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The Ming shi Account of Champa

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The *Ming shi* Account of Champa

Geoff Wade

Introduction

Among the most detailed accounts of Champa to be found in Chinese classical texts is that contained in the *Ming shi* (明史) -- or the “History of the Ming Dynasty” -- one of the standard dynastic histories of China. Although the *Ming shi* was published only in the 1730s, it was based upon the official documents and contemporary accounts of the Ming dynasty which extended from the 1360s until the 1640s. One of the main sources for this text was the *Ming shi-lu*, or “Veritable Records of the Ming Dynasty,” a compendium of the accounts of the reigns of the successive Ming rulers, each of which was compiled after the death of the respective emperors. The compilation of the various *shi-lu* has been detailed by Franke.¹ A fitting treatment of the *Ming shi-lu* as a source for the history of Champa would require a monograph. It is thus that a more condensed version of the Ming accounts of Champa, that contained within the *Ming shi*, has been selected for treatment here.

The account of Champa contained within the *Ming shi*² records events, as seen by the Chinese court, extending from 1369 until 1544. The text thus covers the period from that which Georges Maspero referred to as the “apogée” of the polity,³ to the sack and decimation of the Cham capital at Vijaya by Đại Việt forces, and subsequently to the efforts by Cham rulers and claimants to obtain assistance from the Ming state. The history recorded is, of course, couched in the language and bound by the topoi of imperial Chinese historiography. Implicit within the text are the ideas that the Chinese emperor holds the mandate of Heaven and thus has the divine right to rule the Chinese and the non-Chinese. This also required him to enfeoff tributary rulers, who were then obligated to offer tribute to the court at stipulated frequency to indicate fealty and respect to the supreme ruler of China. The degree to which this reflected any empirical situation varied enormously over time and place, but the Chinese “world view” rhetoric remained remarkably constant through time. This context must be borne in mind when using the text.

The value of the *Ming shi* account, in addition to the fact that it was derived from texts generally contemporary with the events, lies in that the ideologies which infused the historians who created it varied greatly from those which informed the Vietnamese and Cham historians. Thus it provides a history which includes both events and interpretations different from those in *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* and the Cham inscriptions and other Cham texts. The value of alternate sources for the historian needs no further explication here.

Apart from the diplomatic and trading interactions between Champa and the Ming, the account also details the wars between the Chams and the Vietnamese, the successive Cham ruler and envoy names, and domestic political disputes within Champa. It also covers the early 15th

¹ Wolfgang Franke, “Der Kompilation und Überlieferung der Ming Shih-lu,” *Sinologische Arbeiten*, I (1943), pp. 1-46, II (1944) pp. 1-29, III (1945) pp. 165-68; and Wolfgang Franke, *An Introduction to the Sources of Ming History*, Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya Press, 1968, pp. 8-23.

² The account is included in *juan* 324 of *Ming shi*.

³ Georges Maspero, *Le Royaume de Champa*, Paris, Librairie Nationale d'Art et d'Histoire, 1928, pp. 193-218.

century period when Đại Việt was invaded and occupied by the Ming, which was eventually to have such profound repercussions for the Cham state. It further records attempts by various members of the Cham royal family (or persons hoping to be considered as such), to gain recognition or support from the Ming following the Vietnamese sacking of Vijaya in 1471. This is a particularly valuable part of the account, as it is contained in no other historical tradition, and was excluded by Maspero from his tome *Le Royaume de Champa*. Through these persons we hear of their claims about the original extent of Cham territory, and observe them as they travel into the Lao highlands and then Hainan Island in efforts to win recognition and support from the Ming court.

The translation of the *Ming shi* account of Champa below has been footnoted to make it a little more comprehensible to those who are not familiar with Chinese texts. The richness of the account, and the many possibilities which exist in terms of comparisons and collocations with other sources, determine that a fuller analysis of the text not be attempted here. The aim is simply to make available to readers the full *Ming shi* text, parts of which so many historians have already drawn on, to assist in further study of the Cham past.

Translation of the *Ming shi* Account of Champa⁴

Champa

Champa (占城)⁵ is situated in the Southern Sea. From Qiong-zhou (瓊州),⁶ one can reach there in one day and night, sailing with the wind. From Fu-zhou (福州),⁷ one needs to travel ten days and nights in a south-westerly direction to reach there. It was the Yue-chang (越裳)⁸ of the Zhou era. During the Qin dynasty,⁹ it was known as Lin-yi (林邑), while during the Han dynasty,¹⁰ it

⁴ This translation is based on the account contained in *juan* 324 in the Zhong-hua shu-ju edition of *Ming shi*, published in Bei-jing in 1974. During translation of the text, Professor Roderick Ptak of Munich brought to my attention an existing translation of the first part of the *Ming shi* account of Champa, (extending up to 1436), compiled by Eva Nagel and included in her exhaustive “The Chinese Inscription on the Trilingual Slabstone from Galle Reconsidered: A Case Study in Early Ming-Chinese Diplomacy” in H.-J. Weisshaar, H. Roth and W. Wijeyapala (eds.), *Ancient Ruhuna: Sri Lankan-German Archaeological Project in the Southern Province*, Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Phillip von Zabern, 2001. pp. 385-468.

⁵ The term used --“Zhan-cheng” (占城) -- was the name used by the Chinese for the Cham polity from the ninth century.

⁶ Qiong Subprefecture, an administrative division name used since the Tang dynasty (618-907 C.E.). Chinese historians consider that this subprefecture has always been located on Hai-nan island. Certainly, when this text was written, the reference was to the subprefecture centred near what is today Hai-kou City on Hai-nan.

⁷ The capital of the Fu-jian Provincial Administration Commission during the Ming. The name has continued in use until today and the modern city remains as the capital of the PRC’s Fu-jian Province.

⁸ Yue-chang was a name used during the Zhou dynasty (12th century to 3rd century B.C.E.) in reference to a polity or society to the south of Jiao-zhi (交趾). There is no agreement as to the location or scope of Jiao-zhi during the Zhou, but it was likely situated somewhere in the area extending from the modern Guang-dong and Guang-xi to the Red River Valley.

⁹ The Qin dynasty is generally dated as 255-206 B.C.E.

¹⁰ The Former and Latter Han dynasties extended from 206 B.C.E. to 220 C.E.

was Xiang-lin District (象林縣). At the end of the Latter Han, Ou Lian (區連) occupied this place, whence he became known as the King of Lin-yi (林邑王). From the Jin to the Sui dynasties, it remained thus.¹¹ During the Tang dynasty¹² it was known as both Zhan-bu-luo (占不勞)¹³ or Zhan-po (占婆),¹⁴ while the place where the ruler resided was known as Zhan-cheng (占城).¹⁵ After the Zhi-de reign,¹⁶ the country's name was changed to Huan (環). During the Zhou¹⁷ and Song¹⁸ dynasties, Zhan-cheng was used as the name of the country, and their tribute responsibilities were not disregarded. The Yuan Emperor Shi-zu, angered at their obstruction of his orders, raised a huge force and attacked them, but was unable to pacify them.

In the second year of the Hong-wu reign,¹⁹ Tai-zu²⁰ sent an official to proclaim his accession to the throne and instruct this country.²¹ Its king A-da-a-zhe (阿荅阿者)²² had, prior to this, already sent an envoy to submit a memorial to the Court, and to offer in tribute elephants, tiger²³ and local products.²⁴ The Emperor was pleased and immediately sent an official carrying an Imperial letter, the *Da Tong-li* (大統曆),²⁵ embroidered thin silks and silk gauzes, all of which were to be conferred upon the king. The king then again sent an envoy to offer tribute.²⁶ Subsequently, he sent tribute either every year, in alternate years or several times in a single year. Not long thereafter, Gan Huan (甘桓), a clerk of the Secretariat, and Lu Jing-xian (路景賢), a deputy commissioner in the Interpreters Institute,²⁷ were ordered to take an Imperial proclamation and proceed there to enfeoff A-da-a-zhe as the king of the country of Champa. In addition, 40 bolts of variegated silks and 3,000 copies of the *Da-Tong-li* were conferred upon him. In the third year of the reign,²⁸ the Court sent an envoy to offer sacrifices for that country's mountains and rivers. Subsequently, details of the recruitment examinations were proclaimed to this country.

¹¹ Meaning that the name Lin-yi continued in use during the Jin (晉) Dynasty (265-419 C.E.) and the Sui (隋) Dynasty (589-618 C.E.).

¹² The Tang (唐) Dynasty extended from 618 C.E. to 907 C.E.

¹³ Possibly derived from Champapura, a name attested by a 9th century inscription at Đòng-du'ong. See M.L. Finot, "Notes d'Épigraphie VI, Inscriptions du Quang Nam," *BEFEO* IV, pp. 83-115. See p. 87, stanza XVII and p. 92, stanza XVII. See also Notes d'Épigraphie XI, p. 949 for another example.

¹⁴ This is a very obvious transliteration of the name Champa.

¹⁵ Literally the "City of the Chams".

¹⁶ A reign title of Tang Xiao-zong, extending over the two years of 756/757 and 757/758 C.E.

¹⁷ Referring to the Posterior Zhou Dynasty, which extended from 951 to 960 C.E.

¹⁸ The Song (宋) Dynasty is traditionally dated from 960 to 1278 C.E.

¹⁹ Equivalent to 1369/70 C.E.

²⁰ Referring to the founder of the Ming dynasty, Zhu Yuan-zhang, known posthumously by his dynastic title Tai-zu.

²¹ For the text of the letter sent to Champa in 1369, see *Ming Tai-zi shi-lu*, juan 47.3b-4a.

