has a wide mouth and a high foot (figure 3). Similar pedestalled metal bowls, the Thai *phan* 𑖛𑖞𑖟 and Khmer *pān* 𑓀𑓃𑓂 (pron. pien), have long been used to present documents and gifts to royalty and senior religious figures. This etiquette can be recognized here in the presentation of flowers and toilet articles to the Chinese emissaries on one or more golden *pan*. In the account that follows, a *pan* was brought to convey the Chinese Emperor’s proclamation to the Chitu King. *Pan* 盤 may also denote a large plate or platter made of ceramic or other material.

⁶⁷ *Baidie* (EMC baijk/bɛ:jk dəp) denotes a type of cotton cloth, but the origin of the word is obscure and its meaning ambiguous. According to Pelliot (1959 pp. 442-7) *die* 疊 transcribes a non-Chinese word for cotton. However, the character *bai* 白 (meaning “white”) may either be read as part of a phonetic transcription (i.e., *baidie*) or understood in its literal sense (i.e., white *die*). While acknowledging the possibility of the former interpretation, Pelliot favored the latter. In light of the two conflicting but reasonable explanations of *baidie*, I have rendered it phonetically throughout this text.

The provision of tweezers to the envoys suggests that, as is often the case today in parts of rural Southeast Asia, beards were plucked rather than shaved.

At mid afternoon of that day, the *Na-ye-jia* presented two elephants grasping peacock feather umbrellas to welcome the envoys. He also brought golden ornaments and a golden *pan* to convey the [Imperial] proclamation case.⁶⁸ One hundred men and women played gourds and drums. Two Brahmins led the way to the King's palace. Jun and the others, bearing the proclamation document [atop the golden *pan*], ascended to the King's pavilion. The King and his retinue all sat. When the proclamation had been announced, Jun and the others were invited to sit while Indian music was played. At the conclusion of the ceremony, Jun and the others returned to their quarters. Again, a Brahmin was dispatched to their quarters to bring food, using a platter one square *zhang* 丈 (3.5 meters) in size made of grass leaves. [The Brahmin] thereupon spoke to Jun saying, "We are now people of the Great State (China) and will no longer return to being the Kingdom of Chitu. This food and drink is coarse and sparse but we hope you will eat it for the sake of the Great State."⁶⁹

After some days, [The King] invited Jun and the others in his group to a feast with a ceremonial escort similar to the courtesies extended on the occasion of their first meeting. In front of the King they set up two low platforms, and on top of the platforms placed grass leaf platters one *zhang* five *chi* 尺 (5.25 meters) square. On these were cakes (*bing* 餅) in the four colors of yellow, white, purple and red, and over 100 dishes [made from] the meat of cattle, sheep, fish, fresh-water turtle, pigs, and hawkbill turtle. [The King] invited Jun to ascend [and sit on] a platform while attendants sat on mats on the ground, each pouring wine from a golden *zhong* 鍾 (vessel).⁷⁰ Women took turns performing music and lavish gifts were presented. [The King] then dispatched the *Na-ye-jia* to accompany Jun [to China] to offer local items as tribute and moreover to present a lotus crown (*furong guan* 芙蓉冠)⁷¹ and dragon's brain aromatic (camphor).

Using cast gold as *duo-luo* leaves⁷² [upon which to write] they rendered in relief a [Chitu] text as a memorial to the [Chinese] throne and sealed it in a gold case. [The king] ordered Brahmins to send [Jun and his party] off with fragrant flowers and the playing of gourds and drums.

⁶⁸ The essential acts of Chang Jun's emissarial mission were his presentation of an imperial proclamation (*zhaoshu* 詔書) and the receipt of a memorial (*biao* 表) from Chitu's king. Addressing "the Siamese idea of an embassy," which appears relevant here, Quaritch Wales (p. 180) noted, "...it was the custom in Siam and the other Far Eastern countries to regard the king's letter as the essential factor, to pay all respects to it, and to regard the ambassadors as mere messengers."

⁶⁹ Context indicates that this statement was made by the Brahmin serving the food in Jun's quarters. It purports to be his acceptance of Chitu's status as a Chinese vassal. However, reflecting on the inferior position of foreign polities portrayed in the dynastic histories, Wang Gungwu (p. 118) concluded, "It is improbable that all the countries in the Nanhai (Southern Ocean) should acknowledge Chinese suzerainty and seek Chinese protection, least of all, in the same way and to the same extent. Only those countries bordering China may have had reason to do so."

⁷⁰ A *zhong* is a vessel with a high foot, round, bulbous body and a narrow, tapered neck.

⁷¹ *Furong* 芙蓉, translated here as lotus, may also denote the hibiscus, particularly in more modern writing. A headdress of that name depicted in the *Sancai tuhui* has the shape of a lotus bud (figure 4).

⁷² "*Duo-luo* leaves 多羅葉" is a hybrid rendering (part transliteration part translation) of the Sanskrit *talapatra* (Palmyra palm leaves) found in Buddhist scriptures pre-dating the Sui. *Duo-luo* (EMC ta la) transliterates *tala*, the Palmyra palm; it is compounded with the Chinese word for leaf, *ye* 葉. This passage describes the production of a document on gold strips made to resemble the palm leaves that were once commonly used as a writing medium in India and Southeast Asia. Dried palm leaves are inscribed with a stylus and lampblack is rubbed into the inscription to make it easily readable. The observation that the gold Chitu text was in relief, suggests the script was raised via repoussé technique. The statement that the leaves were cast (*zhu* 鑄) seems incorrect as gold sheets are typically rolled or hammered to the desired thickness.

Then, having put out to sea, they saw a school of green fish flying above the water. Floating on the sea for more than 10 days, they reached the southeast of Linyi and sailed following the mountains [visible on the horizon]. For a breadth of over 1000 *bu* (1.75 kilometers), the seawater there, was yellow in color and rank in odor. The boat sailed a day without clearing it. It was said that this was the excrement of big fish.⁷³ Following the sea along the northern coast, they arrived at Jiaozhi.

In the spring of the sixth year (of the Daye Reign - 610), Jun and the *Na-ye-jia* had an audience at [the capital] Hongnong 弘農.⁷⁴ The Emperor was greatly pleased and bestowed upon Jun and the others [of his party] 200 [gift] items and conferred upon each [the title] “Defender of Righteousness.” The *Na-ye-jia* and other [Chitu] officials were rewarded and each given a commission (*chai* 差).

