

APPENDIX II

Chinese Texts Describing or Referring to the Chola Kingdom as Zhu-nian (注輦)

Noboru Karashima and Tansen Sen

Introduction

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INTRODUCTION

In this Appendix we have assembled English translations of four Chinese texts from the Song (960–1279) and Yuan (1279–1368) periods, describing or referring to the Chola kingdom as Zhu-nian (注輦). These texts are *Song huiyao* (宋會要),¹ *Songsbi* (宋史),² *Zhufan zhi* (諸蕃志),³ and *Lingwai daida* (嶺外代答).⁴ Another Chinese text from this period that also contains a notice of the Chola kingdom is *Wenxian tongkao* (文獻通考).⁵ The reason for not providing a translation of the *Wenxian tongkao* in this Appendix is explained later. We have also included a note on Di-hua-jia-luo (地華加羅), described in *Songsbi* as the king of Zhu-nian and an English translation of the section of the kingdom of Pu-gan in *Songsbi* in relation to the note on Di-hua-jia-luo.

While we have collaborated closely in writing this Appendix, the responsibility for the translation and argument rests with the translator or author indicated in each section.

Songsbi is the official history of the Song Dynasty compiled by Tuotuo (脫脫) *et al.* and published in 1345. It is one of the twenty-five dynastic histories.⁶ The description of the Chola kingdom appears in scroll (卷) 489, in the section dealing with biographies and memoirs (列傳). *Wenxian tongkao* is an important work on Chinese institutional history, with commentaries that were compiled by Ma Duanlin (馬端臨) and published in 1321. The description of the kingdom of Zhu-nian is included in scroll 332 in the section called “Examination of the Barbarians in the Four Quarters” (四裔考).

Song huiyao (宋會要) belongs to the genre of official documents known as *huiyao*, which are collections of official documents and materials used by the government of a dynasty and arranged according to administrative divisions. Therefore, compilers of the Dynastic Histories usually examined and depended on *huiyao*, if available, in their compilation. A large part of the original ten compilations of *Song huiyao*, however, has been lost after its use in editing *Songsbi* and only those parts that were quoted or reprinted in some later work remain today. Unfortunately, the description of the kingdom of Zhu-nian is not found in the extant *Song huiyao*, although it must have been included in the original work. The only relevant records are the descriptions of the three diplomatic missions from Zhu-nian found in the section dealing with tributary missions called *lidai chaogong* (歷代朝貢). We have translated the description of these missions in this Appendix.

Besides the above three texts, there are two more important works of the Song period which afford information on Zhu-nian. They are the works describing the ethnographic and economic conditions of the kingdoms in the maritime world called *nanhai* (南海), meaning Southern Ocean, and covering Southeast, South, and West Asia approachable by sea. These two works are *Lingwai daida* (嶺外代答) written by Zhou Qufei (周去非) in 1178, and *Zhufan zhi* (諸蕃志) written by Zhao Rugua (趙汝适) in 1225. During the Song period, particularly in its later half, the importance of the office called *tijushibo* (提舉市舶),⁷ controlling maritime trade relations with foreign kingdoms, increased greatly. Branches of this office were established in several trading centres in southern China, including Guangzhou (廣州) and Quanzhou (泉州), for the purpose of dealing with the matters concerning Southern Ocean kingdoms. Zhao Rugua worked for the *tijushibo* in Quanzhou, and Zhou Qufei was for some time serving as the Deputy Governor of Guilin

(桂林) in southern China. They were, therefore, able to gather information on maritime kingdoms from foreign sailors and merchants. Both of them described the kingdom of Zhu-nian. While Zhao Rugua quotes several passages from *Lingwai daida*, his description of Zhu-nian is longer and more informative than that of Zhou Qufei.

Among the Chinese books published during the Song and Yuan periods, there are many others which refer to Zhu-nian, including *Xu Zizhitongjian changbian* (續資治通鑑長編),⁸ *Yuhai* (玉海),⁹ *Shantang xiansheng qunshu kaosuo* (山堂先生群書考索),¹⁰ *Shilin yanyu* (石林燕語),¹¹ and *Wenchang zalu* (文昌雜錄).¹² However, there is little or no new information on Zhu-nian in these works. Therefore, we have not included these works in our translations.

The common passages in some texts translated here should be explained in little detail. The notices on the kingdom of Zhu-nian in *Songshi* and *Wenxian tongkao*, for example, are almost identical. Other than the use of a few different Chinese characters,¹³ *Wenxian tongkao* omits some of the place and personal names found in *Songshi*. The identical records could be a result of the compilers of these works using the same source material. It is also possible, however, that the compilers of *Songshi*, a later work, depended on *Wenxian tongkao*. In fact, it is clear that *Songshi*, which was in fact compiled hastily, copied large portions of the text from *Wenxian tongkao* including that of the kingdom of Zhu-nian. However, *Songshi* provides many names of persons and places that were omitted in *Wenxian tongkao*. This indicates that *Songshi* used other sources in addition to *Wenxian tongkao* in compiling the Zhu-nian section.

The thirty-one names of the settlements (*buluo*) of the Zhu-nian kingdom given in *Songshi*, which are omitted in *Wenxian tongkao*, correspond exactly to those given in *Zhufan zhi*, with the exception of just one character. The source of these names may have been sailors and merchants coming from southern Asia and collected by Zhao Rugua. Thus, it would seem that the compilers of *Songshi* also accessed *Zhufan zhi*. As stated earlier, some of the passages in *Zhufan zhi* come from *Lingwai daida*. And it is possible that the author of *Wenxian tongkao* had access to both *Zhufan zhi* and *Lingwai daida*. The common passages in these five texts show the sharing of information regarding foreign kingdoms in Chinese sources. This also makes it difficult sometimes to identify the original source of notices on foreign kingdoms, including Zhu-nian.

The record of the kingdom of Zhu-nian in *Wenxian tongkao* was translated into French in 1883 by Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys.¹⁴ Later, an English translation of *Wenxian tongkao* was made, based on d'Hervey de Saint-

Denys's French version.¹⁵ Friedrich Hirth and W.W. Rockhill translated *Zhufan zhi* into English in 1911.¹⁶ *Lingwai dadai* has been translated into German by Almut Netolitzky.¹⁷ However, the text of *Songshi* has never been translated into a Western language. Although, as an excellent piece of pioneer work, d'Hervey de Saint-Denys's French translation and its English version of *Wenxian tongkao* have been used widely by many non-Chinese scholars since its publication, there are many mistakes in them that should be corrected. We have not included the translation of *Wenxian tongkao* because it is almost identical with that of *Songshi*. The differences between the two texts are explained in the footnotes. In other words, therefore, a fresh translation of *Wenxian tongkao* is actually included in this Appendix.

For transliterating Chinese characters, we have used the Pinyin system, the current international standard romanization, but which differs somewhat from the Wade-Giles system employed in earlier translations by d'Hervey de Saint-Denys and Hirth and Rockhill. The pronunciations in thirteenth-century southern China are sometimes retained more accurately in Japanese and Korean pronunciations of Chinese characters.¹⁸ This point should be kept in mind when reconstruction of Tamil place or personal names is attempted from their Pinyin transliteration.

1) The Kingdom of Zhu-nian (注犏) in *Songshi* (宋史)¹⁹

Translated with notes by Noboru Karashima

To the east, the kingdom of Zhu-nian (注犏) is at a distance of five *li*²⁰ from the sea; to the west it takes 1,500 *li* to reach Tian-zhu (天竺);²¹ to the south, it is 2,500 *li* to Luo-lan (羅蘭);²² and to the north it is 3,000 *li* to Dun-tian (頓田).²³ Since ancient times it has had no contacts with China. By water, it is about a 411,400 *li* journey to Guangzhou (廣州).