²² There has never been any convincing reconstruction of this term. It is more likely a title than a name (an elided Rājadirāja??), but apparently refers to the same person as that named Ché Bông Ngã (制蓬峨) in the Vietnamese texts. (see Maspero, *Le Royaume de Champa*, pp. 254-55).

²³ In reference to the elephants and tigers, it is also possible to read the text as singular, rather than plural.

²⁴ This is noted in the *Ming Tai-zi shi-lu*, juan 45.4a, dated to the equivalent of 15 October 1369.

²⁵ Literally: The "Great Unified Calendar". The Ming imperial calendar.

²⁶ As mentioned in *Ming Tai-zi shi-lu*, juan 45.3a of August 1370.

²⁷ The Interpreters Institute (會同館) was also the principal state hostelry for foreign envoys.

²⁸ 1370/71 C.E.

Earlier, Annam²⁹ and Champa had been engaged in military hostilities, and the Son of Heaven³⁰ had sent an envoy to instruct them and to resolve the differences. However, Annam again attacked [Champa]. In the fourth year,³¹ their king³² offered tribute to the Court together with a memorial inscribed on gold leaf. It was over one *chi*³³ long, five *cun*³⁴ in breadth, and was incised with the script of that country. Officials of the Institute³⁵ translated this, and its meaning was as follows: “The Emperor of the Great Ming has ascended the Precious Throne, and soothed all in the four seas. Like Heaven and Earth, you cover and support all, and like the Sun and the Moon, your illumination reaches all. A-da-a-zhe is, by comparison, but a blade of grass. Yet an Imperial envoy was sent to confer upon me a gold seal, enfeoffing me as king of the country. My gratitude, honour and joy will remain eternal. However, Annam has been employing troops and aggressing against our frontiers, killing officials and plundering the people. I humbly hope that the Emperor will show compassion, and confer upon us military weapons, musical instruments and musicians. In this way, Annam will know that our country of Champa is protected by the Imperial court, and that we are tributaries, and thus will not dare to oppress and maltreat us.”³⁶ The Emperor sent orders to the Ministry of Rites³⁷ to instruct them as follows: “Champa and Annam both serve the Court and have both accepted the Court’s calendar.³⁸ And yet, you have taken it upon themselves to engage in warfare. This brings harm to living things, goes against the principle of serving the sovereign, and deviates from the practice of maintaining good relations with neighbours. I have already sent a despatch to the king of the country of Annam, requiring him to immediately cease his military actions. Your country should also stress sincerity and cultivate friendship. You should each guard your own territories. As to the request for military weapons, how could we be ungenerous towards you, king! However, your two countries are engaged in fighting. If we conferred these weapons upon Champa, it would assist you in waging attacks. This would certainly not be the righteous path of soothing and pacifying! As to the musical instruments and musicians, our languages and music are different from each other, and thus it is difficult to despatch these to you. If there are any persons in your country who understand the Chinese language³⁹, you should select them, so that they can come and study

²⁹ Annam (安南) -- “The Pacified South” -- was the term by which the Ming referred to the polity of Đại Việt. The name, however, has a much longer genealogy, dating back almost 2,000 years.

³⁰ A reference to the Chinese emperor.

³¹ 1371/72 C.E.

³² Referring to the Cham ruler.

³³ A *chi* is a Chinese measure of length which, during the Ming dynasty, varied between approximately 31 and 35 centimetres.

³⁴ A *cun* was one-tenth of a *chi*, for which see above note.

³⁵ Referring to the Interpreters Institute (會同館). See note 31.

³⁶ A fuller version of the letter is contained in *Ming Tai-zu shi-lu*, juan 67.4b-5a.

³⁷ One of the six major ministries of the Ming administration. The Ministry was generally responsible for, *inter alia*, overseeing all imperial and court rituals, arranging for enfeoffments and managing visits by foreign dignitaries and envoys. For further details, see Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1985, pp. 70, 73 and 306-307.

³⁸ Literally: “accorded with our New Year’s Day.” The Chinese calendar mentioned distinguished the Chinese from surrounding peoples who recognised other calendars and New Year days.

³⁹ “hua-yan” (華言).

music here.” It was also ordered that the Fu-jian provincial officials not levy taxes on them, so as to demonstrate the Imperial desire to cherish those from afar.

In the sixth year,⁴⁰ their tribute envoy advised: “The pirates Zhang Ru-hou (張汝厚) and Lin Fu (林福) have taken upon themselves the titles of Commanders-in-Chief and engaged in robbery and depredations across the seas. Our country’s ruler thus attacked and destroyed them and the bandit leaders were drowned. We captured twenty of their ships, and 70,000 *jin*⁴¹ of sapan wood, which we respectfully submit to you.” The Emperor was pleased, and ordered that they be rewarded at higher levels.⁴² During the winter, the envoy they had sent submitted advice that they had obtained victory over Annam. The Emperor thus sent instructions to the provincial officials, noting: “Last winter, Annam stated that Champa had violated its borders. This year, Champa claims that Annam had disturbed its borders. We have not yet ascertained the truth or otherwise of these claims. You are to send a person to instruct them, requiring that each party cease its military activities and rest its people, and desist from aggressing against or disturbing the other.” In the tenth year,⁴³ Champa engaged in a major war with the Annam king Chen Tuan (陳端),⁴⁴ during which Tuan died. In the twelfth year,⁴⁵ when the tribute envoy reached the capital, the Secretariat did not memorialise in a timely manner. The Emperor severely chastised the Grand Chancellors Hu Wei-yong (胡惟庸) and Wang Guang-yang (汪廣洋), and these two officials were arrested and charged.⁴⁶ An official was then sent to confer upon the king *Da Tong-li*,⁴⁷ robes and silks. He was also ordered to pursue good relations with Annam and to cease military actions.

In the 13th year,⁴⁸ [Champa] sent an envoy to offer congratulations on the Emperor’s birthday. The Emperor was informed that Champa had been defeated by Annam in a naval battle. He conferred Imperial orders of instruction to them, noting: “In the past, Annam despatched troops, and they were defeated by Champa. Champa took advantage of the victory to attack Annam, with the result that Annam was greatly humiliated. If you, king, are able to guard your territory and soothe your people, then your prosperity will long be enjoyed. If you continue to push your forces into the hardships of battle, with victory or defeat uncertain, then like when the snipe and the mussel vied with each other and the fisherman gained both, you will regret it in future. It is not yet too late!”⁴⁹

⁴⁰ 1373/34 C.E.

⁴¹ A *jin*, or catty, is a unit of weight, which averaged 590 grams during the Ming.

⁴² This is taken from the account contained in *Ming Tai-zu shi-lu*, juan 84.7a.

⁴³ 1377/78 C.E.

⁴⁴ This is the battle near Vijaya described by Maspero (1928; pp. 208-210). Chen Tuan was the Trần Emperor Khâm-hoàng.

⁴⁵ 1379/80 C.E.

⁴⁶ Hu Wei-yong was the Ming prime minister from 1377 to 1380, but he was executed on charges of treason. The failure to inform the Emperor of the arrival of the Cham envoys in 1379 was apparently the act which sparked investigations of Hu Wei-yong and colleagues. This led to his jailing and eventual death, along with another reportedly 15,000 other individuals. For further details, see Chan Hok-lam’s account of Hu Wei-yong in L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang’s *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1976, pp. 638-641.

⁴⁷ The Ming calendar. See Note 27 above.

⁴⁸ 1380/81 C.E.

⁴⁹ For a fuller account, see *Ming Tai-zu shi-lu*, juan 133.6b-7a of October 1380.

In the 16th year,⁵⁰ Champa offered in tribute 200 elephant tusks and other local products. An official was sent to Champa to confer upon them tally-slip books,⁵¹ 32 bolts of fine silks interwoven with gold thread and 9,000 pieces of porcelain. In the 19th year,⁵² the Champa ruler sent his son Bao-bu-ling-shi-na-re-hu (寶部領詩那日忽)⁵³ to come to Court, to congratulate the Emperor on his birthday, and to present 54 elephants. Gifts were also given to the Heir Apparent. The Emperor was pleased with their sincerity, and thus conferred upon them bountiful rewards, and ordered a eunuch official to escort them back.⁵⁴ The following year, they offered tribute again, of 51 elephants as well as *jia-nan*,⁵⁵ rhinoceros horn and other products. The Emperor feasted and rewarded them at levels above the usual. When their envoys returned to Guang-dong, eunuch officials were sent again to provide them with a departure banquet and travel expenses.

When Zhen-la⁵⁶ submitted tribute, the king of Champa exacted one fourth of it. He also acted in many other ways which were improper and lacking in virtue. The Emperor heard of this and was angered. In the summer of the 21st year,⁵⁷ it was ordered that the Court Messenger Dong Shao (董紹) proceed to castigate the king of Champa. Before Shao reached there, the Champa tribute envoy arrived in the capital.⁵⁸ Subsequently, they sent another envoy to admit guilt, and it was ordered that he be banqueted and conferred with rewards in accordance with the regulations.

It then occurred that A-da-a-zhe went astray from the proper ways of a ruler. The senior minister Ge-sheng (閻勝) thus hatched rebellious plans and in the 23rd year,⁵⁹ he killed the king and established himself as ruler. In the following year, he sent his Grand Steward to present a memorial and offer tribute. The Emperor loathed Ge-sheng's rebellious actions and thus refused to accept the envoy or tribute. From the 30th year⁶⁰ onwards, they returned to sending tribute.

When Cheng-zu ascended the throne,⁶¹ he sent a proclamation and instructions to this country. During the first year of the Yong-le reign,⁶² the king Zhan-ba-di-lai (占巴的賴)⁶³

⁵⁰ 1383/84 C.E.