Zhenla⁷⁵

Zhenla's Location and its Annexation of Funan; the King and Capital, Regalia and Royal Apparel; Titles of High Ministers; Court Etiquette; Alliances and Enmities; Royal Succession and the Mutilation of the King's Male Siblings

The Kingdom of Zhenla is to the southwest of Linyi and was originally subject to Funan. From Rinan Prefecture, it is 60 days by boat. The south abuts the Kingdom of Che-qu 車渠; to the west is the Kingdom of Zhujiang 朱江.⁷⁶ The surname of its [former] king was that of the Cha-li 刹利 clan;⁷⁷ his given name was Zhi-duo-si-na 質多斯那.⁷⁸ His ancestors had gradually become more powerful and

⁷³ This is an apparent description of a red tide. Such blooms of phytoplankton are also yellow or brown depending on the specific organism involved.

⁷⁴ While Chang Jun and the *Na-ye-jia* are said here to have had their audience in the spring of 610, Book 3 of the *Suishu's* Imperial Annals (p. 75) records the arrival of an emissary with regional products from Chitu on 27 June (summer) of that year. The discrepancy could mean that Chang Jun and the *Na-ye-jia* travelled in advance of the Chitu mission's cargo. However, since the Imperial Annals contain what appears to be an erroneous date for Chang Jun's departure (see note 58 above), the date of his return in that record may also be incorrect.

The Sui capital, Hong-nong, was located in the area of what is now the city of Luoyang in Henan Province.

⁷⁵ The origin of the name Zhenla 真臘 (EMC tɕin lap) remains unclear. It has no apparent similarity to any Mon-Khmer ethnonym and has not been associated with certainty with the name of any major geographical feature or city.

⁷⁶ The derivation of the name Che-qu (EMC tɕ^hia giǎ) remains unclear. Zhujiang (EMC tɕuǎ kaiwŋ/kœ:wŋ), meaning "Vermilion River," seems to be a translation versus a transcription of a name.

⁷⁷ In Buddhist texts, Cha-li (EMC tɕ^hait/tɕ^hɛ:t li^h) transliterates the Sanskrit *Kṣatriya*, the warrior or princely caste. ‘Surname’ (*xing* 姓), as used here, seems to follow usage in Buddhist scriptures known during this period in China where it is one of two translations of **the Sanskrit varna**, *the other being zhong* 種 (*race, tribe*). *The 4th Century Zengyi ahan jing* 增壹阿含經 (*Ekottara Āgama Sutra*) has a discourse in which the Buddha states, “吾姓刹利,” literally, “I am surnamed Ksatriya” (Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 2, No. 125 Book 46, dialogue 6). In Cambodia, the form *kṣatra* is attested in two Angkorean inscriptions where it is used in the sense of “king, sovereign, monarch, lord, noble, or warrior” (Jenner, *Angkorean Khmer*. p. 60). There are single occurrences of *mahākṣatra*, “great king or prince” (ibid p. 428) and *rājakṣatra*, “a *kṣatriya* as member of the royal family, royal member of the warrior class” (ibid p. 469).

⁷⁸ Pelliot (1903 pp. 295-96) recognized Zhi-duo-si-na (EMC tɕit ta siǎ/si na') as a transcription of Citrasena. Seidenfaden (p. 58) recorded an inscription from Ubon, Thailand (since catalogued as K.509) which states that Citrasena was the name of a King Mahendravarman before his ascension to the throne.

flourishing until the time of Zhi-duo-si-na [himself], who annexed (*jian* 兼) Funan and possessed it. When he died, his son Yi-she-na-xian 伊奢那先⁷⁹ took his place. [He] lives in Yi-she-na City 伊奢那城,⁸⁰ there are over 20,000 households below its walls. In the middle of the city there is a great hall which is the King's place of administration. Altogether, there are 30 large cities. Cities have thousands of households; each has a Division Leader (*bushuai* 部帥). Official titles are the same as [those used in] Linyi.

Their King holds court once every three days. He sits on a bed of the five fragrant and seven-jeweled [materials].⁸¹ There is a precious screen arrayed above [the King]. This screen has balusters (*gan* 竿) of patterned wood and panel[s] of ivory and gold inlay. It has the form of a small house (*xiaowu* 小屋). [Around it] is hung a golden nimbus. There is something similar in Chitu.⁸² In the front is a golden incense censer flanked by two attendants.

The King wears *chaoxia gubei* (cotton)⁸³ which wraps and conceals his waist and stomach; it hangs to his shins. On his head, he wears a decorated crown of gold and precious stones. He wears an *yingluo* of pearls and his feet are shod with leather slippers.⁸⁴ Gold ornaments hang from his ears. [When not involved in royal duties] he usually wears *baidie* (cotton) and sandals made of ivory. If he uncovers his hair [by removing his crown], he does not put on the *yingluo*. The clothing of his officials is generally similar.

⁷⁹ Yi-she-na-xian (EMC ʔji ɕia na' sen/sen^h) transcribes the name Īśānasena, identified by Pelliot (1903 pp. 295-296) as Īśānavarman. The majority of inscriptions that mention this king are from Sambor Prei Kuk, presumed to be the site of his capital, Īśānapura (Vickery 1998 pp. 335-6).

⁸⁰ Yi-she-na (EMC ʔji ɕia na') City is Īśānapura (Pelliot 1903 p. 295). This is a hybrid rendering of the name. Yi-she-na transcribes the Sanskrit Īśāna, one of the five names of Rudra-Śiva and the name of Zhenla's ruler. It is joined to *cheng* 城 (city) which translates the Sanskrit *pura*.

⁸¹ "Five fragrant" (*wuxiang* 五香) in this case probably refers to fragrant woods. The seven jewels (*qibao* 七寶; Sanskrit *saptaratna*), or seven precious things, as named in chapter six of Kumārajīva's early 5th Century Chinese translation of the *Lotus Sutra* (*Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 – Taisho No. 0262) are gold, silver, *liuli* 琉璃 (from *vaiḍūrya* - probably colored opaque glass), giant clam shell, agate, pearl, and *meigui* 玫瑰 (sard or carnelian).

⁸² Given its comparison to a small house, the screen (*zhang* 帳) could have been a free-standing structure such as a *mandapa*. The comment that compares it to a feature in Chitu's royal audience hall suggests that the writer was familiar with Chang Jun's description of that kingdom, the *Chituguo ji*, quoted above. If this reference to Chitu is accepted as original to the description of Zhenla, it dates this text to a time after Chang Jun's return in 610. It is nevertheless possible that the comment is an interpolation by the *Suishu*'s editors to expand the terse and ambiguous description of the screen.