In the kingdom there is a city which is enclosed by seven-fold walls that are seven-feet high. The length of the outer wall is twelve *li* from north to south, and seven *li* from east to west.²⁴ Each wall is one hundred paces from the next. Four walls are made of bricks, two are of mud, and the innermost wall is of wood. Within each wall are planted various flowering plants and fruit trees. People reside within the first to third walls, which are surrounded by small streams. Four ministers (侍郎)²⁵ dwell within the fourth wall, and four sons of the king within the fifth. The sixth wall encloses Buddhist monasteries, where one hundred monks live. The seventh walled citadel comprises the royal palace where there are more than four hundred rooms.²⁶

There are 31 settlements (*buluo* 部落) integrated under the king's rule.²⁷

The twelve to the west are: Zhi-du-ni (只都尼), Shi-ya-lu-ni (施亞盧尼), Luo-pa-li-bie-pa-yi (羅琶離驚琶移), Bu-lin-pa-bu-ni (布林琶布尼), Gu-tan-bu-lin-pu-deng (古檀布林蒲登), Gu-li (故里), Suo-lun-cen (娑輪岑), Ben-ti-jie-ti (本蹄揭蹄), Yan-li-chi-li (閻黎池離), Na-bu-ni (舩部尼), Zhe-gu-lin (遮古林), and Ya-li-zhe-lin (亞里者林),

The eight to the south are: Wu-ya-jia-li-ma-lan (無雅加黎麻藍), Mei-gu-li-ku-di (眉古黎苦低), She-li-ni (舍里尼), Mi-duo-luo-mo (密多羅摩), Qie-lan-pu-deng (伽藍蒲登), Meng-qie-lin-qie-lan (蒙伽林伽藍), Pa-li-pa-li-you (琶里琶離遊), and Ya-lin-chi-meng-qie-lan (亞林池蒙伽藍).

The twelve²⁸ to the north are: Bo-luo-ye (撥囉耶), Wu-mo-li-jiang (無沒離江), Zhu-lin (注林), Jia-li-meng-qie-lan (加里蒙伽藍), Qi-jie-ma-lan (漆結麻藍), Wo-zhe-meng-qie-lan (握折蒙伽藍), Pi-lin-qie-lan (皮林伽藍), Pu-leng-he-lan (浦稜和藍), Bao-pa-lai (堡琶來), Tian-zhu-li (田注離), Lu-po-luo (廬婆囉),²⁹ and Mi-meng-qie-lan (迷蒙伽藍).

The present king belongs to the third generation of the dynasty. If any offence is committed by a commoner, minister is ordered to deal with it. If the offence is light, the culprit is tied to a wooden frame and beaten with a bamboo stick fifty to hundred times. If it is a serious crime, the criminal is beheaded or crushed under the feet of an elephant.

At banquets, the king and the four ministers prostrate themselves at the foot of the steps (階).³⁰ Then, they sit together and [watch] music, song and dance [performances]. They don't drink alcohol, but eat meat. They are accustomed to wearing cotton clothes and eating baked or steamed cakes made of rice or wheat flour. They employ ladies as attendants for table (掌饌)³¹ and personal service.

When arranging a marriage, initially the man's family sends to the woman's family a female go-between with gold and/or silver ring(s). After two days,³² the woman's family³³ meets with the man's family and ceremoniously announces the quantity of fields, domestic animals, and arrack, which they can offer [as bride price]. In addition to this, the woman's family also presents to the prospective bridegroom gold and/or silver ring(s), a fine cloth (越諾布),³⁴ and the brocaded cloth to be worn by the bride. If the man does not want to marry the woman, he should not take the things offered, and if the woman wants to refuse the marriage, she has to return to him twice of what was received.

In warfare, they place elephants in the front, followed by soldiers holding small shields. Then, come successive ranks of soldiers with lance, soldiers with long sword, and archers. The four ministers divide the command of all

of them between them. At a distance of 2,500 *li* to the southeast of this kingdom, there is a kingdom called Xi-lan-chi (悉蘭池).³⁵ War sometimes breaks out between these two kingdoms.

This kingdom produces pearls, elephant's tusks, coral, transparent glass, betel nuts, cardamoms, and *ji-bei bu* (吉貝布).³⁶ Quadrupeds include goats and tawny cows (黃牛). Poultry include pheasants and parrots. Fruits include myrobalan, wisteria, Persian dates, coconuts, *gan-luo* (甘羅),³⁷ *kun-lun mei* (崑崙梅),³⁸ and jack fruit. Flowers include white jasmine, *san-si* (撒絲),³⁹ *she-qi* (蛇臍),⁴⁰ hibiscus, *li-qiu* (麗秋),⁴¹ the blue, yellow and green sal, white lotus, *chan-zi* (蟬紫),⁴² and *shui-jiao* (水蕉).⁴³ Grain crops include green beans (綠豆), soybeans (黑豆), wheat and rice. Bamboo also grows there.

Since ancient times this kingdom had never sent tribute to our country. In the ninth month of the eighth year of the *dazhong xiangfu* (大中祥符) reign period (1015), its king Luo-cha-luo-zha (羅茶羅乍)⁴⁴ sent to our court a mission consisting of the ambassador vice minister Suo-li San-wen (娑里三文), the second ambassador (副使) Pu-shu (蒲恕),⁴⁵ the third ambassador (判官)⁴⁶ Weng-wu (翁勿), the guard Ya-le-jia (亞勒加), and others, with a letter and tribute from the king.

San-wen and others ascended the audience hall holding up (with both hands) a tray containing pearls and green beads (碧玻璃) and scattered them in front of the throne. After descending, they again made a bow. The interpreter explained what they had said as "we, living in a remote region, wish to express our sincere desire to be enlightened by the Chinese civilization". The king said the following in his letter:

Your subject, I, Luo-cha-luo-zha (羅茶羅乍), wish to say that a merchant boarding a small ship came to our country, from whom we have learned that now the Song dynasty is ruling the Empire and Your Majesty succeeded the two emperors who founded the dynasty. You venerated both Heaven and Earth performing appropriate rituals in two places.⁴⁷ Your virtue was heard even by Heaven, who gave grace to you accordingly. I expected to meet the occasion and was favoured to hear the auspicious words (吉語).⁴⁸ I wish to extend my sincerity in serving Your Majesty like the sun and to express my great joy in beholding Your Majesty in audience.

I humbly hear that Your Majesty's rule extends without limit and people serve you submissively wherever they live. I humbly contemplate your achievement which surpasses that of all the rulers in the past, your rule being righteous. The merit of your administration covers Heaven and Earth, and the force of your power gives discipline to the universe. Your divine power has never killed, your civility has enlightened, your high

virtue has been extended to your subjects, and you worshipped Heaven with submissive mind. Your goodness protected even the feeble reed and your trust extended to the fish in the deep water. Therefore, Heaven appreciated your splendid achievements and as predicted in the letter from Heaven, you have accomplished what was never done in the past and are keeping the base for the established rule of the Empire.

I presume to consider that as your subject I am a small being like a mosquito and a humble creature like a papier-mache dog, having been living for generations in a barbarous town. My country is far from Chinese civilization, having not been enlightened and having sent no tribute to your court. Now I quietly listen to the song praising the virtue of Your Majesty, which is sung even in the frontiers. Regrettably I am too advanced in age to proceed to your court personally to offer tribute. In addition I live in a remote country separated by the vast sea and there are many obstacles on the way rather difficult to overcome. Therefore, I am now observing from after the gate of Your Majesty's palace with the strength of my sincerity. To present the products of my country is like ants and crickets being attracted by mutton, and to pay tribute and serve Your Majesty is like sun-flower and giant hyssop being drawn towards the sun. With respect I send a mission of 52 persons to your court to offer the products of our country as tribute, consisting of a robe and a cap both decorated with pearls, 21,100 *liang* (兩)⁴⁹ of pearls, sixty elephant tusks, and sixty *jin* (斤)⁵⁰ of frankincense.