⁵¹ These tally-slips were used as identification for recognising legitimate envoys from the Ming court. A half tally would be brought by the Ming envoy to Champa and it would be matched with the other half held in Champa, thereby ascertaining the legitimacy of the envoy. The *Ming shi-lu* references to this Champa tribute mission and the sending of the Ming envoy are at *Ming Tai-zu shi-lu* 152.3b-4a and 153.5a.

⁵² 1386/87 C.E.

⁵³ A possible reconstruction is: "Po Pu lyang Śivaraja", assuming that the final character "hu" (忽) is a transcription error for "re" (惹). The Po and pu lyang titles are attested in Cham inscriptions.

⁵⁴ Described further in *Ming Tai-zu shi-lu*, juan 179.3b-4a.

⁵⁵ *jia-nan*, the aromatic also known as calambac. For further details of this aromatic, see J.V.G. Mills (translator and editor), *Ma Huan Ying-yai Sheng-lan: The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores [1433]*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970, p. 81, n. 1; and J.V.G. Mills and Roderich Ptak, *Hsing-ch'a sheng-lan: The Overall Survey of the Star Raft* by Fei Hsin, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996, p. 34, n. 13.

⁵⁶ The Cambodian polity. This name Zhen-la was the Chinese name for the polity from the 7th century.

⁵⁷ 1388/89 C.E.

⁵⁸ The Ming capital was, during this period, situated at what is today Nan-jing.

⁵⁹ 1390/91 C.E.

⁶⁰ 1397/98 C.E.

⁶¹ 1403/04 C.E. Cheng-zu was the later temple name of Zhu Di, who was also known by his reign title Yong-le. The fourth son of the Ming founder, he usurped the throne from his nephew Zhu Yun-wen through waging a civil war, and then attempted to expunge all evidence of the latter's reign from the histories.

⁶² 1403/04 C.E.

offered a gold-leaf memorial and sent tribute. He also accused Annam of having invaded them, and requested that the Emperor send them orders of warning and instruction.⁶⁴ The Emperor approved this, and sent the Court Messengers Jiang Bin-xing (蔣賓興) and Wang Shu (王樞) as envoys to that country, to confer gifts of velvet, brocades, fine silks interwoven with gold thread, and silk gauzes.⁶⁵ In the following year,⁶⁶ as the Annam king Hu Di⁶⁷ had submitted a memorial, he was commanded to cease his military actions. Officials were also sent to instruct the king of Champa. The king subsequently sent an official to memorialise: “Annam has not obeyed the Imperial orders and has invaded us with naval forces. Also, when our tribute envoys were returning home, all the goods which were conferred on us were wrested from them. Annam has also given us a hat and robes, a seal, and turned us into their subjects. Further, they have occupied Sha-li-ya (沙離牙)⁶⁸ and other parts of our territory, and are pillaging endlessly. I am afraid that we will not be able to survive. We implore that we be included within the Empire,⁶⁹ and that you send an official to proceed to punish them.”⁷⁰ The Emperor was angered and orders of reprimand were sent to Hu Di. In addition, paper money was conferred upon the king of Champa.

In the fourth year of the reign,⁷¹ Champa offered as tribute a white elephant and local products, and again complained of Annam’s depredations. The Emperor despatched a huge force to proceed to punish Annam, and ordered Champa to firmly guard its territory, and to capture and send to the capital any of the Annamese whom they caught crossing or fleeing to their territory.⁷² In the fifth year, they attacked and won control over the territory which Annam had invaded, and the bandits they captured including Hu Lie (胡烈)⁷³ and Pan Ma-xiu (潘麻休)⁷⁴ were presented as prisoners to the Emperor, together with tribute of local products in gratitude for Imperial grace.⁷⁵ The Emperor was pleased with the military assistance Champa provided in

⁶³ Champādirat/Champādirāja.

⁶⁴ The original reference is contained in *Ming Tai-zong shi-lu*, juan 21.12b.

⁶⁵ The sending of the envoys is recorded in further detail in *Ming Tai-zong shi-lu*, juan 22.2b.

⁶⁶ 1404/05 C.E.

⁶⁷ Hu Di. The name by which the Chinese referred to Lê Hán thu’o’ng (黎漢蒼), the second son of Lê Quý Ly, the Đại Việt ruler who, in 1400-01, made himself father-royal while enthroning his son. In the Vietnamese texts, Lê Hán thu’o’ng was known by his reign titles of Thiêu-thành (紹成) and Khai-đại (開大). For further details, see Carrington Goodrich and Fang’s *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, p. 798, and Whitmore’s *Vietnam, Hồ Quý Ly, and the Ming (1371-1421)*, p. 60.

⁶⁸ The location of this place remains a mystery, but it has been suggested that it referred to the port of Qui Nho’n.

⁶⁹ Literally: “Included within the [imperial] maps”.

⁷⁰ For the original reference in the Veritable Records, see *Ming Tai-zong shi-lu*, juan 33.4b-5a.

⁷¹ 1406/07 C.E.

⁷² The orders of despatch of the force are recorded in *Ming Tai-zong shi-lu*, juan 56.1b-3a, while the instructions to Champa can be seen in *Ming Tai-zong shi-lu*, juan 58.4b-5a.

⁷³ In Vietnamese pronunciation, Hồ Liệt.

⁷⁴ In Vietnamese pronunciation, Phan Ma Hu’u.

⁷⁵ The submission of these two persons to the Ming is recorded in *Ming Tai-zong shi-lu*, juan 70.1b.

punishing the rebels, and sent the eunuch Wang Gui-tong (王貴通)⁷⁶ with an Imperial letter, silver and silks to confer upon them.⁷⁷

In the sixth year of the reign,⁷⁸ Zheng He (鄭和)⁷⁹ proceeded as an envoy to this country, and the king of Champa sent his grandson She-yang-gai (舍楊該)⁸⁰ to offer tribute of elephants and local products in gratitude for Imperial grace.⁸¹ In the tenth year,⁸² their tribute envoy requested the conferral of ceremonial headwear and a belt. These were given and Zheng He was again ordered to proceed as an envoy to this country.

In the 13th year of the reign,⁸³ the Imperial Army⁸⁴ proceeded against Chen Ji-kuo (陳季擴),⁸⁵ and Champa was ordered to assist with troops. The Minister Chen Qia (陳洽)⁸⁶ advised: “The [Champa] king is two-hearted. He did not advance his troops even though it was past the appointed date. Instead, he provided gold and silks as well as war elephants to assist Ji-kuo, while Ji-kuo gave [the king of Campa] the daughter of Li Cang (黎蒼).⁸⁷ Further, he has made a treaty with Chen Weng-ting (陳翁挺),⁸⁸ the uncle of Ji-kuo, to attack the four subprefectures and 11 counties under Sheng-hua Prefecture.⁸⁹ His crimes are equal [to those of Annam], and we should send troops to punish him.” As Jiao-zhi⁹⁰ had just been pacified, and the Emperor did not wish to further labour the troops, he simply sent orders of severe castigation,

⁷⁶ Wang Gui-tong was one of the eunuch admirals who led several of the voyages to Southeast Asia and beyond in the early years of the 15th century. He was also noted in the trilingual inscription erected in Galle, Sri Lanka in 1409. See Nagel “The Chinese Inscription on the Trilingual Slabstone from Galle,” pp. 403-404

⁷⁷ The despatch of Wang Gui-tong was originally recorded in *Ming Tai-zong shi-lu*, juan 71.7a.

⁷⁸ 1408/09 C.E.

⁷⁹ Zheng He was the most famous of the eunuch admirals who led military missions to Southeast Asia and beyond in the first third of the 15th century. For biographical details, see the account by Chang Kuei-sheng contained in Carrington Goodrich and Fang’s *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, pp. 194-200. For a more popular account, see Louise Levathes, *When China Ruled the Seas: The Treasure Fleet of the Dragon Throne, 1405-33*. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1994.

⁸⁰ No reconstruction of this name has yet been proposed.

⁸¹ The despatch of Zheng He to a number of overseas polities, including Champa, is recorded in *Ming Tai-zong shi-lu*, juan 83.3b, dated to the equivalent of 17 October 1408, while the arrival of She-yang-gai is seen in the account contained in *Ming Tai-zong shi-lu*, dated to the equivalent of 19 October 1408.

⁸² 1412/13 C.E.

⁸³ 1415/16 C.E.

⁸⁴ This refers to the Ming forces which had invaded Đại-Việt.

⁸⁵ Trần Quý Khoáng, the nephew of Trần Ngỗi. Trần Quý Khoáng led opposition against the Ming invading forces during the period 1409-1414. See Whitmore, *Vietnam, Hồ Quý Ly, and the Ming*, pp. 101-105.

⁸⁶ A Chinese military officer and also administrative official, Chen Qia served in Annam/Jiao-zhi for 20 years, as well as in campaigns in northern China. He acted as Zhang Fu’s deputy, was subsequently appointed as Minister of War, but was again sent to Jiao-zhi to coordinate Ming military efforts. The proposal mentioned here appears to have stemmed from Ming recognition that the Cham had allied themselves with the Trần princes in opposition to the Chinese occupiers of Jiao-zhi. For further details, see the bibliography of Chen Qia by Chan Hok-lam in Carrington Goodrich and Fang, *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, pp. 145-148.

⁸⁷ Possibly Lê Hán thu’o’ng (黎漢蒼).

⁸⁸ Trần Ông Đình.