⁸³ Gubei 古貝 (EMC kɔ' paj^h) transcribes a word derived from the Sanskrit *karpāsa* (cotton). Pelliot (1959 pp. 433-442) contains an exhaustive study of *gubei*.

There are two ways to interpret *chaoxia gubei*. If *chaoxia* is a transcription of the Sanskrit *kaūṣeya* (silken stuff) this is probably a fine weave of cotton. However, if *chaoxia* is understood literally (as variegated dawn-color) *chaoxia gubei* would mean "variegated dawn-colored cotton." See footnotes 28 and 53 above.

⁸⁴ "Slippers" translates *xi* 屣, a type of footwear that has no heel backs.

There are five high ministers (*dachen* 大臣): the first is called [the] *Gu-luo-zhi* 孤落支;⁸⁵ the second is called [the] *Gao-xiang-ping* 高相憑; the third is called [the] *Po-he-duo-ling* 婆何多陵; the fourth is called [the] *She-mo-ling* 舍摩陵; the fifth is called [the] *Ran-duo-lou* 髡多婁.⁸⁶ Then there are various lesser ministers.

Those who would have audience with the King will rapidly bow their heads to the ground three times at the steps below [the throne]. When the King calls them to ascend the stairs, they will then kneel and embrace their shoulders with both hands and sit in a circle around the King. When discussion of administrative affairs is concluded, they [again] get on their knees in reverence and leave. Stairs to the halls and doors to the chambers [are protected by] a guard of over 1,000 men who wear armor and carry weapons.

This kingdom is united closely with the two kingdoms of Can-ban 參半⁸⁷ and Zhujiang. They have gone to war many times against Linyi and Tuo-huan 陀桓.⁸⁸ These people, whether in action or at rest, all carry armor and weapons which they are thus able to employ if there is an attack.

By custom, sons not of the King's formal wife[s] may not succeed to the throne. On the first day of a King's reign, all his elder and younger brothers are mutilated, whether by cutting off a finger or cutting off the nose. They are [sent away] to be provided for in different places and may not seek office.⁸⁹

Description of the People; Ablutions and Diet; Marriage; Death

The people are small of physique and dark in color, but there are also some women who are light. All roll up their hair and hang things from their ears. They are quick and vigorous by nature. Their dwelling places and utensils are similar to those of Chitu.⁹⁰ They take the right hand to be clean and the left to be unclean. Every morning they bathe and use a willow twig to clean their teeth.⁹¹ They read and recite scriptures and again bathe, then eat. When finished eating, they again use a willow

⁸⁵ *Gu-luo* (EMC ɔ lak) may transcribe the pre-Angkorean title *Kurāk*, although there is no obvious match for the character *zhi* (EMC tciä/tci). *Kurāk* is found in eight pre-Angkorean inscriptions with what appear to be the names of territories appended to it (Vickery 1998 pp. 205-6). The wording of the *Suishu* text does not indicate whether *Gu-luo-zhi* was the ascriptive personal title of the King's senior minister or the name of a position within the royal court.

⁸⁶ The derivations of the titles *Gao-xiang-ping* 高相憑 (EMC kaw siaŋ biŋ), *Po-he-duo-ling* 婆何多陵 (EMC ba ɣa ta liŋ), *She-mo-ling* 舍摩陵 (EMC ɕia^h ma liŋ) and *Ran-duo-lou* 髡多婁 (EMC ɲiam ta ləw) are uncertain. As with *Gu-luo-zhi* above, the text does not reveal whether they are ascriptive or functional titles.

⁸⁷ The derivation of the name Can-ban (EMC ts^həm/ts^ham pan^h) has not been determined.

⁸⁸ The derivation of the name Tuo-huan (EMC da ɣwan) has not been determined.

⁸⁹ There is no information that corroborates this as customary practice in pre-Angkorean kingship. Nevertheless, the statement could reflect the extreme measures of one king to eliminate challenges to his rule.

⁹⁰ This statement is another indication that the author and intended readers of the Zhenla account were familiar with Chitu, probably through Chang Jun's *Chituguo ji*. See note 81 above.

⁹¹ In Chinese Buddhist texts, "willow twig (*yangzhi* 楊枝)" translates the Sanskrit *dantakāṣṭha*, literally "tooth wood" used to clean the teeth by chewing or rubbing (Soothill and Hodous p. 402). The practice has been known in India since ancient times.

twig to clean their teeth and again read scriptures. [Their] drink and food include much milk curd,⁹² granular sugar, non-glutinous rice, and rice cake. When wanting to eat, they first take thick stew (*geng* 羹) of various meats and blend it together with [rice] cakes, [then] feed themselves by picking it up with their hands.⁹³

Those who would marry a wife need only give [her family] a set of clothing. They select a day and send a go-between to receive the bride. Neither the man's nor woman's family goes out for eight days; they burn lamps day and night without interruption. When the marriage ceremony is finished, the man divides property with his father and mother and lives apart from them. [When] fathers and mothers die, the unmarried children share the remaining property. If a marriage ends, property is confiscated by officials.

In their funerals, sons and daughters fast for seven days, shave their hair and weep. [Buddhist] monks, nuns, Daoists⁹⁴ and relatives then all come and gather together and send off [the deceased] with music. They use *wuxiang* wood to burn corpses and collect the ashes to place in a golden or silver bottle (*ping* 瓶) which is sent off into a large body of water. The poor sometimes use fired clay (bottles) but paint them with colors. There are also those who are not burned; corpses are sent into the mountains and wild animals allowed to eat them.

Zhenla's Climate; New Fruits, and Remarkable Water Creatures

The north of this kingdom has many mountains and hills; the south has marshes. The weather is especially hot, without frost or snow. It abounds in miasmatic disease, the poisonous and stinging. The soil is fit for sorghum and rice. There is little wheat or millet. Fruits and vegetables are of the same types as those in Rinan and Jiuzhen 九真. Curiosities [of the region] include the *po-na-suo* 婆那娑 tree which does not blossom, has leaves like a persimmon and fruit resembling a winter melon (*donggua* 冬瓜);⁹⁵ the *an-luo* 菴羅 tree, whose flowers and leaves are like [Chinese] jujube (*zao* 棗) and whose fruit resembles a plum;⁹⁶ the *pi-ye* 毗野 tree which has flowers like [Chinese] quince

⁹² "Milk curd" is derived from 蘇酪 *sulao*, most commonly written 酥酪. Both forms of the word occur in Chinese Buddhist texts. Cow's milk (Sanskrit *kṣīra*) is mentioned in one pre-Angkorean inscription (Jenner, *pre-Angkorean Khmer* p. 87). Milk products are not part of the traditional Khmer diet and this mention of milk curd may reflect the author's observation of a highly Indianized element of Zhenla's society.