San-wen and others also presented 6,600 *liang* of pearls and 3,300 *jin* of perfumes.

In the beginning, when Luo-cha-luo-zha (羅茶羅乍) heard the story from the merchant of a ship which arrived at his country, it was also told that there had been no storms in the sea for the past ten years. This, according to an old man remembering a legend, was because there was a sage in China. Therefore, the king sent San-wen and others with tribute.

Departing from his kingdom,⁵¹ San-wen sailed on a ship for 77 days and nights, passed by the side of the Isles of Na-wu-dan shan (那勿丹山) and Suo-li-xi-lan shan (婆里西蘭山), and arrived at the kingdom of Zhan-bin (占賓國). Again, by travelling for 61 days and nights, passing by the side of the Isle Yi-ma-luo-li shan (伊麻羅里山), he reached the kingdom of Gu-luo (古羅國),⁵² which gets its name from the Gu-luo (古羅) Mountain. Again, he continued his journey for 71 days and nights, passing by the Isles of Jia-ba shan (加八山), Zhan-bu-lao shan (占不牢山)⁵³ and Zhou-bao-long shan (舟寶龍山), and reached the kingdom of San-fo-qi (三佛齊).⁵⁴ Again traveling for 18 days and nights, traversing the mouth of the river (水口) near the hill of Man shan (蠻山),⁵⁵ and coasting the Isle of Tian-zhu

shan (天竺山),⁵⁶ he reached Bin-tou-lang shan (賓頭狼山).⁵⁷ At the distance of 100 *li* from the ship to the east, they saw the tomb of Xiwangmu (西王母冢).⁵⁸ Sailing for another 20 days and nights, passing through the Isles of Yangshan (羊山) and Jiuxingshan (九星山), he reached Pipazhou (琵琶洲)⁵⁹ of Guangzhou (廣州).⁶⁰ Only after 1,150 days⁶¹ since he left his country, was he able to reach Guangzhou (廣州).

The Emperor ordered Shiyouzhi (史祐之), the Audience Usher (*gemenzhihou* 閣門祇候)⁶² to treat them with great regard and to accord to them the same honours as to the envoys of Qiu-ci (龜茲)⁶³ for receptions and ceremonies. On the occasion of the emperor's birthday (承天節)⁶⁴ in that year, San-wen and others requested permission to join the Buddhist monks of the Qisheng chanyuan Monastery (啟聖禪院)⁶⁵ in celebrating the auspicious birthday of the Emperor. The embassy returned the following year⁶⁶ with an imperial edict and rich gifts for Luo-cha-luo-zha (羅茶羅乍).

In the fourth year of the *tianxi* (天禧) reign period (1020), [the king of Zhu-nian] once again sent an envoy called Pa-lan-de-ma-lie-di (琶欄得麻烈咤), to offer tribute. But he died of an illness on his arrival at Guangzhou (廣州). The governor of Guangzhou conveyed to the Emperor the letter [of the king] which the envoy had brought. The Emperor ordered the governor to treat the retinue with banquets and to send them back with rich presents.

In the tenth month of the second year of the *mingdao* (明道) reign period (1033), the king Shi-li-luo-cha-yin-tuo-luo-zhu-luo (尸離囉茶印陀囉注囉)⁶⁷ sent the ambassador⁶⁸ Pu-ya-tuo-li (蒲押陀離) and others with his letter written in gold, with tribute consisting of a robe and a cap both decorated with pearls, 105 *liang* of pearls, and 100 elephant tusks. Fu Wei Zhong (符惟忠),⁶⁹ who was the Vice Commissioner (副使) of the West Dyeing Office (*xiran yuan* 西染院) and Secretarial Receptionist (*gemen tongshi sheren* 閣門通使舍人),⁷⁰ received the envoys as proxy for the Deputy Minister for the Court of State Ceremonial (*honglu shaoqing* 鴻臚少卿).⁷¹ Pu-ya-tuo-li (蒲押陀離) reported that although he had tried several times to bring tribute, the rough seas had wrecked his ship and prevented him from reaching [China]. He wished to scatter the finest pearls (珠)⁷² at the feet of the imperial couch in order to gain an audience with the Emperor and express his adoration for him. Accordingly, he was allowed to ascend the audience hall holding a silver bowl up [with both hands]. On the floor of the hall, he knelt down and scattered pearls under the imperial couch and retreated.

In the second month of the first year of the *jingyou* (景祐) reign period (1034), the ambassador Pu-ya-tuo-li (蒲押陀離) returned to his kingdom having been granted the [honorific] titles of Grand Master of the Palace with

Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon (*jinzi guanglu dafu* 金紫光祿大夫)⁷³ and Civilizing General (*huaihua jiangjun* 懷化將軍).

In the tenth year of the *xining* (熙寧) reign period (1077), the king Di-hua-jia-luo (地華加羅)⁷⁴ sent a mission of twenty-seven persons. It consisted of the ambassador Qi-luo-luo (奇囉囉), the second ambassador Nan-bei-pa-da (南卑琶打), the third ambassador Ma-tu-hua-luo (麻圖華羅), and others. They presented as tribute pearls as big as peas (豌豆珠), mazhu (麻珠),⁷⁵ a large glass bowl, *huanao* (花腦)⁷⁶ of white plum, *jinbua* (錦花),⁷⁷ rhinoceros horns, frankincense, *pingxiang* (瓶香),⁷⁸ rose water, *jinlianbua* (金蓮花),⁷⁹ *muxiang* (木香),⁸⁰ asafetida, borax, and cloves. The first and second ambassadors ascended the audience hall holding pearls and borneol (龍腦), and scattered them on bended knees. That act is called *sandian* (撒殿). After they had descended, an official from the Imperial Dispensary (*yuyao* 御藥) was sent by imperial order to entertain them. [The two ambassadors] were granted the [honorific] titles of Civilizing General (*huaihua jiangjun* 懷化將軍) and Maintaining Submission Commandant (*baoshun langjiang* 保順郎將) respectively. Based on their ranks (有差),⁸¹ each [envoy] was presented garments, vessels and cloths. To the king, 81, 800 strings of copper coins (緡)⁸² and 52,000 *liang* of silver were granted as return presents.

2) *Song huiyao* (宋會要), *lidai chaogong* (歷代朝貢), the three parts pertaining to Zhu-nian (注輦) envoys⁸³

Translated with notes by Noboru Karashima

1) On the second day in the ninth month of the eighth year of the *dazhong xiangfu* (大中祥符) reign period (1015), a mission of the kingdom of Zhu-nian consisting of the ambassador Suo-li San-wen (娑里三文), the second ambassador Pu-jia-xin (蒲加心),⁸⁴ the third ambassador (判官)⁸⁵ Weng-wu (翁勿) arrived to offer tribute. They ascended the audience hall holding up (with both hands) a tray containing pearls and green beads (碧頗黎) and scattered them in front of the throne. [They presented] a robe and a cap both decorated with pearls, pearls, elephant tusks, frankincense, and aromatic medicine.

The original note to the above paragraph: According to *Shantang kaosuo* (山堂考索),⁸⁶ on the second day in the ninth month of this year Luo-da-luo-zha (羅荅羅乍),⁸⁷ the king of Zhu-nian kingdom, sent his envoy Suo-li San-wen (娑里三文) and others to offer tribute consisting of a robe and a cap both decorated with pearls, pearls, elephant tusks, and

aromatic medicine. Prior to that, a merchant boarding a ship reached that country and told [the king] that the Emperor made a ritual for Heaven in the East and that for Earth in the West (東封西祀). The king of that country said that there had been no storms in the sea for the past ten years, which, according to an old man remembering a legend, was because there was a sage in China. Therefore, the king sent envoys, who (also) ascended the audience hall holding up (with both hands) a tray containing pearls and green beads and scattered them in front of the throne. After descending, they again made a bow. The interpreter explained what they had said as “we, living in a remote region, wish to express our sincere desire to be enlightened by the Chinese civilization”.