⁸⁹ Sheng-hua Prefecture (升華府) was an administrative division under the Ming occupiers extending over what is today Quảng-nam and Quảng-Gãi Provinces.

⁹⁰ The provincial name which the Ming used for their newly-conquered colony of Annam/ Đại Việt.

requiring Champa to return the occupied territory.⁹¹ The king immediately sent an envoy to admit guilt. In the 16th year of the reign,⁹² the king sent his grandson She-na-cuo (舍那挫)⁹³ to come to Court. It was ordered that the eunuch official Lin Gui (林貴) and the Court Messenger Ni Jun (倪俊) escort him home. Rewards were also conferred.

In the initial year of the Xuan-de reign, the Court Messenger Huang Yuan-chang⁹⁴ (黃原昌) proceeded to this country to promulgate the new Calendar of the reign, in order to restrain the king's irreverence.⁹⁵ Huang refused the rewards of gold and silks proffered [by the Cham ruler] and returned, whereupon he was promoted to Vice Director in the Ministry of Revenue.

In the initial year of the Zheng-tong reign,⁹⁶ Cheng Ying (程瑩), the prefect of Qiong Subprefecture,⁹⁷ advised: "Champa submits tribute every year, and the effort and expense incurred is truly great." It is requested that, like the regulations for Siam and the various other countries, Champa's tribute frequency be set at once every three years." The Emperor approved this, and sent Imperial orders as proposed by Ying back with their envoy. In addition, variegated silks were conferred upon the king and his consort. However, the *fan* people gained advantage from trading in China, and although these orders were issued, they were not accorded with.⁹⁸

In the sixth year,⁹⁹ king Zhan-ba-di-lai¹⁰⁰ died, and his grandson Mo-he-bi-gai (摩訶賁該),¹⁰¹ on the basis of bequeathed orders, sent the king's grandson Shu-ti-kun (述提昆) to come and offer tribute at the Court, and to request permission to assume the throne.¹⁰² The Supervising Secretary Guan Tong (管瞳)¹⁰³ and the Court Messenger Wu Hui (吳惠)¹⁰⁴ were thus sent with an Imperial proclamation enfeoffing Mo-he-bi-gai as king.¹⁰⁵ In addition, rewards

⁹¹ The original reference on which this section is based can be found in *Tai-zong shi-lu*, juan 170.3b-4a.

⁹² 1418/19 C.E.

⁹³ A likely reconstruction is Sinhāsyā. This name cannot be identified with any person named in the Vietnamese or Cham texts, but it appears in the Kawi Ramayana. See Claude Jacques, *Études Épigraphiques sur le pays Cham*, Paris, EFEO, 1995 p. 213. (Original article by Édouard Huber).

⁹⁴ This mission seems to have been omitted from the *Ming shi-lu*, and I have been unable to trace any information about Huang Yuan-chang.

⁹⁵ 1426/27 C.E.

⁹⁶ 1436/37 C.E.

⁹⁷ Located on Hainan Island, centred on what is today the provincial capital of Hai-kou.

⁹⁸ This paragraph is based on materials contained in *Ying-zong shi-lu*, juan 31.8a-b.

⁹⁹ 1441/42 C.E.

¹⁰⁰ Champādhīrat.

¹⁰¹ Mo-he-bi-gai (Mahāvijaya??) is noted here as the grandson of the deceased ruler Zhan-ba-di-lai (Champādhīrat). However, below in this text, it is noted that Mo-he-bi-gai was the maternal uncle of Mo-he-gui-lai, the nephew of Zhan-ba-di-lai. Both the *Ying-zong shi-lu* (juan 156) and *Guo-que* (juan 25, p. 1611 and juan 26, p. 1725) note that as Mo-he Gui-lai, the nephew of Zhan-ba-di-lai, was still young, he yielded the country to his maternal uncle Mo-he-bi-gai. This reference to Mo-he-bi-gai being the grandson of the deceased ruler Zhan-ba-di-lai is likely a mistake by the compilers of the *Ming shi*.

¹⁰² The arrival of Shu-ti-kun at the Ming capital is recorded in *Ying-zong shi-lu*, juan 80.6a.

¹⁰³ In both the *Ying-zong shi-lu* and *Guo-que*, this name is given as Shu Tong (舒瞳).

¹⁰⁴ There exists a short account of Wu Hui's visit to Champa, contained in Wang Ao's *Zhen-ze ji-wen* (王鏊 <震澤紀聞>), juan 上, p. 26. Thanks to Dr Sun Laichen for drawing this to wider attention.

¹⁰⁵ The information included here is drawn from *Ying-zong shi-lu*, juan 81.5b-6a.

were conferred upon both the new king and his consort. In the spring of the 7th year,¹⁰⁶ Shu-ti-kun died *en route*.¹⁰⁷ The Emperor was grieved and sent officials to offer sacrifices for him. In the 8th year,¹⁰⁸ the king of Champa sent his nephew Qie-yang-le-cui (且揚催貢)¹⁰⁹ to offer tribute of “wu pai-qi” (舞牌旗)¹¹⁰ and black elephants.¹¹¹

In the 11th year of the reign,¹¹² orders of instruction were sent to Mo-he-bi-gai, noting: “Recently the Annam king Li Jun (黎濬)¹¹³ sent us an envoy claiming that you king had taken advantage of his solitude and youth. Previously, you had invaded the four subprefectures of Sheng (升), Hua (華), Si (思) and Yi (義), and now you have also repeatedly attacked Hua Subprefecture (化州), carrying off people, livestock and valuables. Both your two countries have received the Court’s orders, and each has its own territory to protect. How can you raise troops and engage in warfare and enmity, or pervert the appropriate duty of maintaining good relations with your neighbours and protecting your territory! You, king, should respect and comply with the requirements of propriety, and sternly warn your border officials that they must not engage in reckless attacks and seizures, as this will entail calamity for all living things.” Further orders of instruction were sent to Annam, requiring it to tighten its defences, and not recklessly engage in reprisals.¹¹⁴ Previously, regulations were fixed requiring that tribute be submitted once every three years. However, this country [Champa] did not respect these regulations. Their envoy was thus subject to scrutiny, whereupon he stated: “The former king is now dead and the previous Imperial orders are no longer extant. That is why we do not know of this instruction.” In this year, repeated tribute envoys arrived. Thus, Imperial orders were again sent, requiring the king to observe the statutes. Also, multicoloured silks were conferred upon the king and his consort. In the winter, a further envoy arrived to offer tribute.¹¹⁵

In the 12th year,¹¹⁶ the king went to war with Annam. He was greatly defeated and taken into captivity.¹¹⁷ An envoy sent by Mo-he-gui-lai (摩訶貴來), the nephew of the deceased king Zhan-ba-di-lai, thereupon advised: “The former king¹¹⁸ fell ill and, as I was the eldest male descendant, he desired that I assume the throne. At that time, I was but young, and I yielded the throne to my uncle Mo-he-bi-gai. Subsequently, he repeatedly raised troops and attacked Annam. This led to the enemy forces entering Gu-lei (古壘) and other places in Jiu-zhou (舊州), killing and plundering. The people and livestock were decimated and the king was also captured. As I

¹⁰⁶ 1442/43 C.E.

¹⁰⁷ The implication is that he was returning to Champa with the Chinese envoys when he died. Shu-ti-kun’s death is recorded in *Ying-zong shi-lu*, juan 90.3b.

¹⁰⁸ 1443/44 C.E.

¹⁰⁹ No identification of this name has yet been made, but the second syllable may well be the Cham honorific Yang.

¹¹⁰ Literally: “shields and flags for dancing”.

¹¹¹ The arrival in the Ming capital of Qie-yang-le-cui is recorded in *Ying-zong shi-lu*, juan 99.1a, while the presentation of the shields and flags is in an account found in *Ying-zong shi-lu*, juan 103.2a.

¹¹² 1446/47 C.E.

¹¹³ This was the Vietnamese emperor Lê Nhân Tông, who reigned 1442-59 C.E.

¹¹⁴ The first section of this paragraph is based upon references found at *Ying-zong shi-lu*, juan 142.7b-8a and *Ying-zong shi-lu*, juan 143.1b-2a.

¹¹⁵ The arrival of this envoy is recorded, together with those of Siam and Java, in *Ying-zong shi-lu*, juan 146.1b.

¹¹⁶ 1447/48 C.E.

¹¹⁷ These events are described by Maspero (1928; pp. 230-32).

¹¹⁸ Apparently referring to Zhan-ba-di-lai (Champāthirat).

was the nephew of the former king and had been left orders, the people of our country requested that I assume the throne. I refused time and again, but was unsuccessful in my protestations. I thus began handling the affairs of state from in front of the palace. I dare not assume the throne of my own accord and I prostrate myself, awaiting the Court's orders." The Supervising Secretary Chen Yi (陳誼) and the Court Messenger Xue Gan (薛幹) were thus sent to enfeoff him as king and instruct him to protect the country and maintain good relations with neighbours. In addition, the officials and people of the country were instructed to jointly assist him.¹¹⁹ In the 13th year,¹²⁰ Imperial orders were sent to Annam requiring them to send Mo-he-bi-gai back to his country.¹²¹ They did not obey the orders.