⁹³ The cuisines of contemporary India, Southeast Asia, and China all have examples of what can be termed "rice cake" (*mibing* 米餅). South Indian *idli*, steamed cakes of coarsely ground rice and fermented lentils, can be eaten with meat or vegetable dishes as described here. Throughout much of Asia, steamed cakes made from leavened, ground rice, are served as confections.

⁹⁴ The Linyi and Chitu sections above contain references to Brahmins, transcribed *Po-luo-men*. The author of the Zhenla section, however, used a familiar (though misleading) term of reference, Daoist (*Daojia* 道家), for religious persons who in context can only have been Brahmins. As depicted in Angkorean art, Brahmin ascetics and priests were bearded and not unlike some representations in Chinese art of Daoists as motley wanderers. Daoism offered a religious and ceremonial alternative to Buddhism in the China of this period and the author may have sensed a similar relationship between Brahmanism and Buddhism in Zhenla.

⁹⁵ *Po-na-suo* (EMC pa na' sa) has long been recognized as a transliteration of the Sanskrit *panasa* which designated the jackfruit and perhaps other trees of the *Artocarpus* genus including breadfruit. The word (though not the tree or fruit) would have been known to Chinese Buddhists in Sui times from translations of religious texts.

⁹⁶ *An-luo* (EMC ?əm/?am la) has long been recognized as a transliteration of the Sanskrit *amra*, the mango. The word appears in a number of translated Buddhist texts that predate the Sui.

(*mugua* 木瓜), leaves like an apricot and fruit resembling a paper mulberry (*chu* 楮);⁹⁷ the *po-tian-luo* 婆田羅 tree whose flowers, leaves and fruit are like a [Chinese] jujube but with minor differences;⁹⁸ The *ge-bi-ta* 歌畢他 tree which has flowers like a *linqin* 林檎 [apple], leaves resembling elm, but thicker and bigger, and fruit resembling a plum which is about a *sheng* 升 (.5 liters) in size.⁹⁹ The rest are mostly the same as fruits in Jiuzhen.

There is a fish in the sea called the *jian-tong* 建同 which has four feet, is without scales and has a nose like an elephant. It takes in water and spurts it upward. It is 50 or 60 *chi* (17.5-21 meters) tall.¹⁰⁰

There is a fish that floats on lakes. Its shape resembles a *zu* 鰓 fish, it has a mouth like a parrot's and eight feet. With the biggest fish, half their bodies protrude from the water, [making them] look like mountains.¹⁰¹

Animal and Human Sacrifice; Temples in the Vicinity of the Capital

[Each year] during the fifth or sixth month, pestilential vapors circulate. Accordingly, a white pig, a white cow and a white goat are sacrificed outside the western gate of the city. Failure to do so [would mean that] the five grains would not flourish, many of the six types of domestic animal would die, and the population would suffer plagues.

⁹⁷ Based on the description of its fruit, flowers and leaves, *pi-ye* (EMC *bji jia'*) may be the bael fruit (Sanskrit *Bila* or *Bilwa*), *Aegle marmelos*. Chinese quince (*mugua* 木瓜 - *Pseudocycdonia sinensis*) has five-petalled light pink flowers which resemble the white, five-petalled blooms of the bael tree. (Note: *mugua* 木瓜 also denotes the papaya which is a relatively recent introduction to the region from tropical America.) Both apricot and bael have ovate leaves. The immature fruits of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) are round like bael, though the latter is larger and has a remarkably tough skin. Like other fruits mentioned in this section, bael is a native of India.

⁹⁸ *Po-tian-luo* (EMC *pa den la*) appears to transcribe the Sanskrit *badarā*, the Indian jujube (*Ziziphus mauritiana*), from which the modern Khmer *budrā* ប៊ុន្រា (pɔ̄triə) is derived. The Chinese jujube to which it is compared is *Ziziphus jujuba*.

⁹⁹ *Ge-bi-ta* (EMC *ka pjit t^ha*) is a transcription of the Sanskrit *khāpittha*, the elephant apple, *Feronia elephantum*. The modern Khmer *khvit* ខ្វិត (kvət) is derived from a Prakrit form of this word (Pou p. 254). The elm referred to is probably *Ulmus parvifolia*.

¹⁰⁰ Considering the enormous reported size and water-spurting ability of this creature, *jian-tong* (EMC *kian^h dəwŋ*) is likely a word for the whale. The fantastic elements of the description may be the result of an observation of mythology-based art versus nature. In this regard, the *makara* is typically represented in pre-Angkorean art with a whale-like body, feet, an elephantine trunk, and various leonine, or fish-like body parts (figure 5).

¹⁰¹ Except for the eight feet, which again might reflect mythology-based art, this could be a description of the Irrawaddy dolphin, small numbers of which can still be found in the Mekong River as far north as Laos. The air-breathing mammal could be said to float and protrude from the water; its short beak can be described as parrot-like, and compared to other "fish," it certainly appears huge. The *zu* 鰓 fish to which it is compared here is now known as the *huang shan* 黃鱔 - the scaleless, finless, rice field eel (*Monopterus Albus*). A less likely candidate is the dugong. While not known in inland waters, the dugong can be found in estuaries or coastal backwaters. Their snouts curve downward like a parrot's beak.

Near the capital is Ling-qie-bo-po Mountain 陵伽鉢婆山, on whose summit is a temple.¹⁰² There are always 5,000 troops keeping guard. To the east of the city is a god called Po-duo-li 婆多利¹⁰³ to whom they sacrifice using human flesh. Their King kills someone each year, sacrificing and praying at night. There are likewise 1,000 people keeping guard [at this location].¹⁰⁴ They revere spirits in this manner. Most honor the teachings of the Buddha but also place great faith in the Daoists.¹⁰⁵ The Buddhists and Daoists together install images in public halls (*guan* 館).

Zhenla's Mission to the Chinese Court in 616

In the 12th year of the Daye reign (AD 616), [Zhenla] sent an emissary to offer tribute. The Emperor treated him with extreme courtesy.¹⁰⁶ After this, however, [Zhenla's tribute to the Sui Court] ceased.

¹⁰² Cœdès (1968 pp. 65-66) recognized the name Ling-qie-bo-po (EMC liŋ gia pat pa) as a transcription of the Sanskrit Liṅgaparvata, literally "Mountain of the Linga." The occurrence of a Liṅgaparvata, transcribed Ling-qie-bo-ba-duo 陵伽鉢拔多 in the itinerary to Chitu recorded above (note 59), suggests that there may have been a number of sites with this name.