2) On the twenty-first day in the tenth month of the second year of the *mingdao* (明道) reign period (1033), Shi-li-luo-cha-yin-tuo-luo-zhu-luo (尸離囉茶印陀囉注囉),⁸⁸ the king of Zhu-nian, sent the ambassador Pu-shen-tuo-li⁸⁹ (蒲神陀離) and others with his letter written in gold and tribute consisting of a robe and a cap both decorated with pearls, pearls, and elephant tusks. Tuo-li (陀離) requested permission to conduct a barbarian ritual to express his adoration for the Emperor. [The request having been accepted,] he holding a silver bowl up (with both hands) knelt down on the floor of the audience hall, scattered pearls (珠) under the imperial couch, and then retreated.

3) On the seventh day in the sixth month of the tenth year of the *xining* (熙寧) reign period (1077), Di-hua-jia-luo (地華加羅), the *fanwang* (蕃王)⁹⁰ of the kingdom of Zhu-nian, sent the ambassador Qi-luo-luo (奇囉囉) to present his two letters, one written in barbarian language and the other in Chinese, and tribute consisting of pearls, borneol (龍腦), rhinoceros horn (通犀), elephant tusk, frankincense, fine cloth mixed with gold thread (金線織錦), a glass bowl, rose water, and medicine. On that day the ambassador and his deputy were allowed to ascend the audience hall holding pearls and borneol and scattered them on bended knees. That act is called *sandian* (撒殿). After they had descended, the Emperor especially sent a palace attendant (內侍)⁹¹ to entertain them.

3) The Kingdom of Zhu-nian in *Zhufan zhi* (諸蕃志)

Translated with notes by Tansen Sen

The kingdom of Zhu-nian is the South Yin-du 南印度 of the Western Heaven 西天. To the east, one reaches the sea in five *li*; to the west, it is 1,500 *li* to West Tian-zhu (西天竺); to the south, it is 2,500 *li* to Luo-lan (羅蘭);

[and] to the north, it is 3,000 *li* to Dun-tian (頓田). [The kingdom] had no commercial contacts [with China] in the past. By water, it takes a journey of more than 411,400 *li* to reach Quanzhou (泉州).⁹²

[Those] wishing to go to this kingdom, have to proceed by changing boats at Gu-lin (故臨). Alternatively, it is said that [one] can also go [via] the Pu-gan (蒲甘) kingdom.⁹³

There is a city in the kingdom which is enclosed by a seven-fold wall that is seven feet high. The length of the outer wall is twelve *li* from north to south and seven *li* from east to west.⁹⁴ Each wall is one hundred paces from the next. Four walls are made of bricks, two are of mud, and the innermost wall is made from wood. Various flowering plants and trees bearing fruits are planted [within] each of these walls. The dwellings of the people are all [within] the first and the second walls that are surrounded by small trench. Four ministers reside within the third and fourth walls. The four sons of the king live within the fifth wall. The sixth wall is for Buddhist monasteries, where one hundred monks live. The seventh wall is where the king resides. It has more than four hundred rooms.

There are 31 *buluo* (部落) in the kingdom.⁹⁵

The twelve to the west are: Zhi-du-ni (只都尼), Shi-ya-lu-ni (施亞盧尼), Luo-pa-li-bie-pa-yi (羅琶離驚琶移), Bu-lin-pa-bu-ni (布林琶布尼), Gu-tan-bu-lin-pu-deng (古檀布林蒲登), Gu-li (故里), Po-lun-cen (娑輪岑), Ben-ti-jie-ti (本蹄揭蹄), Yan-li-chi-li (閻黎池離), Na-bu-ni (那部尼), Zhe-gu-lin (遮古林), and Ya-li-zhe-lin (亞里者林).

The eight to the south are: Wu-ya-jia-li-ma-lan (無雅加黎麻藍), Mei-gu-li-ku-di (眉古黎苦低), She-li-ni (舍里尼), Mi-duo-luo-mo (密多羅摩), Qie-lan-pu-deng (伽藍蒲登), Meng-qie-lin-qie-lan (蒙伽林伽藍), Pa-li-pa-li-you (琶里琶離遊), and Ya-lin-chi-meng-qie-lan (亞林池蒙伽藍).

The twelve to the north are: Bo-luo-ye (撥囉耶), Wu-mo-li-jiang (無沒離江), Zhu-lin (注林), Jia-li-meng-qie-lan (伽里蒙伽藍), Qi-jie-ma-lan (漆結麻藍), Wo-zhe-meng-qie-lan (握折蒙伽藍), Pi-lin-qie-lan (皮林伽藍), Pu-leng-he-lan (浦稜和藍), Bao-pa-lai (堡琶來), Tian-zhu-li (田注離), Lu-po-luo (盧娑囉),⁹⁶ and Mi-meng-qie-lan (迷蒙伽藍).

When an offence is committed by a commoner, a minister (侍郎) is ordered to deal with it. Those with lighter offence are tied to wooden frame and beaten with a bamboo stick fifty, seventy to hundred times. Those committing serious crime are beheaded or crushed under the feet of an elephant.

At banquets the king and the four ministers prostrate themselves at the foot of the steps (階). Then, they play music, sing and dance together. They don't drink alcohol but eat meat. They are accustomed to wearing cotton clothes and have baked and steamed flour breads. They employ female

servants (妓) to attend [to the] table (掌饌) and [as] escort[s] (執事). There are about ten thousand of such female servants. Everyday there are three thousand who are in attendance in rotation.

When arranging a marriage, initially [the boy's family] sends to the girl's family a female go-between with gold and/or silver ring(s). After three days, [the girl's family] meets with the boy's family to decide the quantity of fields, domesticated animals, arrack, and other things which they can offer [in marriage]. The girl's family, in return, presents to the would-be bridegroom gold and/or silver ring(s), a fine cloth (越諾布), and the brocaded cloth to be worn by the bride. If the boy doesn't wish to marry the girl, he does not dare take the gifts offered, and if the girl wants to refuse the marriage, she has to return double [of what was gifted].⁹⁷

The taxes imposed by the kingdom are numerous and heavy [so] itinerant traders rarely go there. [The kingdom] is at war with various kingdoms of Xitian. The palace has sixty thousand war elephants that are all seven to eight feet tall. During the time of war, a lodge, carrying soldiers, is placed on the back of the elephant. [When the enemy] is far away they shoot arrows, when near they use spears. The victorious elephants are granted titles to acknowledge their contribution. The people value vigor and are casual about [their] lives. Sometimes in front of the king they fight with small weapons and die without regrets.⁹⁸

Food for father, sons, elder and younger brothers are cooked in separate *woks* and served in different utensils. Still they have deep respect [for each other].⁹⁹

This kingdom produces pearls, elephant's tusks, coral, transparent glass, betel nuts, cardamoms, opaque glass, colored silk cloths, and *ji-bei bu* (吉貝布).¹⁰⁰ Quadrupeds include goats and tawny cows (黃牛). Birds include pheasants and parrots. Fruits include myrobalan, wisteria, Persian dates, coconuts, *gan-luo* (甘羅), *kun-lun mei* (崑崙梅), and jack fruit. Flowers include white jasmine, *san-si* (撒絲), *she-qi* (蛇臍), hibiscus, *li-qiū* (麗秋) the blue, yellow and green sal, white lotus, *chan-zi* (蟬紫), and *shui-jiao* (水蕉). Grains include green beans (綠豆), soybeans (黑豆), wheat and rice. Bamboo also grows there.¹⁰¹