In the third year of the Jing-tai reign,¹²² [Champa] sent an envoy to offer tribute, and to advise of the king's death. It was ordered that the Supervising Secretary Pan Ben-yu (潘本愚) and the Court Messenger Bian Yong (邊永) proceed to enfeoff [the dead king's] younger brother Mo-he-gui-you (摩訶貴由)¹²³ as king.¹²⁴

In the first year of the Tian-shun reign,¹²⁵ Champa offered tribute, and filigree gold belts were conferred upon the chief envoy and the deputy envoy.¹²⁶ In the second year,¹²⁷ the king Mo-he-pan-luo-yue (摩訶槃羅悅)¹²⁸ assumed the throne, and he sent an envoy to present a memorial and offer tribute.¹²⁹ In the fourth year,¹³⁰ they offered tribute again. From the chief and deputy envoy downwards, all had conferred upon them silk gauze headwear and gold, silver and horn belts, at appropriate levels. The envoys complained that Annam had aggressed against them. Imperial orders of instruction were thus sent to the king of Annam. In the ninth month, an envoy arrived, advising of the king's death, It was ordered that the Supervising Secretary Huang Ru-lin (黃汝霖) and the Court Messenger Liu Shu (劉恕) proceed to enfeoff the king's younger brother Pan-luo-cha-quan (槃羅茶全)¹³¹ as the king.¹³²

¹¹⁹ Further details can be found at *Ying-zong shi-lu*, juan 156.2b.

¹²⁰ 1449/50 C.E.

¹²¹ The reference to the orders sent to the Vietnamese emperor Lê Nhân Tông can be found at *Ying-zong shi-lu*, juan 166.3b-4b.

¹²² 1452/53 C.E.

¹²³ The name of this ruler has defied attempts at identification. While the first two syllables represent the Sanskrit "mahā", the origin of the last two syllables remains an enigma.

¹²⁴ These dates contradict those provided by Maspero (1928; p. 232-33), which indicated that Mo-he-gui-lai was dethroned by his younger brother in 1449.

¹²⁵ 1457/58 C.E.

¹²⁶ The conferral of the belts is recorded in the Veritable Records at *Ying-zong shi-lu*, juan 276.1a.

¹²⁷ 1458/59 C.E.

¹²⁸ The name which is being represented obviously begins with the Sanskrit "Mahā", but the last three characters remain unreconstructed. Maspero (1928; p. 234 n. 6) suggests Bhadravarman, but the phonetics militate against this.

¹²⁹ This reference is derived from *Ying-zong shi-lu*, juan 292.4b.

¹³⁰ 1460/61 C.E.

¹³¹ This is the Bàn-la Trà Toàn of the Vietnamese texts. See, for example, *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*, (Tokyo University Toyo Bunka edition of 1986, edited by Chen Ching-ho), p. 679 Canh dân year (1470/71), item 14. See also Bùi Quang Tung and Nguyễn Hương (translators), Nguyễn Thê Anh (reviewer and annotator), *Le Đại Việt et ses Voisins: D'après le Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư (Mémoires historiques du Đại Việt au complet)*, Paris, Éditions L'Harmattan, 1990, pp. 80-85.

¹³² The proclamation can be found at *Ying-zong shi-lu*, juan 319.4b.

In the eighth year of the reign,¹³³ they offered tribute.¹³⁴ When Xian-zong (憲宗) ascended the throne,¹³⁵ it was appropriate that brocades and silks be sent and conferred upon the *fan*¹³⁶ countries, but the Ministry of Rites requested that these be given to the envoys for them to take back. This was approved. Their envoys again complained that Annam had attacked them, and extorted a white elephant from them. They requested that, as during the Yong-le reign,¹³⁷ officials be sent to pacify [Annam], and to erect border stelae, in order to end their aggression and oppression. The Ministry of War opined that as the two countries were engaged in warfare, it was not appropriate to send envoys. It requested that, rather, their envoy be ordered to return to transmit orders to his king, requiring that he abide by propriety and the law, firmly guard his territory, guard against external threats, and not lightly instigate troubles. This was approved.¹³⁸

In the fifth year of the Cheng-hua reign,¹³⁹ [persons sent by Champa] came to offer tribute. At this time, Annam was extorting from Champa rhinoceroses and elephants, as well as valuable commodities, and ordered Champa to serve Annam in the same way as it [Champa] served the Heavenly Court. Champa refused and thus Annam sent a major expedition against them. In the seventh year,¹⁴⁰ Annam sacked their country, captured the king Pan-luo-cha-quan and his family members totaling over 50 persons, seized his seal and tallies, engaged in massive burning and looting, and subsequently occupied their territory.¹⁴¹ The king's younger brother Pan-luo-cha-yue (槃羅茶悅) fled into the mountains and sent an envoy to advise of the calamity. The Ministry of War advised: "Annam has occupied and incorporated another country. If appropriate punishment is not meted out, then not only will we lose Champa's desire to come to allegiance, but it will also, we fear, stimulate Annam's tendencies toward recalcitrance. Officials should be sent with Imperial orders to proclaim, instructing them to return the king of the country and his family members." The Emperor was concerned that Annam would disobey the orders, and instead instructed that when Annam's tribute envoy next arrived, Imperial orders of castigation be conferred [for him to take back].

In the eighth year of the reign,¹⁴² as Pan-luo-cha-yue had requested that he be enfeoffed, it was ordered that the Supervising Secretary Chen Jun (陳峻) and the Court Messenger Li Shan (李珊) proceed there with enfeoffment credentials.¹⁴³ When Jun and the others arrived at Xinzhou Port (新州港),¹⁴⁴ the defenders barred them. Only then did they become aware that the country had already been occupied by Annam, and had been renamed as Jiao-nan Prefecture

¹³³ 1464/65 C.E.

¹³⁴ The arrival of the envoys is recorded at *Xian-zong shi-lu*, juan 3.8a.

¹³⁵ The Ming emperor who used Cheng-hua as his reign title. He ascended the throne in 1465 C.E.

¹³⁶ A generic, deprecatory term used to refer to non-Chinese people, including those of Champa.

¹³⁷ 1403-24 C.E.

¹³⁸ For further details, see *Xian-zong shi-lu*, juan 91.7a-b.

¹³⁹ 1469/70 C.E.

¹⁴⁰ 1471/72 C.E.

¹⁴¹ Notification of the attack as provided by the Cham envoy can be found at *Xian-zong shi-lu*, juan 104.8a-b.

¹⁴² 1472/73 C.E.

¹⁴³ The sending of the Ming envoys is recorded in *Xian-zong shi-lu*, juan 105.6a.

¹⁴⁴ The port of Qui Nho'n, also known as Sri Vinaya or Sri Banoy. The port of the former Cham capital at Cha Ban.

(交南州). They thus did not dare enter. In the winter of the 10th year of the reign,¹⁴⁵ they returned to the Court.¹⁴⁶

After Annam had smashed Champa, it sent troops to capture Pan-luo-cha-yue. They then established Zhai-ya-ma-fu-an (齋亞麻弗菴),¹⁴⁷ the grandson of the former king, as king, and gave to him the border areas in the south of the country [to govern]. In the 14th year of the reign,¹⁴⁸ the envoy he sent came to Court to offer tribute and request a fief. It was thus ordered that the Supervising Secretary Feng Yi (馮義) and the Court Messenger Zhang Jin (張瑾) proceed there to enfeoff him. Yi and the others carried with them much in the way of private goods, but when they arrived in Guang-dong, they heard that Zhai-ya-ma-fu-an had died, and that his younger brother Gu-lai¹⁴⁹ (古來) had sent an envoy to request enfeoffment. Yi and the others were worried that they would return with empty caskets and lose their opportunity for profit, so they hurried to Champa. The people of Champa told them that, after the king's grandson had requested enfeoffment, he was murdered by Gu-lai, and that Annam had, with false "Imperial orders,"¹⁵⁰ enthroned Ti-po-tai¹⁵¹ (提婆苔), a person of the country, as the king. Yi and the others did not wait and memorialise a report, but instead conferred the seal and silks upon Ti-po-tai, enfeoffing him. For this they received in bribes over 100 *liang*¹⁵² of gold. They also proceeded to the country of Malacca where they traded the entirety of their private goods and then returned. Yi died of illness while at sea. Jin reported all these matters and submitted the false "Imperial letter" to the Court.¹⁵³

In the 17th year of the reign,¹⁵⁴ an official sent by Gu-lai came to Court to offer tribute, and advised: "When Annam destroyed out country, the former king's younger brother Pan-luo-cha-yue fled to reside at Fo-ling-shan (佛靈山).¹⁵⁵ When the envoy of the Heavenly Court¹⁵⁶ carrying the title patent arrived, he had already been carried away by the bandits.¹⁵⁷ It was thus that I and my elder brother Zhai-ya-ma-fu-an scurried into the mountain valleys. Later, the bandits were awed by the majesty of Heaven, and they sent persons to seek out my elder brother and to return [some of] our old territory to him. However, this comprised but five regions extending from Bang-du-lang (邦都郎)¹⁵⁸ to Zhan-la (占臘).¹⁵⁹ My brother exercised administration over the country for only a short time before he died. I am due to inherit the

¹⁴⁵ 1474/75 C.E.

¹⁴⁶ The return of the Chinese envoys and an account of their journey can be seen at *Xian-zong shi-lu*, juan 136.6a-b.

¹⁴⁷ Trai Á Ma Phát Yêm = Jayavarman.

¹⁴⁸ 1478/79 C.E.

¹⁴⁹ In Vietnamese, Cồ Lai. Possibly represents the Cham name Garai.

¹⁵⁰ This refers to orders issued by the Đại Việt emperor.

¹⁵¹ In Vietnamese, Đê Bà Thai. This might be tentatively reconstructed as Devatā.

¹⁵² A Chinese unit of weight. Often referred to as a Chinese ounce. During the Ming, averaged about 37 grams.

¹⁵³ Fuller details can be found at *Xian-zong shi-lu*, juan 220.4a-b. Zhang Jin was subsequently sentenced to decapitation, but was later pardoned the death sentence and banished to Guang-xi. See *Xian-zong shi-lu*, juan 257.3a.