If one accepts that the opening lines of this account (which name Zhenla's capital), and the description of the kingdom that follows are from the same original document, the city referred to here can only be Īśānapura. Presuming that Sambor Prei Kuk is the site of Īśānapura, Mount Santuk, less than 30 kilometers to the south of the temple ruins is a candidate for identification as this particular "Mountain of the Linga" (see Vickery 1994 p. 204). Mount Santuk is not known to be a pre-Angkorean temple site and there is no evidence that it was ever called Liṅgaparvata. Nevertheless, it is a singular natural feature that presently draws many people with a popular Buddhist temple and commanding view of the surrounding countryside.

¹⁰³ Cœdès (1968 p. 66) identified Po-duo-li (EMC pa ta li^h) as a transcription of Bhadreśvara (Shiva).

¹⁰⁴ Hervey de Saint-Denys' translation of this account as copied into the *Wenxian tongkao* (*Ethnographie des peuples étrangers de la Chine: ouvrage composé au XIIIe siècle de notre ère*, Paris 1883, pp. 476-483) omits the key phrase rendered here as "to the east of the city." Mention of the second guard force is also dropped and descriptions of the two temples are merged into one. Citing this flawed data, Cœdès (1968 pp. 65-66) proposed that this text describes Wat Phu in southern Laos. Based on his assumption that the *Suishu* "gives information dating before 589 and so before the total conquest of Funan and the transfer of the capital of Zhenla to the south," he further concluded that Wat Phu is the site of an early (pre-Īśānapura) Zhenla capital. No information in Chinese sources supports this chronology. Emperor Wen proclaimed his new dynasty in 581 but did not establish control over southern China until 589. There is no record of the Sui Court having contact with any Southeast Asian polity during this period of warfare, and as stated in the opening paragraph of Memoir 47, exchanges with the "wild south" occurred during the Daye Reign (605–617). To summarize points made above regarding the dating of this text: circumstances indicate the information was acquired in conjunction with Zhenla's tribute mission of 616, perhaps by an official visitor to Īśānapura. A comprehensive analysis and rebuttal of Cœdès conclusions regarding Zhenla may be found in Vickery 1994.

¹⁰⁵ See note 93 above.

¹⁰⁶ According to the *Suishu's* Imperial Annals (p.90) an emissary from Zhenla arrived 24 February 616 bringing regional products.

Poli¹⁰⁷***Poli's Location, King, and Officials; Wheel Knives; Treatment of Criminals; Description of an Annual Sacrifice; Red Coral; the Mynah***

The Kingdom of Poli: from Jiaozhi, floating on the ocean southward past Chitu and Dan-dan 丹丹¹⁰⁸ one will arrive at the kingdom. The kingdom's borders: east to west is four months' travel; south to north is 45 days' travel. The King's surname is Cha-li-ye-qie 刹利邪伽 and his given name is Hu-lan-na-po 護濫那婆.¹⁰⁹ [High] officials are titled *Du-he-ye-na* 獨訶邪拏.¹¹⁰ Those next in rank are titled *Du-he-shi-na* 獨訶氏拏.¹¹¹

People of this kingdom are good at throwing wheel knives. These are as big as a mirror. The center has a hole and on the outside are sharp points like a saw. Thrown at someone from far away, there are none that miss. Their other weapons are quite similar to those of China.

Their customs are of the same type as Zhenla; their products are like those of Linyi. Their killers and thieves have their hands cut off. With rapists, they fetter their feet for a full year before releasing them.

Sacrifices must be conducted on the last day of a moon. Plates filled with wine and meat offerings are floated on flowing water. Each 11th month, they must conduct a large sacrifice.

The seas produce red coral. There is a bird called the *she-li* 舍利 that understands human speech.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ The derivation of the name Poli 婆利 (EMC pa li^h) is undetermined. *Po* 婆 is frequently seen in transliterations and has been used for pa, ba, va, pha, bha, and similar labial sounds (Soothill and Hodous p. 345). *Li* 利 often represents *ri* or *li*. In Buddhist texts, *po-li* is seen as a transliteration of the Sanskrit *vāri* (water).

¹⁰⁸ Dan-dan (EMC tan tan) appears to have been on the Malay Peninsula, south of Chitu as indicated here (Wheatley pp. 51-55). Its earliest recorded mission to China was in the year 530 (*Liangshu* Memoir 48, p. 794).

¹⁰⁹ Cha-li-ye-qie (EMC tɕ^haɪt/tɕ^hɛ:t li^h jia gia) transcribes *kṣatriyaka* (Pelliot 1904 p. 389). *Kṣatriyaka* means "belonging to the *Kṣatriya* caste." See note 77 above regarding the translation of the Sanskrit *varna* in early Chinese Buddhist texts. The derivation of the name Hu-lan-na-po (EMC ɣɔh lam^h na' pa) is unresolved.

¹¹⁰ The meaning of *Du-he-ye-na* (EMC dəwk xa jia nraɪ/nɛ:) is uncertain, though *Du-he* may transcribe the Old Javanese *tuha/tuhā*. This title is usually found in compounds where it denotes a category of officer. (see entries in Sarkar vol. II pp. 329-330).

¹¹¹ The meaning of *Du-he-shi-na* (EMC dəwk xa dziə'/dzi' nraɪ/nɛ:) is uncertain. It may also contain the Old Javanese title *tuha/tuhā*.

¹¹² *She-li* (EMC ɕia^h li^h), in Buddhist texts, transcribes the Sanskrit *sārikā*, a bird able to talk, the mynah.

Poli's Mission to the Chinese Court in 616; Contact with the Kingdoms of Dan-dan and Pan-pan

In the 12th year of the Daye reign (616), they sent emissaries [to China] to offer tribute. Thereafter, this ceased. At that time on the southern frontier the two kingdoms of Dan-dan and Pan-pan 盤盤 were still offering regional goods.¹¹³ Their customs and products are mostly quite similar [to those of Poli].

Summary of the Official Historian

Statement of the Official Historian:¹¹⁴ *The Book of Rites* says, "[People of] the South are called *Man*; among them are those who do not fire what they eat." *The Classic of History* declares, "The Man and Yi [barbarians] disturb Xia 夏 (i.e., China)." *The Book of Odes* refers to "the squirming Man of Jing."¹¹⁵

There are really many types [of barbarian]. Throughout the ages they have been disorderly and obstinate. At the times when Qin absorbed the two Chus and Han pacified the Hundred Yue, the [southern] extremity of the earth was the vermilion[-soiled] frontier and the farthest vista was Rinan. Water and land were livable and were united to become prefectures and districts. In the end, the region was divided into Wu 吳 and Shu 蜀.¹¹⁶ In the time that has passed, through the Jin 晉 and Sung 宋 [Dynasties], the road has had low points and high with innumerable submissions [to Chinese rule] and rebellions [against it].