Since ancient times this kingdom has never sent tribute [to China]. In the eighth year of the *dazhong xiangfu* (大中祥符) reign period (1015), its king sent envoys to present tribute including pearls. The interpreter explained what [the king] had said as: "we, living in a remote region, wish to express our sincere desire to be enlightened by the [Chinese] civilization"¹⁰² The Emperor ordered Shiyou zhi (史祐之) of *gemen zhihou* (閤門祇候) to treat them with regard reception and to accord them the same honors as to the envoys from

Qiu-ci (龜茲). On the occasion of the emperor's birthday (承天節), the envoys from the [Zhu-nian] kingdom received permission to attend birthday celebrations at the Qisheng yuan (啟聖院).¹⁰³

In the tenth year of the *xining* (熙寧) reign period (1077),¹⁰⁴ [the Zhu-nian kingdom] again sent tribute. [Emperor Shenzong] sent an official in charge of internal affairs (*neishi*) to welcome them.¹⁰⁵

4) The Kingdom of Zhu-nian (注輦) in *Lingwai daida* (嶺外代答)

Translated with notes by Tansen Sen

The kingdom of Zhu-nian (注輦) is the South India (南天竺) of the Western Heaven (西天). [Those] wishing to go to this kingdom have to proceed by changing boats at the Gu-lin kingdom (故臨國). Alternatively, it is said that [one] can also go [via] the Pujan kingdom (蒲甘國).¹⁰⁶

The crown of the ruler of this kingdom [is decorated with] luminous pearls and rare precious stones. [He] is often at war with various kingdoms of Western Heaven. The kingdom has sixty thousand war elephants that are all seven to eight feet tall. During the time of war, a lodge, carrying soldiers, is placed on the back of the elephant. [When the enemy] is far away they shoot arrows, when near they use spears. The victorious elephants are granted titles to acknowledge their contribution. There are even those to whom embroidered drapes and gold cribs are presented. Everyday the elephants also pays tribute to the king.

[The kingdom] produces things like borneol rings (指環腦子),¹⁰⁷ lids [made from] cat's eye (蓋貓兒), pearls, ivory, amber of various color, and colored silk cloth.

There are almost 10,000 female servants (妓女),¹⁰⁸ 3,000 of whom alternate everyday to serve at the court.

The people of the kingdom value vigor and are casual about [their] lives. There are [people] who refuse to yield. Everyday there are about ten pairs who fight with small daggers in front of the king and die without regrets.

Food for father, sons, elder and younger brothers are cooked in separate woks and served in different utensils. Still they have deep respect [for each other].

In the eighth year of the *dazhong xiangfu* (大中祥符) reign period (1015), its king sent envoys to present tribute including pearls. The interpreter explained what [the king] had said as: “we, living in a remote region, wish to express our sincere desire to be enlightened by the Chinese civilization”. Then

in the sixth lunar month of the ten year of the *xining* (熙寧) reign period (1077) of Emperor Shenzong (神宗), the kingdom again presented tribute of native products. The emperor sent an official in charge of internal affairs to welcome them.

5) Note on Di-hua-jia-luo (地華加羅), the alleged Chola king

Noboru Karashima

Much confused discussion has been made in the past on the envoys and the identification of the king Di-hua-jia-luo (地華加羅) who sent them, as there is a record in the *Songshi* (宋史) and *Wenxian tongkao* (文獻通考) of the envoys sent by the great chief (大首領) Di-hua-jia-luo (地華加羅) of San-fo-qi (三佛齊), which arrived the same year (1077) as the Chola envoys arrived. [For San-fo-qi, see note 54 to the text.] Most scholars identified Di-hua-jia-luo of Zhu-nian as Kulottunga-chola, who is also known as Rajendradeva, taking Di-hua-jia-luo to represent part of his name, namely *deva* (地華) *kulo* (加羅). The double entry of this mission as those of Zhu-nian and San-fo-qi was often ignored as a mistake committed by the compilers of *Songshi* and *Wenxian tongkao*.

However, the discovery of a stone inscription of the Tianqing Taoist temple (天慶觀) in Guangzhou (廣州) in the 1960s (Tan Yeok Seong, "The Sri Vijayan Inscription of Canton [AD 1079]", *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 5-2, 1964) has clarified that Di-hua-jia-luo (地華加羅) was the lord (地主) of San-fo-qi (三佛齊) who helped the reconstruction of the Taoist temple that had been destroyed earlier, by sending three of his officers to Guangzhou. The names of the two officers (Zhi-luo-luo 至囉囉 and Ma-tu-hua-luo 麻圖華羅) are again almost the same as the names of the persons who are described as the first and the third ambassadors (Qi-luo-luo 奇囉囉 and Ma-tu-hua-luo 麻圖華羅) sent by Zhu-nian King Di-hua-jia-luo. It is evident, however, from the inscription of Guangzhou that Di-hua-jia-luo was the ruler of San-fo-qi, and not of Zhu-nian. Then, why does he appear as the king of Zhu-nian in the *Songshi* and *Wenxian tongkao*?

This can be explained by the relationship Zhu-nian had with San-fo-qi in the eleventh century. The Chola invasion of San-fo-qi (Srivijaya/Kadaram in Kedah in the Malay Peninsula) around 1025 is well-known and so is another invasion around 1068 made by Virarajendra to help a Kadaram king. Virarajendra reinstated the Kadaram king who had asked his help, which indicates that San-fo-qi (Kadaram) was under Chola protection as a dependency. There is a Tamil copper-plate inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*,

xxii–35: Smaller Leiden plates) which shows that the two countries continued to keep good and close relations until 1090. The Chinese court must have known these circumstances to some extent, recording San-fo-qi envoys of 1077 also as the envoys from Zhu-nian. Strangely, however, the compiler of *Songshi* described Di-hua-jia-luo as the king (國王) of Zhu-nian.

Song huiyao (宋會要) was the most important source-material which gave information to the compiler of *Songshi*, and in its *lidai chaogong* (歷代朝貢) section, which records the arrival of envoys from foreign countries, the status of Di-hua-jia-luo is described as *fanwang* (蕃王), a foreign king or ruler of Zhu-nian, thus distinguishing him from the king of Zhu-nian. Rajendra I, in contrast, is described as the king of Zhu-nian in the same section. *Fan* (蕃) connotes “subordinate” and “barbarous” too. There is no record of the arrival of envoys from San-fo-qi as an independent kingdom in that year in *Song huiyao*.

Confusion occurred in past studies from this omission of “*fan*” (蕃) by the compiler of *Songshi*, by mistake or on purpose. *Songshi*’s description of Di-hua-jia-luo as the king of Zhu-nian might have been related to the notion that Zhu-nian was subordinate to San-fo-qi (注輦役屬三佛齊), expressed in the Pu-gan (蒲甘 Pagan in present-day Myanmar) kingdom section of *Songshi*, which is translated into English in the sixth section of this Appendix, though it is very mysterious how the Chinese court conceived this notion. It is suggested by some scholars that San-fo-qi, which was actually subject to Zhu-nian, tricked the Chinese court into believing that Zhu-nian was subject to San-fo-qi to hold a better position in China trade. The account of the 1077 mission in *Wenxian tongkao*, however, does not cause this problem because it describes the envoy as the one sent by the state, not referring to the name of the sender and his status.