¹⁵⁴ 1481/82 C.E.

¹⁵⁵ Probably Cape Varella, 12° 54' N, on the coast of what is today central Vietnam.

¹⁵⁶ The envoy of the Ming emperor.

¹⁵⁷ Apparently a reference to the Vietnamese.

¹⁵⁸ Pānduranga.

¹⁵⁹ Cambodia. More usually Zhen-la (真臘).

throne, but dare not arrogate this to myself. I am thus looking to the grace of Heaven, hoping that the appointment credentials and a seal be conferred. Our country's original territory included 27 regions (處), comprising four provinces (府), one prefecture (州), and 22 districts (縣). These extended eastward to the sea, south to Zhan-la, westward to the Mountains of the Li people (黎人山), and north to A-mu-la-bu (阿木喇補).¹⁶⁰ The territory extended for over 3,500 *li*.¹⁶¹ I beg that you specially instruct the Jiao (交) people,¹⁶² to return to us all of our original territory." The memorial was sent to those in the Audience Chamber for discussion. The Ying-guo Duke Zhang Mao (張懋) and others requested that two very authoritative persons from the Officials of the Imperial Coterie¹⁶³ be sent there as special envoys. At this time, it happened that the tribute envoy from Annam was just returning, and thus Imperial orders of castigation and reprobation were conferred upon Li Hao (黎灝),¹⁶⁴ instructing him to swiftly return [to Champa] the territory and not resist the Court's orders.¹⁶⁵ The officials of the Ministry of Rites also impeached [Zhang] Jin in respect of the unauthorised enfeoffment. He was arrested and it was commanded that he be imprisoned. When the overall circumstances were known, he was sentenced to death.¹⁶⁶ At this time, the envoy whom Gu-lai had sent was still in the Institute.¹⁶⁷ He was summoned for questioning, and he responded: "Gu-lai truly is the king's younger brother. The king died of illness, and was not assassinated. As to Ti-po-tai, I do not know who he is." It was ordered that the envoy return to Guang-dong, and wait there until Ti-po-tai's envoy arrived, when the veracity or otherwise of the accounts could be examined and the matter handled appropriately. The envoy waited there for more than a year, but Ti-po-tai's envoy did not arrive. He was thus instructed to return to his country.

In the 20th year of the reign,¹⁶⁸ Imperial orders were sent to Gu-lai instructing that he pacify and instruct Ti-po-tai, and requiring that Ti-po-tai hand back the originally-conferred seal of the king of the country as thereby he would be pardoned the crime of having accepted a false fief, and would be appointed as a chieftain.¹⁶⁹ Ti-po-tai refused to accept the orders, and thus the Supervising Secretary Li Meng-yang (李孟暘) and the Court Messenger Ye Ying (葉應) were sent to enfeoff Gu-lai as the king of the country.¹⁷⁰ Meng-yang and so on memorialised, noting: "Champa is a distant and dangerous place, and Annam is still employing troops there. Ti-po-tai has also occupied this land. If we are even the slightest lacking in vigilance, it may result in harm being brought to our national prestige. The [Cham] envoy who arrives should be ordered to transmit instructions to Gu-lai requiring him to go to Guang-dong to receive the fief. In addition, Imperial orders should be sent to Annam advising it to repent before disaster visits." This was

¹⁶⁰ Amāravatī. For the second character, the *Ming shi* account gives "ben" (本) which is an obvious error for "mu" (木).

¹⁶¹ A Chinese measure of distance. About one-third of a mile.

¹⁶² Referring to the Vietnamese.

¹⁶³ The intimate attendants of the Emperor, referring to his eunuch advisers.

¹⁶⁴ The name used by the Ming for the Vietnamese emperor Lê Thánh Tông (reigned 1460-97).

¹⁶⁵ The Veritable Records account of these events can be found at *Xian-zong shi-lu*, juan 219.6a-7b.

¹⁶⁶ See Note 149.

¹⁶⁷ Referring to the Interpreters Institute (*hui-tong guan*), the principal state hostelry for foreign envoys.

¹⁶⁸ 1484/85 C.E.

¹⁶⁹ The issue of these orders is recorded at *Xian-zong shi-lu*, juan 254.2a-b.

¹⁷⁰ The sending of these envoys is recorded at *Xian-zong shi-lu*, juan 255.2b-3a.

approved. Gu-lai thus brought his entire family from Laos (老撾)¹⁷¹ to Ya-zhou (崖州).¹⁷² [Li] Meng-yang completed the enfeoffment ceremony there and then returned. Gu-lai also wished to personally travel to the Court in order to memorialise the crimes of Annam. In the 23rd year of the reign,¹⁷³ the Supreme Commander Song Min (宋旻) advised of this. The Court officials proposed that a senior official be sent to console him, to instruct Annam about restoring broken lines of succession, and requiring them to accept Gu-lai back to Champa. The Emperor approved this, and it was ordered that Tu Yong¹⁷⁴ (屠滂), the Nan-jing Censor-in-Chief of the Right, proceed there.¹⁷⁵ When he arrived in Guang-dong, he immediately transmitted the Imperial instructions to Annam, instructing them in what would bring prosperity and what would invoke disaster.¹⁷⁶ He then raised 2,000 troops, and arranged for 20 ocean-going ships to escort Gu-lai back to his country. Annam recognized that the senior official Yong had been specially sent by Imperial command, and dared not oppose him. Gu-lai was thus able to enter [Champa].

In the following year,¹⁷⁷ the first year of the Hong-zhi reign, [Gu-lai] sent an envoy to come and offer tribute. In the second year,¹⁷⁸ Bu-gu-liang (卜古良), who had been sent by his elder brother [Gu-lai] came to Guang-dong and advised: “Annam remains unbridled in its encroachments and violence. It is requested that, as during the Yong-le reign,¹⁷⁹ a general be sent to command troops to guard and protect us.” The Supreme Commander¹⁸⁰ Qin Hong (秦紘) and others advised of this. The Ministry of War responded: “Both Annam and Champa are listed in the *Ancestral Injunctions*¹⁸¹ as countries not to be attacked. The reason that generals were sent to lead armies there during the Yong-le reign was because the Li bandits¹⁸² had committed the

¹⁷¹ There is nothing in the text which explains why Gu-lai should have been in Laos. The assumption is that the overland trip first into Laos and then China, and finally to the island of Hai-nan, was the safest way to avoid Vietnamese forces.

¹⁷² Situated on Hai-nan island. Ya-zhou was located to the very south of the island, close to the modern San-ya. It is quite possible that the Utsat (Chamic-speaking) population of the area today derived at least partly from the Chams who came with Gu-lai to Hai-nan in the late 15th century, but it is more likely that Gu-lai had travelled there because it had long had a Cham population. For further details of the Cham in Hainan, see Paul K. Benedict, “A Cham Colony on the Island of Hainan,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (June 1941), pp. 129-134. The anthropologist Pang Keng-fong has conducted much field work among the Utsat. See, for example, Peng Keng-fong, “Unforgiven and Remembered: The Impact of Ethnic Conflicts in Everyday Muslim-Han Social Relations on Hainan Island” in William Safran (ed.), *Nationalism and Ethnoregional Identities in China*, London and Portland, Frank Cass, pp. 142-162. The Tsat language is described with some historical background in Graham Thurgood, *From Ancient Cham to Modern Dialect: Two Thousand Years of Language Contact and Change*, Hawai’i, University of Hawai’i Press, 1999, pp. 214-236.

¹⁷³ 1487/88 C.E.

¹⁷⁴ Who was later to become Minister of Personnel (1496-1500 C.E.) and Censor-in-Chief (1507-09 C.E.).

¹⁷⁵ The orders by which Tu Yong was dispatched can be found at *Xian-zong shi-lu*, juan 286.4b.

¹⁷⁶ For a detailed account of the enfeoffment of Gu-lai in Guangdong and the instructions sent to Annam, see *Xiao-zong shi-lu*, juan 4.13a-b.

¹⁷⁷ 1488/89 C.E.

¹⁷⁸ 1489/90 C.E.

¹⁷⁹ 1403-25 C.E.

¹⁸⁰ Here referring to the supreme commander of Guang-dong. Qin Hong’s dates were 1426-1505.

¹⁸¹ Instructions compiled by the first Ming Emperor in 1373 as injunctions to later generations. They included provisions on which countries were not to be attacked by the Ming rulers.

¹⁸² This refers to Hồ Quý Ly / Lê Quý Ly, founder of the ephemeral Hồ dynasty in Đại Việt the early 15th century, and his son Lê Hán-thư ơng (Hồ Dê). See John K. Whitmore, *Vietnam, Hồ Quý Ly, and the Ming (1371-1421)*, and

crimes of assassination and rebellion, not because there was contention between neighbours over territory. Li Hao has now submitted tribute and has been respectful. Gu-lai has suffered and he is obviously over-emotive. We cannot, on the basis of his words alone, dispatch troops against a country which [as is noted in the *Injunctions*] should not be attacked. The defence officials [in Guang-dong] should be instructed to send back a letter, noting: ‘While the Jiao people¹⁸³ have killed your [the Cham ruler’s] son Gu-su-ma (古蘇麻), you have led your forces and defeated them. Thus, the shame brought by the rivalry has been redressed. You, king, should strengthen yourself, cultivate your rule, cherish and soothe the people of your country, protect your borders, and develop good relations with your neighbour Annam. The remaining suspicions are petty and should all be dismissed. In history, one does not see cases where a king, rather than strengthening himself, solely seeks to rely on the Court dispatching troops across the ocean, to represent the king in protecting the country!’” The Emperor followed the advice.¹⁸⁴ In the third year of the reign,¹⁸⁵ the envoy they sent arrived to express gratitude for Imperial grace.¹⁸⁶ After this country had been attacked and defeated, its people became lonely and isolated, and their envoys became gradually fewer.