[The Sui's] Exalted Founder received the [Heavenly] Mandate to overcome and pacify the nine realms.¹¹⁷ [Sui] Emperor Yang [frivolously] took up the occupation of awing the eight expanses. Content to stay far from the Yi [barbarians]¹¹⁸ Emperor Yang sought instead the costly and exotic. Accordingly, an army was sent to Liuqiu 流求¹¹⁹ and troops were raised against Linyi with [a display of] extraordinary awing and shaking that surpassed that of the Qin and Han dynasties. Although he had accomplishments beyond the frontiers, it did not save him from defeats within his realm. The

¹¹³ Pan-pan (EMC ban ban) first sent a tribute mission to China during the Yuanjia Reign (424-454 AD) of Song Emperor Wen (*Liangshu* Memoir 48, p. 793). Present scholarly opinion places Pan-pan in what is now Thailand's Surat Thani Province on the Bay of Bandon (Wheatley p. 50).

¹¹⁴ This is a judgment of the Sui emperors' southern maritime interests, presumably drafted by Tang court historian and *Suishu* editor Wei Zheng.

¹¹⁵ This is from the *Cai Qi* 采芑 Ode of the *Book of Odes* (詩經) regarding the military expedition of Fang Shu against the Man tribes of the south who are belittled for their resistance: "the squirming Man of Jing, taking a great state as a rival (蠢爾蔓荆 大邦爲讐)." (Chinese text from Legge vol. 4, p. 287.)

¹¹⁶ Wu and Shu were the southernmost of the Three Kingdoms (220-265). At the time of this writing, a significant part of their populations had not yet been assimilated as Chinese.

¹¹⁷ This lauds the founding Sui emperor's unification of China following centuries of political fragmentation. The text that follows belittles his successor for hollow military adventurism abroad that contributed to the dynasty's fall.

¹¹⁸ Yi normally refers to non-Chinese groups on the western and northern frontiers. Management of threats from them was essential to the security of the Chinese State.

¹¹⁹ According to Wang Gungwu (p. 65), "There is some controversy about the location of Liu-ch'iu (Liuqiu). The name is now applied to the Ryukyu Islands. But there is little doubt that in Sui times, it was the name of Formosa Island." Regarding the military campaign against this island, he states, "Nothing was achieved by this expedition except the destruction of the homes of some of the Liu-ch'iu people, and the capture of several thousands of men and women who were made slaves. Neither trade nor diplomatic relations were established (ibid)."

[Zuo] *Zhuan* says, "For he [the ruler] who is not a sage, [there may be] peace outside [his borders] but inside [the kingdom] is surely full of grief."¹²⁰ How true indeed are these words!

PART II – THE BIOGRAPHY OF GENERAL LIU FANG

Suishu Book 53; Memoir 18

Liu Fang was from [the town of] Jingbei [near] Chang'an 京北長安. Of firm and decisive character, he was courageous. He served officially as *Imperial Upholder Senior Serviceman* in [Northern] Zhou¹²¹ and subsequently, through accomplishments in war, was appointed Senior Director of Pasturage.¹²² [At the time when the Sui's] Exalted Founder became Minister of State [under the Northern Zhou Dynasty] Fang joined Wei Xiaokuan 韋孝寬 in smashing Wei Hui 尉廻 at Xiangzhou 相州.¹²³ He was meritoriously promoted to Commander (*Kaifu* 開府) and was bestowed the noble title, Marquis of Heyin District 河陰縣, the [principal] city of which had 800 households. [When the Sui's] Exalted Founder received the abdication [of the Northern Zhou's child emperor] he elevated [Liu Fang's] noble rank to Duke. In the third year of the Kaihuang Reign (583), [Liu Fang] joined Wei Wangshuang 衛王爽 in smashing the Tujue¹²⁴ at Baidao 白道 and was promoted to the position of General-in-chief (*Dajiangjun* 大將軍). After this, he was successively the Regional Inspector of the two Regions of Gan 甘 and Gua 瓜 [where] his name is still known.

¹²⁰ This is part of a statement drawn from the *Zuo Zhuan* 左傳 (Duke Cheng; XVII): 唯聖人能外內無患，自非聖人，外寧必有內憂。An interpretive translation of the expanded statement from Legge (vol. V, p. 396): "It is only a sage ruler who can safely be without trouble either from abroad or within his State. Excepting under a sage ruler, when there is quietness abroad, sorrow is sure to spring up at home..."

Emperor Yang's expedition against Liuqiu in 610 was followed by three unsuccessful campaigns against the Korean kingdom of Koguryŏ between 612 and 614. Conscription, taxation and waste of resources for these dubious ventures contributed to the rebellion which brought an end to the dynasty. Emperor Yang was compelled to accept the title of "Retired Emperor" in 617 while two of his grandsons were installed by rival rebel leaders. He was murdered in his bathhouse by rebels led by Yuwen Huji in 618 (Wright pp. 191-6).

¹²¹ The honor or function associated with the title *chengyu* 承御 is not clear and the interpretation "Imperial Upholder" is tentative. Senior Serviceman (*shangshi* 上士) was the fifth of seven (or variously the seventh of nine) ranks assigned most officials during the era of the Southern and Northern Dynasties (Hucker p. 410).

¹²² "Senior Director of Pasturage" (*Shang Yitong* 上儀同) is based on Hucker (p. 270) who identified *Yitong* 儀同 as a variant form or erroneous writing of *Yisi* 儀司, a Sui title for Director of the Pasturage for Fine Steeds.

¹²³ Wei Xiaokuan was a general of the Western Wei and Northern Zhou dynasties. Xiang was in the area of what is now southern Hebei province.

¹²⁴ The Tujue 突厥 were Turkish tribes on China's western frontier.

The Suppression of Li Fozi; Liu Fang's Character as a Leader

During the [Sui] Renshou reign (601-605), an [ethnic] Li¹²⁵ from Jiaozhou, Li Fozi 李佛子, started a rebellion.¹²⁶ He occupied the former [capital] city of the Yue kings, sent his elder brother's son, Daquan 大權, to occupy Longbian City 龍編城 and separately commanded Li Puding 李普鼎 to occupy Wuyan City 烏延城.¹²⁷ The Left Vice Director [of the Department of State Affairs], Yang Su 楊素, advised [the Court] that Fang had a strategy for leading [a campaign against Li Fozi]. The Court thereupon proclaimed Fang as Jiaozhou Circuit's Area Commander-in-Chief and appointed the Ministry of Revenue's Attendant Gentleman, Jing Deliang 敬德亮 as [Fang's] Aide. [They] went forth leading 27 battalions.