Rokuro Kuwata in his article, “A Study of Srivijaya” (in Japanese) in R. Kuwata, *Studies on the History of East-West Maritime Trade*, Tokyo, Kyukoshoin, posthumously 1993 (original publication of the article in 1945, the gist of which is translated into English and published in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* [The Oriental Library] 30, 1972), drew our attention to the fact that in two Chinese works (*Shilin yanyu* 『石林燕語』 by Ye Mengde 葉夢得, 1123–236 and *Wenchang zalu* 『文昌雜錄』 by Pang Yuanying 龐元英, c.1086) there are records of envoys sent by a country called San-fo-qi Zhu-nian (三佛齊注輦), which may be taken as the vassal state of the Cholas in Kadaram. *Song huiyao* and other works also record the arrival of envoys from the kingdom called San-fo-qi Zhan-bei (三佛齊詹卑), that is, the kingdom of Jambi. As stated in note 54

to the text, San-fo-qi seems to have been a general name — whatever its origin might have been — given by Chinese to the kingdom that was supposed to be ruling the area of the Malacca Strait, and, therefore, they had to specify, whenever necessary, a particular kingdom by suffixing something to it, like San-fo-qi Zhu-nian (Kadaram) or San-fo-qi Zhan-bei (Jambi). As the kingdom of Kadaram was a dependency of the Cholas, Zhu-nian was selected for the suffix, and as the new kingdom was established in Jambi, that kingdom was named with the suffix Zhan-bei. The name of San-fo-qi Bao-lin-bang (三佛齊寶林邦), meaning the kingdom of Palembang, is also seen in a diplomatic document in the Ryukyu kingdom (Kuwata 1993, p. 259).

The issues concerning the relationship between Zhu-nian (Chola) and San-fo-qi (Srivijaya/Kadaram) is discussed in Noboru Karashima, “Indian Commercial Activities in Ancient and Medieval Southeast Asia”, in *Contributions of Tamil Culture to the Twenty First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies, Thanjavur, 1995*, edited by Karashima, Annamalai, and Rajaram (Chennai, 2005) (yet to be released, but the same text is found in a booklet, *Plenary Session Papers*, distributed on the occasion of the Conference).

6) The Kingdom of Pugan in *Songshi*¹⁰⁹

Translated with notes by Noboru Karashima

In the fifth year of the *chongning* (崇寧) reign period (1106) the kingdom of Pu-gan (蒲甘) sent envoys to offer tribute. The imperial order was issued to give them the same treatment in reception as given to the envoys of the kingdom of Zhu-nian (注輦). According to the Department of State Affairs (尚書省 *Shangshusheng*), [however,] [the kingdom of] Zhu-nian is subject to [that of] San-fo-qi (三佛齊), and therefore, during the *xining* (熙寧) reign period (1068–77), the imperial edict [to it] was written on a large (plain) silk backed with white paper (大背紙)¹¹⁰ and kept in an [ordinary] box (匣) covered with an [ordinary] wrapping cloth (襪). Now, Pu-gan is a large kingdom, and [therefore,] it cannot be looked down as a kingdom subject to another. It is desirable to treat it [in reception] like Da-shi (大食 the Arab country), Jiao-zhi (交趾 the present-day Vietnam) and other [kingdoms]. All the imperial edicts should be written on a silk with flower design in gold and backed with white paper, be kept in a gilt box locked with a silver key (金鍍管籥),¹¹¹ be covered with a brocade wrapping cloth (錦絹夾襪), and be sent with the envoys. This suggestion [made by the Department of State Affairs] was adopted.

Notes

1. Important Documents of the Song Dynasty. This work is also referred to as *Song huiyao jigao* (宋會要輯稿). The edition used for translation in this Appendix is the annotated version by Xu Song 徐松 titled *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿, Beijing, Guoli Beijing tushuguan, 1936.
2. History of the Song [Dynasty]. The edition used for translation in this Appendix is the version titled *Songsbi* 宋史, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1977.
3. Records of the Barbarous People. The edition used for translation in this Appendix is the annotated version by Yang Bowen 楊博文, titled *Zhufan zhi jiaoshi* 諸蕃志校釋, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1996.
4. Information of what is Beyond the Passes. The edition used for translation in this Appendix is the annotated version by Yang Wuquan 楊武泉, titled *Lingwai daida jiaozhu* 嶺外代答校注, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 2006.
5. Comprehensive Examination of Literature.
6. Usually known as the twenty-four Dynastic Histories, but with the addition of the *Xin Yuanshi* (新元史) or the *New History of the Yuan Dynasty* in 1921, the total number of Dynastic Histories is now twenty-five.
7. Superintendency of Maritime Trade.
8. Long Draft of the Continuation of the Comprehensive Mirror for the Aid in Government.
9. Ocean of Jade.
10. Examination and Collection of the Works of Mr Shantang.
11. The Chatters of Stone Forest.
12. Miscellany Records of Wenchang.
13. For example, *Songsbi* uses 奉 (*feng*) meaning “to present” in the description of the ambassadors’ ascending the audience hall holding a tray, while *Wenxian tongkao* employs 捧 (*peng*) meaning “to hold with both hands” in the same place. Though the two characters are closely related in meaning, 捧 is better than 奉 in this case.
14. D’Hervey de Saint-Denis translated only the section of the Barbarians of Southeast and Southwest in the section of Examination of the Barbarians in the Four Quarters (四裔考) of *Wenxian tongkao*. See his *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine. Ouvrage composé au XIIIe siècle de notre ère par Ma-touan-lin traduit pour la première fois du chinois avec un commentaire perpétuel* (Geneva, 1883), 2 vols.
15. The English translation of the kingdom of Zhu-nian is included in K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India: From Megasthenes to Ma Huan* (Madras: University of Madras, 1939), pp. 319–25.
16. *Chau Ju-kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi*, by Friedrich Hirth and W.W. Rockhill (New York 1966) (first published in St. Petersburg in 1911).
17. Almut Netolitzky, *Das Ling-wai tai-da von Chou Ch’ü-fei: Eine Landeskunde Südchinas aus dem 12. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag), 1977.

18. Zhu-nian is spelt Chu-lien in the Wade-Giles system and is pronounced as Chu-ren in Japanese.
19. The description is found in the fifth group of the Foreign Countries (外國五) of the Biography and Memoirs (列傳) section in *Songshi*.
20. A *li* (里) in Song-period China was equivalent to about 550 metres. *Wenxian tongkao* (文獻通考, afterwards *WXTK*) states the distance from the sea as 5,000 *li*.
21. In the section on the Tian-zhu (天竺) kingdom in *Songshi* (宋史), “Tian-zhu” (天竺) is explained as being the same as the kingdom also called “Shen-du” (身毒) and “Yin-du” (印度). All three are names for the Indian subcontinent derived from the River Indus. Following previous Chinese records on the Indian subcontinent, the *Songshi* also divides Tian-zhu into five Tian-zhus (五天竺): Northern, Western, Middle, Eastern, and Southern Tian-zhu. Reflecting this understanding, *Zhufan zhi* (諸蕃志) gives Western Tian-zhu in this place. On these Chinese names, see P. C. Bagchi, “Ancient Chinese Names of India”, *Monumenta Serica: Journal of Oriental Studies of the Catholic University of Peking* 13 (1948): 366–75.
22. Considering the later reference to Xi-lan-chi (悉蘭池) in the text, which can be identified with Sri Lanka or its Arabic form “Sirandib”, the character *luo* (羅) should read *xi* (悉) or *xi* (西). Alternately, Luo-lan (羅蘭) could have been a mistake for Wei-lan (維蘭), indicating Elam, the Tamil name for Sri Lanka. Wei (維) is easily mistakable for *luo* (羅).
23. Dun-tian (頓田) has been identified as Tenasserim in the Malay Peninsula. But that may be too far, based on the distance mentioned in the text. Tondai, an alternative suggestion, may be too near. Thus, the place has yet to be properly identified.
24. Archeological excavations in Thanjavur, the capital of king Rajaraja I, have so far failed to locate the palace. On the other hand, the palace site in Gangaikondacholapuram, the capital of Rajendra I, has been excavated and two brick walls surrounding the palace in rectangular shape have been recognized, though the whole structure has not yet been clarified. Pierre Pichard, *et al.*, *Vingt ans après Tanjavur, Gangaikondacholapuram*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Ecole Française d’Extrême-Orient, 1994).
25. In the officialdom of the Song dynasty, *shilang* (侍郎) was the title given to the officials of ministerial rank 3b (從三品). The four ministers in this case must have been the most important ones among them.
26. *WXTK* omits the letter for “more than”.
27. *Buluo* (部落) means an area settled by the people who have some blood or religious tie, and in *Songshi*, this word is used only for regions outside China. In this case, it seems to have meant *nāḍu*, the basic production unit lived by such people in the ancient and medieval Tamil country, although Hirth and Rockhill, translators of *Zhufan zhi*, take it for the transliteration of the Sanskrit *pura*, meaning town or city. As *Zhufan zhi*, the author of which may