In the 12th year of the reign,¹⁸⁷ the envoy [the king] had sent memorialised: “The territory of Xin-zhou Port within this country is still occupied by Annam, and the distress continues unabated. I am already old. It is requested that, before I die, it be ordered that my eldest son Sha-gu-bu-luo (沙古卜洛) inherit the fief, so that in the times to come, he can protect the country.” The Court officials advised: “Annam has brought calamity to Champa for a very long time. In response to Champa’s complaints, the Court has repeatedly issued Imperial letters and passed down admonitions and instructions to [Annam]. In response, Annam has repeatedly memorialized, claiming that it has reverently received the Court’s orders and has returned [to Champa] all of its land and people. However, while Annam’s words of defence have arrived, we are also hearing Champa’s claims of accusation. We are afraid that that this is an intractable situation. The defence officials should again be ordered to firmly instruct Annam that it must not covet the territory of others, as thereby it will bring calamity upon itself. If they do not listen, it should be considered sending an army to punish them. As to the eldest son of the king of Champa, there is no basis for him inheriting the fief while the father is still alive. It is requested that the son first be appointed as heir in charge of national affairs, and that at a later date, when it is appropriate that he inherit the fief, he should request enfeoffment as required by the precedents.” The Emperor approved this.¹⁸⁸ Subsequently, the king’s grandson Sha-bu-deng-gu-lu (沙不登咕魯) who had been sent [by the king] came to Court to offer tribute.

the biography of Lê Quý Ly (pp. 797-801) by Emile Gaspardone in Goodrich and Fang’s *Dictionary of Ming Biography*.

¹⁸³ Referring to the Vietnamese.

¹⁸⁴ The majority of this paragraph derives from the account provided in *Ming Xiao-zong shi-lu*, juan 31.7b-8b.

¹⁸⁵ 1490/91 C.E.

¹⁸⁶ The arrival of the envoy, named as Bu-gu-liang, the younger brother of Gu-lai, is noted at *Xiao-zong shi-lu*, juan 38.6b, and further details can be seen at juan 38.7a-b.

¹⁸⁷ 1499/1500 C.E.

¹⁸⁸ The original report on which the majority of this paragraph is based can be seen at *Xiao-zong shi-lu*, juan 151.8b-9a.

In the 18th year of the reign,¹⁸⁹ Gu-lai died. An envoy sent by his son Sha-gu-bu-luo came to offer tribute, but did not advise of his father's death. He only requested that a senior official be ordered to proceed to that country, and that he [Sha-gu-bu-luo] be enfeoffed with all of the territories of Xin-zhou Port. In addition, there was another memorial relating to the appropriation of their territory which briefly alluded to his father's death. The Supervising Secretary Ren Liang-bi (任良弼) and others advised: "Previously, as the country had lost territory, Champa made use of its tribute missions to request enfeoffment. They wished to make use of Heaven's majesty to frighten and subdue their neighbouring country. Actually, whether their king is enthroned or not is not dependent on whether the Court enfeoffs him or not. Now it is claimed that Gu-lai is dead. The truth or otherwise of the claim is difficult to ascertain. If perchance our envoy arrives at that place and finds that Gu-lai is still alive, are we to proceed with the enfeoffment of his son? Or would righteousness preclude this? Faced with such a difficult situation, the matter would be very difficult to handle. For example, in the past, when the Supervising Secretary Lin Xiao (林霄) was sent as an envoy to Malacca,¹⁹⁰ the ruler refused to face North or kneel. Xiao was secluded and died of hunger. We have since been unable to investigate the crime. The Emperor's orders and the country's majesty must be utilised carefully. It appears that, generally, when the various countries across the seas are without troubles, they dispense with sending tribute to the Court and enthrone themselves. Only when they are experiencing troubles do they make use of tribute missions to come and request enfeoffment. As to the recent arrival of the tribute envoy, why is [Champa] so anxious to request enfeoffment? It is nothing more than a desire to recover the land which Annam has occupied, and achieve the return of those persons who fled to Guang-dong. As to Annam's occupation of their territory, repeated Imperial letters have been sent instructing [Annam] to return the land. However, they continue to occupy it as before. If we now again send Imperial instructions, they will look lightly on them, and the majesty of Heaven will be subject to irreverence. Also, if we send an envoy to carry out enfeoffment in Champa, and they detain him and require that arrangements be made, how will the Court respond? If they detain our envoys and demand the people who have fled, it will mean that respected officials of the Heavenly Court are being held hostage in a *man*¹⁹¹ state across the seas. Instead, we should proceed like we did in the past, when Gu-lai was enfeoffed in Guang-dong. The most appropriate plan is to instruct the envoy to take an Imperial letter back to his country." The Ministry of Rites also requested, on the basis that it was not clear whether Gu-lai was still alive, that the Guang-dong defence officials be instructed to transmit a letter requiring Champa to investigate and report. This was approved. It was thus that the enfeoffment was long not carried out.¹⁹²

In the fifth year of the Zheng-de reign,¹⁹³ Sha-xi-ba-ma (沙係把麻), the uncle [of Sha-gu-bu-luo], who had been sent by Sha-gu-bu-luo came to offer tribute.¹⁹⁴ The Supervising

¹⁸⁹ 1505/06 C.E.

¹⁹⁰ "Malacca" is an obvious mistake for Siam. For the sending of Lin Xiao to Siam in 1482 and the ramifications of the mission, see Geoff Wade, "The *Ming Shi-lu* as a source for Thai History—Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (31:2) 2000, pp. 249-294. See particularly pp. 254-55.

¹⁹¹ "man" is a generic reference to various non-Chinese persons, and is often translated as "barbarian".

¹⁹² The *Ming shi* compilers took materials for much of this paragraph from the *Wu-zong shi-lu*, juan 2.18b-19b.

¹⁹³ 1510/1 C.E.

¹⁹⁴ Further details can be seen in the *Wu-zong shi-lu*, juan 65.8a-b.

Secretary Li Guan (李貫) and the Court Messenger Liu Ting-ruì (劉廷瑞) were then ordered to proceed there. When [Li] Guan reached Guang-dong, he was fearful of proceeding further, and he requested that, as had been done in the past with Gu-lai, the envoy be instructed to carry the enfeoffment credentials back. The Court officials discussed this and opined: “It is already two years since the officials were despatched. If we now cease half-way, we will not be carrying out our duty to restore the interrupted ruling line. If the envoy is unwilling to carry back the enfeoffment credentials, or if he takes them back and then another person receives them, it will again give rise to disturbances, which will further harm the state’s majesty. Guan and the others should be ordered to swiftly proceed there.” Guan, however, still shrank from going, and claimed that he lacked an interpreter and a navigator. The Court officials instructed the Guang-dong officials to visit this person, and if it were truly the case that it was impossible to proceed, then the matter should be handled in accordance with the earlier precedents. Guan again memorialized: “I received Imperial orders five years ago. It may appear that I have been hesitating due to the dangers of the oceans and the winds. However, who was to know that following Gu-lai being driven out of Champa, he fled to reside at Chi-kan (赤坎)¹⁹⁵ and Bang-du-lang!¹⁹⁶ Now the country’s territory is not as large as it was before, and its power is also less than it was in the past. Further, Gu-lai was a chieftain under the former king Zhai-ya-ma-fo-an, and he killed his ruler and usurped the ruling position. The king had three sons, one of whom is still alive. Right conduct will thus likewise not allow the enfeoffment. Under the laws contained in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, even if an army is not raised to punish [Gu-lai’s] crime, it is necessary to stop his envoys from coming to Court. Why are there still proposals [that an interpreter and navigator be sought for]? This will only eat up for months and years, and is not beneficial to resolving the issue.” The Guang-dong Regional Inspector Ding Kai (丁楷) also appended a memorial. The Court officials discussed the matter and the proposal was approved. In the 10th year of the reign,¹⁹⁷ their envoy was ordered to take an Imperial letter back to his ruler. After this incident, this became the precedent, and that country’s tribute envoys also did not come regularly.¹⁹⁸

In the 22nd year of the Jia-jing reign,¹⁹⁹ the king’s uncle Sha-bu-deng-gu-lu came to offer tribute. He laid plaint that they had been repeatedly attacked by Annam, and that the roads were blocked and it was difficult for him to return. He requested that officials be sent to escort him back to his country. This was reported and approved.²⁰⁰

In this country, there is no ice or snow, and the four seasons are all like summer. The people engage in fishing for their livelihood. They are without wheat and barley. Also, their agricultural labour is limited and thus they do not have bountiful harvests. All the people of the country chew betel-nut, and they always have some in the mouth. They do not use the new moon

¹⁹⁵ A mountain (or an island). Used as a navigational aid in the voyage from China to Pulo Condor. Mills (1970; p. 190, item 106) identifies it as Point Ké Ga, 107° 59’ East, on the south coast of central Vietnam.

¹⁹⁶ Pānduranga.

¹⁹⁷ 1515/16 C.E.

¹⁹⁸ The preceding paragraph was based upon various references in the *Wu-zong shi-lu*, including *Wu-zong shi-lu*, juan 66.1b, juan 95.3a-b, and juan 127.6b-7a.

¹⁹⁹ 1543/44 C.E.