Fang's orders were strict; his troops orderly in appearance. When one of his men violated a prohibition, he was summarily beheaded. Nevertheless, he was charitable and fond of his men. When men were sick, he tended and nourished them himself. Aide Jing Deliang went with the army up to Yinzhou 尹州¹²⁸ and fell seriously ill. Unable to go on, he remained at the regional office. Upon leaving him, Fang mourned his [friend's] precarious condition. Tearfully sobbing and greatly upset, he set out on the road. Fang had a decorous kindness like this. Writers have called him a good[-hearted] general.

Arriving at the Dulong Pass 都隆嶺,¹²⁹ they encountered over 2,000 brigands who came to clash with the government troops. Fang dispatched battalion commanders Song Zuan 宋纂, He Gui 何貴, Yan Yuan 嚴願 and others to attack and smash them. [The commanders] advanced troops to meet Fozi, initially proclaiming the consequences [of fighting] and benefits [of surrender]. Fozi was fearstruck and submitted; he was sent to the capital. Out of apprehension over [the possibility of] another rebellion, all of those among them who were cruel and crafty were beheaded.

¹²⁵ *Li* 俚 was a name used during the sixth century for non-Chinese peoples, including the Vietnamese, who led a settled life in the lowlands (Taylor p. 149).

¹²⁶ Li Fozi is also known by the Vietnamese rendering of his name, Lý Phật Tử. Having at one time proclaimed himself Emperor of the South, he temporarily acceded to Chinese overlordship as the Sui consolidated control over the region to his north in what is now Guangdong and Guangxi provinces. In 601, Li defied a summons to the Chinese Imperial Court and took steps to prepare for armed conflict. A comprehensive account is found in Taylor pp. 153-162.

¹²⁷ The *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 identifies this former city of the Yue kings as Cổ Loa 古螺 (Taylor (p. 161). It is located 20 kilometers north of Hanoi and marked by the site of an ancient citadel. Longbian (Vietnamese Long Biên) and Wu-yan (Vietnamese Ô-diên) were also in the region of Hanoi.

¹²⁸ This was in the area of the present Guangtong District 廣通縣 in Yunnan Province.

¹²⁹ Henri Maspero (p. 25) placed the Dulong Pass in the region of Hà Giang on Vietnam's border with China's Yunnan Province.

Liu Fang's Campaign against Linyi and the Sack of its Capital; the Death of Liu Fang and the Returning Army to Disease; Liu Fang's Posthumous Awards

[Fang] was subsequently awarded [the ranks of] Military Commander-in-Chief for Huanzhou Circuit 驩州道¹³⁰ and Assistant Director of the Right in the Department of State Affairs. Li Gang 李綱, became Adjutant (*Sima* 司馬) and [they] planned a strategy for [the conquest of] Linyi. Fang dispatched the Qinzhou 欽州¹³¹ Regional Chief, Ning Changzhen 甯長真, Huanzhou's Regional Chief, Li Yun 李暈, and Senior Commander (*Shangkaiifu* 上開府) Qin Xiong 秦雄 to take foot troops and cavalry on to Yuechang 越常. Fang personally led General-in-chief Zhang Sun 張憇 and Adjutant Li Gang 李綱 with their boat division to hasten to Bijing 比景.¹³²

[The Sui's] Exalted Founder died and Emperor Yang succeeded him. In the first month of the first year of the Daye reign (605), the army reached Haikou 海口.¹³³ Linyi's King, Fan Zhi 梵志, dispatched troops to defend against the danger; Fang fought them off. The army stopped at the Duli River 闍黎江.¹³⁴ Rebels occupied the southern bank and erected a stockade. Fang displayed a profusion of flags and pennants and beat metal drums; the rebels scattered in terror. After [Fang] had crossed the river and travelled 30 *li*, the rebels mounted giant elephants and appeared on all four sides. Fang used crossbows to shoot the elephants. The elephants, struck and wounded, backed up and trampled their lines. The imperial army fought strenuously and the rebels ran to a stockade, where they consequently attacked and smashed them. Those captured and killed¹³⁵ were recorded as numbering 10,000. Thereupon, [Fang's army] crossed [the river at] Qusu 區粟 and forded [the river at] Liuli.¹³⁶ Meeting rebels continuously, they seized [victory in] each battle without fail. They advanced to the Dayuan River 大緣江 [where] the rebels occupied a narrow pass as a defense. Again, [Fang's army] attacked and smashed them. Passing Ma Yuan's bronze column and travelling south

¹³⁰ Huanzhou (Vietnamese Hoan) was centered in the lowlands of the Ca River (Taylor pp. 160, 171)

¹³¹ The administrative seat of Qinzhou was at or near the present Qinxian 欽縣 in Guangdong Province.

¹³² Stein (pp. 43-47, 56) placed Bijing in the area of Porte d'Annam (the Ngang Pass between the contemporary provinces of Hà Tĩnh and Quảng Bình).

¹³³ Haikou, literally "entrance to the sea" can be identified as Cửa Khẩu estuary, just north of the Ngang Pass in Hà Tĩnh Province (Stein p. 128). The army referred to here is the foot troops and cavalry that travelled overland from the north.

¹³⁴ Presuming the identifications of Bijing and Haikou are correct, the Sông Ron in Quảng Bình Province would have been the first major river forded on a southern march. It is therefore a likely match for the Duli River named here (Stein p. 128).

¹³⁵ The character for "killed" is *guo* 馘 which denotes cutting the ears off the slain (to count the enemy killed).

¹³⁶ This ambiguous sentence reads 於是濟區粟，度六里，前後逢賊，每戰必擒。The ZHSJ editors underlined Liuli 六里 to indicate it as a proper noun. The structure of the sentence certainly favors its interpretation as a place name, though its literal meaning, "six *li*" (3.4 kilometers), suggests a distance travelled. Accordingly, an alternate translation is "thereupon, (Fang's army) crossed (the river at) Qusu 區粟 and passed (advanced) six *li*."

Stein (p. 318) placed Qusu at Badon (Ba Đồn) on the Gianh River in Quảng Bình Province. This city was sacked by an army led by Jiaozhou's Regional Inspector Tan Hezhi 檀和之 in 446 (see footnote 20 above).

for eight days, they arrived at their capital.¹³⁷ Linyi's King, Fan Zhi, abandoned the walled city and fled to the sea. [Liu Fang] seized their main temple golden images of human form,¹³⁸ desecrated their palace buildings, inscribed a stone to record the accomplishment, and departed.