not have had access to *Song huiyao* (宋會要), gives all these names, and as there is no difference between the names given in *Zhufan zhi* and those in *Songsbi*, except for only one letter, the original information must have belonged to *Zhufan zhi*. As Hirth and Rockhill write, there is nothing to indicate how the long list of characters should be divided, where one name ends and another begins. They seem to have followed the division first made in the text of Zhonghua shuju (中華書局) edition, which shows exactly the same division, and we also follow the same division here. At present we have no idea how to identify these names, but *meng-qie-lan* (蒙伽藍), which appears four times, may be taken to mean *mangalam*, as Hirth and Rockhill indicated. The Japanese pronunciation of the character 伽 (*qie*) is “*ka, ga, or kya*”. *WXTK* omits all the *buluo* names by giving only the number of *buluo* in each of the three directions.

28. *WXTK* gives the number as 11, not 12, making the total number thirty-one as stated at the beginning.
29. The middle character 婆 (*po*) is for 娑 (*suo*) in *Zhufan zhi*.
30. It is not clear what was meant by 階, which usually means steps or staircase.
31. For *zhangzhuan* (掌饌), *WXTK* uses *changzhuan* (嘗饌) meaning “tasters” who examine the food to be offered to the Emperor.
32. *WXTK* gives “three days” for “two days”.jie
33. D’Hervey de Saint-Denys, who translated *WXTK*, as well as Hirth and Rockhill, explain the sentence as members of the boy’s family assembled and decided.
34. It seems to be fine muslin cloth used in West Asia, as *yuenuo* (越諾) is related to Persia in medieval Chinese sources.
35. Xi-lan-chi (悉蘭池) is perhaps a transcription of Sri Lanka or its Arabic form “Silandib”.
36. *Ji-bei bu* (吉貝布) seems to be cloth made of *kapok*.
37. It is not clear what is meant by *gan-luo* (甘羅).
38. *Kun-lun mei* (崑崙梅) seems to be a variety of plum. According to a medieval work on perfume, Chen Jin’s (陳敬) *Chenshi xiangpu* 陳氏香譜, pieces of this wood are used to make perfume.
39. It is not clear what is meant by *san-si* (撒絲).
40. It is not clear what is meant by *she-qi* (蛇臍).
41. It is not clear what is meant by *li-qiu* (麗秋).
42. It is not clear what is meant by *chan-zi* (蟬紫).
43. *Shui-jiao* (水蕉) seems to be Japanese fibre banana. *Lingwai daida* explains the use of its leaf.
44. Luo-cha-luo-zha (羅茶羅乍) is taken to be Rajaraja (I), whose reign extended from 985 to 1014.
45. *WXTK* splits the second character of this name Pu-shu (蒲恕) into two characters: *ru xin* (如心), and *Songhuiyao* splits it into *jia xin* (加心).
46. *Panguan* (判官) indicates the deputy position of officers sent to frontiers. In this case, if San-wen was in civil service and Pushu was in military service,

- Weng-wu would have been the deputy of San-wen in civil service, with Ya-le-jia being deputy of Pu-shu in military service. Anyway, we may be able to treat him as the no. 3 of the mission,
47. Receiving a letter of prophecy from the Heavens, the Emperor made a ritual for Heaven at the Tai mountain (太岳) in the first year of the *dazhong xiangfu* reign period (1008), and another for Earth by the side of Fen river (汾陰) in the fourth year of the same period (that is, 1010).
 48. *Jiyu* (吉語), meaning “auspicious words”, is given as *guyu* (古語), meaning “old words”, in *WXTK*.
 49. One *liang* (兩) is equal to about 40 grams.
 50. One *Jin* (斤) is equal to about 640 grams.
 51. It is very difficult to identify many of the place names on the route mentioned here. If the embassy traveled straight across the Bengal Bay, Na-wu-dan shan (那勿丹山), Suo-li-xi-lan-shan (婆里西蘭山) and Zhan-bin guo (占賓國) may be identified with places in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and Yi-ma-luo-li shan (伊麻羅里山) with a site at the northern tip of Sumatra. However, if the embassy took the northern course, these places must be identified with those on the Bengal Bay coast, including Myanmar. The identification of some places have been suggested in the past studies by Pelliot, Hirth, Rockhill, et al. but the most detailed discussion on it is found in O.W. Wolters, “Landfall on the Palembang Coast in Medieval Times”, *Indonesia* 20 (1975), 1–57.
 52. Gu-luo (古羅) can be identified with the present-day Kedah, known as Kalah by Arab traders in the medieval period. The mountain of the place seen from the offing must have been a landfall for navigators.
 53. Wolters suggests Cham Pulau, a small island off the west coast of Lingga Island. *WXTK* gives *gu* (古) for *zhan* (占).
 54. The name San-fo-qi (三佛齊), which appears in Chinese records from the 10th century, is applicable to at least three kingdoms which ruled in the Malacca Strait region, namely, the kingdom whose headquarters was in Palembang in Sumatra, the kingdom which established its power in Jambi, a little north of Palembang, after the middle of the 11th century, and the kingdom in Kadaram (the Kedah area) in the Malay Peninsula. San-fo-qi in the text seems to refer to Palembang. In the early Chinese sources the kingdom in Palembang appears as Shi-li-fo-shi (室利佛逝), which was identified with Srivijaya by G. Coedes. There are many problems concerning Srivijaya and San-fo-qi including their relations and state structure. Those problems have been discussed by various scholars in the past including O.W. Wolters (“Studying Srivijaya”, *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Academic Society*, LII-2, 1979) and Pierre-Yves Manguin (“Palembang and Srivijaya: An Early Malay Harbour-City Rediscovered”, *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Academic Society*, LXVI-1, 1993).
 55. Interpretation of Manshan-shuikou (蠻山水口) is problematic. Wolters