²⁰⁰ This entry is based on the MSL entries *Shi-zong shi-lu*, juan 275.6a and juan 276.2a, which give the name of the Cham ruler at this time as Sha-ri-di-zhai (沙日底齋) (alternatively: Sha-ri-di-qi沙日底齊).

and full moon to calculate their calendar. Rather, they simply take the emergence of the moon as the beginning [of the month] and the obscuring of the moon as the end. They do not have intercalary months. The day and night are divided into 10 watches. They do not rise before mid-day and do not sleep before mid-night. On seeing the new moon, they drink wine, and sing and dance to celebrate it. They are without paper and brushes. Instead, they use sheepskin, beaten thin and blackened through smoking. Then they use a piece of bamboo pared to a point, and dip it in lime in order to write their script. The script is wormlike in its squiggles.²⁰¹ There are armed soldiers in both the city and the suburban areas, and the people are savage and crafty by nature. It is often the case that trade transactions [with them] are unequal.²⁰² All residences face north, and the ordinary people's houses are all thatched with reeds. The eaves cannot be more than three *chi*²⁰³ above the ground. The chieftains are divided into various levels, and the height of their doorways is also restricted. Their eating and drinking habits are dirty and foul. They will not eat fish unless it is rotten, and they do not consider wine to be delicious until maggots appear in it.²⁰⁴ The people are dark in body. The men leave their hair unkempt, while the women tie their hair in a chignon. Both go barefooted.²⁰⁵

The king is a Suo-li (瑣里) person,²⁰⁶ and he follows the Buddhist religion (釋教). At the New Year, bile is taken from living persons and mixed with wine, which he then drinks with his family members. He also uses it to bathe with, about which they say “the whole body is gall.”²⁰⁷ The people of the country collect the bile in order to present it to the king, and also use it to bathe the eyes of elephants. When they observe a person on the road, they attack and kill him with absolute surprise, take the gall and flee. If the person is first alarmed, the gall will spill its bile [before the person is killed] and it will be of no use. The collected bile is then placed in a container. The bile of Chinese people is considered as best, so they particularly value it. During the fifth and sixth months, when [Chinese] merchants go there, they must be always on their guard.

After the king has been on the throne for thirty years, he withdraws from ruling and goes deep into the mountains, and he is replaced by a brother, a son or a nephew. In the mountains, he fasts and observes the precepts, and swears to Heaven: “If I transgressed as ruler, let me be eaten by the wolves and tigers, or die of sickness.” If he manages to survive for one year without harm befalling him, he resumes his throne like before. Within the country, he is referred to as “Xi-li

²⁰¹ The majority of the text in this section can be traced to the account of Champa provided in the *Xing-cha sheng-lan* (1436) by Fei Xin. See Mills and Ptak (1996; pp. 35-37).

²⁰² This claim is taken from the Champa chapter of the *Dong-xi-yang kao*. See Zhang Xie, *Dong-xi-yang kao*, Beijing, Zhong-hua shu-ju, 1981, p. 30, under heading Jiao-yi (Trade).

²⁰³ A Chinese unit of length. During the 15th century, it ranged between 32 and 34 centimetres.

²⁰⁴ This section on food is also derived from *Xing-cha sheng-lan*. See Mills and Ptak, p. 36.

²⁰⁵ These statements on hair style and lack of footwear appear to be taken from the *Ying-yai sheng-lan*, as they differ from those seen in *Xing-cha sheng-lan*. See J.V.G. Mills (translator and editor), *Ma Huan Ying-yai Sheng-lan: The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores [1433]*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970, esp. p. 80.

²⁰⁶ Literally, “a Chola person”. However, Mills (1970; p. 79, n. 6) states: “Ma Huan uses the word in a very loose sense, applying it to the king of Thailand and the king of Ceylon; here it probably means merely that the king of Champa was of Indian descent.”

²⁰⁷ There are various Chinese accounts of the Cham rulers drinking and bathing in bile. See Mills (1970: p. 83, n. 5) and Mills and Ptak (1996; p. 36, n. 24 and 25).

Ma-ha-la” (昔嚟馬哈刺),²⁰⁸ which is a designation meaning supremely respected and supremely sacred.

The country is not greatly wealthy, but rhinoceros and elephants are most abundant. They collect ebony and laka wood for use as fire-wood.²⁰⁹ The *qi-lan* (棋枰)²¹⁰ aromatic is only produced on one mountain in the place, and the chieftains send persons to protect it. Ordinary people are not permitted to collect it, and offenders have their hands cut off.²¹¹

There also exists a crocodile pool. If a judicial case is in doubt and cannot be decided, the two persons involved are ordered to ride a water buffalo past the pool.²¹² The crocodiles will immediately leap out and eat he who is in the wrong. However, he who is in the right, even if he goes back and forth several times, will not be eaten. The “shi-tou man” (尸頭蠻)²¹³, which are also called “shi-zhi yu”(屍致魚)²¹⁴ are actually women, but they are different in that they have no iris in the eye. In the night, they sleep together with others,²¹⁵ but suddenly the head will go flying off and eat people’s wastes. When the head returns, the woman comes to life again. If people know of such women, and they firmly cover her neck [while the head is away], or move the body to another place, the woman will die. The country has established strict prohibitions, and if someone knows of such a woman and does not inform, the punishment will extend to the entire family.

The country of Bin-tong-long (賓童龍國-- Pānduranga)²¹⁶ is contiguous with Champa. Some say that the country of She-wei,²¹⁷ which Ru-lai²¹⁸ entered to beg for food, is actually this place. The weather, plants, people and customs are generally similar to those of Champa. However, when there is a death, they are able to engage in mourning, and they bury the body in a secluded place. They observe fasting and also worship the Buddha. Marriages occur between those who come together.²¹⁹ When the chieftain goes out, he rides on an elephant or a horse, and his attendants number over 100 persons. These attendants, in front and behind, all praise him in

²⁰⁸ Sri Maharaja, a Sanskrit title.

²⁰⁹ This claim is taken from *Xing-cha sheng-lan* (Mills and Ptak, p. 35).

²¹⁰ Calambac, the finest of all lign-aloes. See Paul Wheatley, “Geographical Notes on some Commodities involved in Song Maritime Trade,” *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXXII (1959), pp. 5-140. For further details of this aromatic, see Mills (1970; p. 81, n. 1) and Mills and Ptak (1996; p. 34, n. 13).

²¹¹ This section appears to be taken from *Xing-cha sheng-lan*. See Mills and Ptak (1996; pp. 34-35)

²¹² This section is taken from *Ying-yai sheng-lan*. See Mills (1970; p. 84), wherein, however, it is stated that they must ride through the pool.

²¹³ Literally: “corpse-head barbarian” and most likely equivalent to the Nusantara “pontianak”.

²¹⁴ Literally: “corpse-calling fish”.

²¹⁵ The *Xing-cha sheng-lan*, from which this extract is apparently taken, notes here that the women sleep with their family members. See Mills and Ptak (1996; p. 36).

²¹⁶ This place is commonly known as Phan-rang. It was a major polity/port to the south of the Cham heartland, and had in earlier centuries been the Cham capital. Paul Pelliot has written on the Chinese texts relating to this place in his “Textes chinois sur Panduranga,” *BEFEO* 3 (1903), pp. 649-654.

²¹⁷ Usually associated with Sāvathī, the capital of the kingdom of Kośala in India, and commonly identified as Sāhet-Māhet on the banks of the Rāpti. See: Chinese Buddhist Order of Sangha in Thailand, *A Dictionary of Buddhism: Chinese-Sanskrit-English-Thai*, Bangkok, 1976. See p. 407. But see also Mills and Ptak (1996; p. 38, n. 33).

²¹⁸ Tathāgata, the title of the Buddha, used by his followers and also by himself.

²¹⁹ This is a tentative translation of what appears to be a condensed account of that contained in the *Xing-cha sheng-lan* and *Dao-yi-zhi-lüe*. See Mills and Ptak (1996; pp. 38, n. 36).

song. The ordinary people thatch roofs to cover their houses. The trade products include gold, silver and patterned cloths.²²⁰

There is also the island of Kun-lun (崑崙山),²²¹ which rises sharply out of the Great Ocean. It forms a triangle²²² with Champa and the isles of Pulau Aur (東西竺). The island is broad, square and high. The surrounding seas are called the Kun-lun Ocean (崑崙洋). All of those who proceed to the Western Ocean²²³ must wait here for the winds, and then they can cross in seven days and nights.²²⁴ Thus it is that the ship crews have an adage: “To the north,²²⁵ fear the Seven Islands (七洲),²²⁶ and to the south fear the Kun-lun, for if the compass needle is confused or the rudder goes astray, not a man or ship will survive.” This island does not have any unusual products.

The people here all live in caves or in the trees. They eat fruits and nuts, fish and prawns. They are without buildings, wells or stoves.

²²⁰ This paragraph appears to be a condensed version of the account of Pānduranga contained in *Xing-cha sheng-lan*. See Mills and Ptak (1996; pp. 37-39). It has also been translated by Pelliot, “Textes Chinois sur Pānduranga,” p. 651.

²²¹ This is Pulo Condore.

²²² Literally: “a tripod vessel”.

²²³ Referring to the western parts of what are today Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean beyond.

²²⁴ This suggests that the passage to the Malay Peninsula from China was usually undertaken, at least in the 15th century, directly across the South China Sea rather than as a coasting voyage. There are earlier texts which suggests that this route had been in place for many centuries prior to the 15th century.

²²⁵ Literally; “above”.

²²⁶ These islands are those scattered around the north of Hai-nan and were obviously on the shipping routes used by Chinese ships in sailing to Southeast Asia.