[On the return route] the troops' feet swelled; four to five out of ten died.¹³⁹ On the way, Fang also fell ill and died; the Emperor was extremely grieved and issued a proclamation which read:

"Fang reverently undertook the plans of the [Imperial] Court and respectfully carried out Heaven's punishment. Drinking ice and hastening onward,¹⁴⁰ he regarded danger as ease. Breaking the [enemy's] vanguard by pointing his finger,¹⁴¹ he appeared where they did not expect. The wicked were utterly annihilated and all their nests and burrows collapsed. [His] mission need never be taken up again; pacified is the land beyond the seas. He devoted his life to the Monarch's affairs with commendable achievements. [We are therefore] able to confer upon him [the titles] Pillar of the State, and Duke of the State of Lu. His son, Tongren 通仁 will inherit [these titles]."

¹³⁷ Ma Yuan was sent to quell the uprising of the sisters Trưng Trắc and Trưng Nhị in A.D. 41-42. During the year 43, he solidified Chinese control over the Hong River plain and pursued indigenous chiefs who had fled southward (Taylor pp. 39-41). He is said to have erected one or two bronze columns to mark the southernmost border of the Han Empire. Sources, none of them contemporaneous with Ma, are contradictory with regard to their location. Stein (pp. 147-202) performed an exhaustive analysis of the various accounts.

¹³⁸ *Miaozhu jinren* 廟主金人: literally "temple host golden people." See note 34 above.

¹³⁹ The symptomatic feature of swelled feet suggests that an acute form of malnutrition contributed to the high mortality rate during the return march. Wet beriberi, caused by severe thiamine deficiency, is characterized by "generalized oedema of the arms, legs, hands and trunk." In severe cases, sudden cardiac failure is common (Manson-Bahr p. 838).

¹⁴⁰ "Drinking ice" lauds his ability to endure hardship in the field.

¹⁴¹ 摧鋒直指: the image is one of a commander pointing his finger to direct troops against enemy positions.

ILLUSTRATIONS

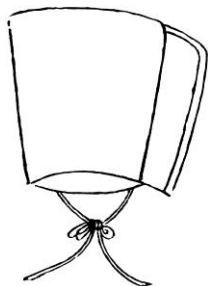


Figure 1. The King of Linyi is said to have worn a crown resembling a *zhangfu*. This early 17th Century depiction from the *San Cai Tu Hui* 三才圖會 (Clothing, Book 1) shows a conical, flat-topped headdress. It is reminiscent of miters on pre-10th Century images of Vishnu found in Cambodia, Thailand and Malaysia.

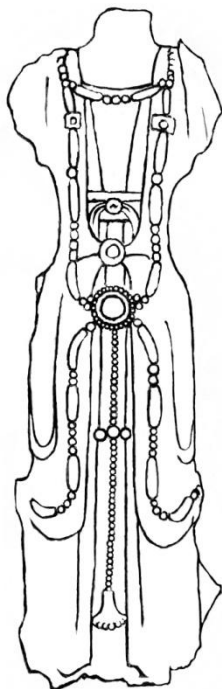


Figure 2. There are two basic types of *yingluo* known in Chinese Buddhist art: a single strand that hangs to the lower abdomen in the shape of the letter U, and intersecting strands that meet near the waist in the form of an X (Li 2006). An *yingluo* of the latter configuration, shown on this Northern Qi (550-577) Bodhisattva from Qingzhou, resembles the ancient Indian *channavīra* as well as a royal ornament that has only recently fallen out of use in Southeast Asia: the Cambodian *śaṅvār* សង្វារ (saŋwa:r) and the Thai sangwaal สังกวาล (sängwaan).

The *Suishu* notes the wearing of *yingluo* by three Southeast Asian kings. The King of Linyi is said to wear “an *yingluo* of pearls irregular and round.” The King of Chitu was “hung with an *yingluo* of miscellaneous precious stones.” Finally, the King of Zhenla wore a pearl *yingluo* - but only together with a crown. This last statement suggests that the *yingluo* was part of a set of royal insignia.

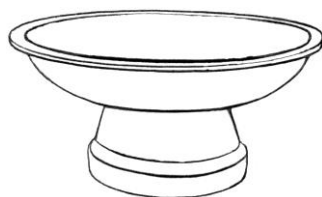


Figure 3. A *pan* 盤, drawn here in generalized form, is characterized by a wide mouth and a high foot.

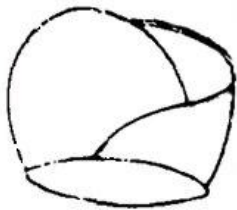


Figure 4. A lotus crown as depicted in the Ming *Sancai tuhui* (Clothing, Book I). The index of that illustrated encyclopedia lists it as a lotus crown (*furongguan* 芙蓉冠), while the text that accompanies the drawing calls it a lotus hat (*furong mao* 芙蓉帽). The name has been applied to other distinct headdresses including a Daoist ceremonial cap with an upturned brim of segments resembling the petals of a blooming lotus.

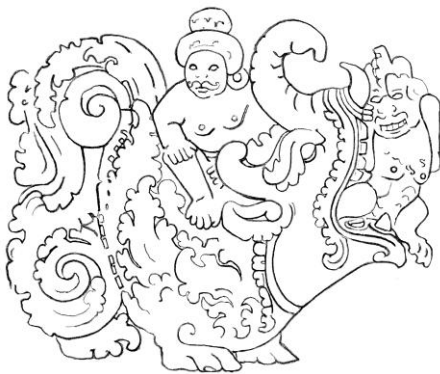


Figure 5. The *makara* drawn here is a detail from a 7th Century lintel found at Sambor Prei Kuk, now in the Musée Guimet. An enormous, scaleless “fish” with four feet and an elephant’s trunk, it fits the description of the *jian-tong* in the account of Zhenla.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Following are Chinese weights and measures that occur in this text, with their equivalents:

<i>bu</i> 步	five Chinese feet or 1.75 meters
<i>chi</i> 尺	a Chinese foot; 10 Chinese inches or 0.35 meters
<i>li</i> 里	approximately .57 kilometers
<i>sheng</i> 升	a dry measure unit for grain, circa .5 liters
<i>zhang</i> 丈	10 Chinese feet, or circa 3.5 meters.
<i>wei</i> 圍	the distance measured by outstretched arms; a span

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