- interprets *shuikou* (水口) as the water flow of a river coming down from the Palembang area, and Manshan (蠻山) as Menumbing hills at the north-western tip of Bangka Island. See W. Wolters, “Landfall”, p. 48 ff.
56. Tian-zhu shan (天竺山) is identified as Pulan Aur in the vicinity of the Tioman Islands, off the coast of Pahang. See Wolters, “Landfall”.
 57. Bin-tou-lang shan (賓頭狼山) has been identified as Panduranga on the Cham coast of southern Vietnam by Pelliot. See Pelliot, “Textes Chinois sur Panduranga”, *BEFEO*, III-4 (1903), p. 649.
 58. Xiwangmu (西王母) is a legendary nymph.
 59. Pipazhou (琵琶洲) is an anchorage of the port of Guangzhou (廣州).
 60. Guangzhou (廣州) is an important port which flourished in southern China along with Quanzhou (泉州) during the Song and Yuan period. Later Guangzhou was also called Guangdong (Canton).
 61. 1150 days is too long for the journey from the Coromandel Coast to Guangzhou.
 62. *Gemen zhibou* (閤門祇候) was a title given to low-rank officers in the military service, irrespective of their actual work. In the case of Shiyouzhi (史祐之), however, we may consider him to have been in the position of a Audience Usher whose rank was 8b (從八位), though there were many *gemen zhibou* title holders whose actual position was different from that of Audience Usher.
 63. Qiu-ci (龜茲) is Kucha, an ancient and medieval oasis state in central Asia, which was a tributary state of Song China.
 64. *Chengtianjie* (承天節) was the birthday (2 December) of the Emperor Zhenzong (真宗).
 65. Qisheng Chanyuan (啟聖禪院), the birth-place of the father of Emperor Zhenzong (真宗), seems to have been converted later into a Buddhist monastery.
 66. According to a passage in Chapter 85 of *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* (續資治通鑑長編), chronicles of the Northern Song dynasty compiled by Li Tao (李燾) in 1174, the envoy Suo-li San-wen (娑里三文) died of an illness at Rangyi District (襄邑縣) and was buried there. The Emperor sent an officer to the place to conduct a ceremony.
 67. Shi-li-luo-cha-yin-tuo-luo-zhu-luo (尸離囉茶印陀囉注囉) is identified as Sri Rajendrachola (I), whose reign extended from 1012 to 1044.
 68. *WXTK* omits the name and title of the envoy.
 69. *WXTK* omits the name and title of the officer.
 70. During the Song period, names of many offices and officers which had ceased to function were used for ranks or honorific titles to be given to elite officers. Vice-Commissioner of the West Dyeing Office, which dealt with clothing and ornaments in the court during the Tang period, is one such example, and Fu Wei Zhong’s position was a *gemen tongshi sheren* (閤門通使舍人) ranked in 7b (從七位).

71. The institution *honglusi* (鴻臚寺), to which he belonged, was in charge of receiving and entertaining foreign guests.
72. *Zhu* (珠) means any small, ball-shaped object, including pearls.
73. *Jinzi guanglu dafu* (金紫光祿大夫) represents the third rank given to officers in the civil service.
74. Though *Songsbi* describes Di-hua-jia-luo (地華加羅) as the king of Zhu-nian, he was actually the great chief (大首領) of San-fo-qi (三佛齊). In past studies, much confused discussion has been made on this alleged Chola king. Please see Note on Di-hua-jia-luo, the alleged Chola king.
75. It is not clear what sort of small ball *ma-zhu* (麻珠) is.
76. *Huanao* (花腦) is the same as *longnao* (龍腦) which is borneol.
77. It is not clear what was meant by *jinhua* (錦花).
78. *Pingxiang* (瓶香) seems to be a variety of frankincense (乳香). In a book on incense (『香譜』) it appears under the head of frankincense.
79. *Jinlianhua* (金蓮花) usually means Asiatic globeflower.
80. *Muxiang* (木香) is *Saussurea lappa*, a grass belonging to the chrysanthemum group.
81. *WXTK* omits the words *youcha* (有差), which means “differently according to rank”.
82. One *min* (緡) is composed of 1,000 copper coins tied by a string through the central hole of each coin.
83. The three parts are found in 蕃夷七 in Scroll 199 of *Song huiyao jigao* (宋會要輯稿).
84. *Songsbi* gives this name as Pu-shu (蒲恕), and *Wenxian tongkao* (文獻通考) as Pu-ru-xin (蒲如心).
85. See footnote 46 in the *Songsbi* translation.
86. *Shantang kaosuo* (山堂[先生群書]考索) is an encyclopedic reference book on various publications and their contents, compiled at the end of the twelfth century by Zhang Ruyu (章如愚) *alias* Shantang (山堂).
87. *Songsbi* gives this name as Luo-cha-luo-zha (羅茶羅乍), which is more congruent with the pronunciation of Rājarāja.
88. Shi-li-luo-cha-yin-tuo-luo-zhu-luo (尸離囉茶印陀囉注囉) is identified as Sri Rajendrachola (I), whose reign extended from 1012 to 1044.
89. *Songsbi* gives the name as Pu-ya-tuo-li (蒲押陀離).
90. *Songsbi* describes Di-hua-jia-luo (地華加羅) as the king of Zhu-nian, and he was also described as the great chief (大首領) of San-fo-qi (三佛齊). Here in *Song huiyao*, he is recorded as *fanwang* (蕃王) of the Zhu-nian kingdom. From this discrepancy much confused discussion has been made on this alleged Chola king in the past studies. See the separate note, 5) Note on Di-hua-jia-luo, the alleged Chola king, *infra*.
91. *Neishi* (內侍) was a title given to eunuchs in the palace during the Song period.
92. For place names in this paragraph, see notes 4 and 5 in the *Songsbi* translation

in this Appendix. In the *Songshi*, the destination in China is given as Guangzhou (廣州).

93. These two sentences in *Zhufan zhi* are taken from *Lingwai daida* (嶺外代答). For Pu-gan kingdom, see, 5) Note on Di-hua-jia-luo, the alleged Chola king.
94. See the note 24 in the *Songshi* translation.
95. See notes 27–29 in the *Songshi* translation.
96. The middle character 娑 (*suo*) is given as 婆 (*po*) in *Songshi*.
97. See the similar passage in the *Songshi*. The differences between the two passages are pointed out in the notes to the translation of the *Songshi*.
98. Most of this passage is taken from *Lingwai daida*.
99. This passage also appears in the *Lingwai daida*.
100. Hirth and Rockhill translate *ji-bei bu* (吉貝布) as “cotton stuffs”. See note 36 in the translation of the *Songshi* section for an alternative explanation.
101. For explanations of these products, see notes 37–43.
102. This passage is taken verbatim from the *Lingwai daida*.
103. Hirth and Rockhill translate *Qisheng yuan* (啟聖院) as “Sacred Enclosure”. See note 65 in the *Songshi* translation.
104. *Lingwai daida* reports that the event took place in the sixth lunar month.
105. The diplomatic interaction between the Cholas and Song is recorded in greater detail in the *Songshi*. See the translation in this Appendix.
106. Gu-lin here refers to Kollam (Quilon) in the present-day Kerala state in southern India. Pu-gan refers to the Pagan kingdom in Myanmar, for which see, 5) Note on Di-hua-jia-luo, the alleged Chola king, *infra*. While the route to the Chola kingdom through Pagan is understandable (although a faster route would have been across the Bay of Bengal through the Nicobar Islands), the mention of a route through Quilon on the Malabar coast is puzzling. Those sailing from China to the southern coast of India would first reach the Coromandel coast and then proceed to the Malabar coast. In the section on Gu-lin, the author mentions that Chinese traders going to Da-shi (大食), indicating the Persian Gulf, changed to “small boats” (小舟) at Gu-lin. Another section of the book states that those coming from Da-shi sailed south in “small boats” (小舟); after reaching Gu-lin they changed to “large boats” (大舟) and proceeded east. Based on these two notices, Yang Wuquan (楊武泉), the annotator of *Lingwai daida*, argues that merchants sailed on large, Chinese ships, to Gu-lin and from there sailed to various places, including the Coromandel coast on small boats. Other than the fact that there may not have been “large” Chinese ships sailing to south Asia at the time when *Lingwai daida* was composed (see Tansen Sen [2006]), the argument is unconvincing. Probably the author meant that those coming from the west would have to pass through Gu-lin to reach Zhu-nian.
107. *Naozi* (腦子) should read *longnao* (龍腦), which is borneol.
108. *Jinü* (妓女) also indicated prostitutes. Here, however, the reference seems to be to female servants at the court.

109. The description is found in the fifth group of the Foreign Countries (外國五) of the Biography and Memoirs (列傳) section in *Songshi*.
110. 大背紙 (a big backing paper) seems to be an error for 白背大綾紙 (a large silk backed with white paper), considering the stipulation of writing orders in *Zhiguan fenji* (Sun Fengsi 職官分紀), *Songshi* (職官志三 section) and others.
110. For 間金鍍管籥, *Wenxian tongkao* (文獻通考) gives 間金鍍匣銀管籥, which is taken here as the phrase that is more understandable.

