

The historical value of the Work *Lingwai Daida* by Zhou Qufei

The work, for the first time in English, presents the annotated translation of the geographical sections of the work *Lingwai Daida* (Notes from the Land Beyond the Passes) written by Zhou Qufei in 1178. It is composed by two chapters: firstly, the author focuses on Zhou's life, on the structure of his work and on other relevant aspects (its sources, editorial history, relationship with other geographical works written during the Song dynasty). Secondly, in the second chapter, the author translates and analyzes the Chinese text, paying attention to the image of the world as known by the Chinese people at that time (described by Zhou Qufei) and to how this image was influenced (in some cases) by the Arab knowledge.

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孔子研究计划
Confucius China Studies Program

26,00 euro

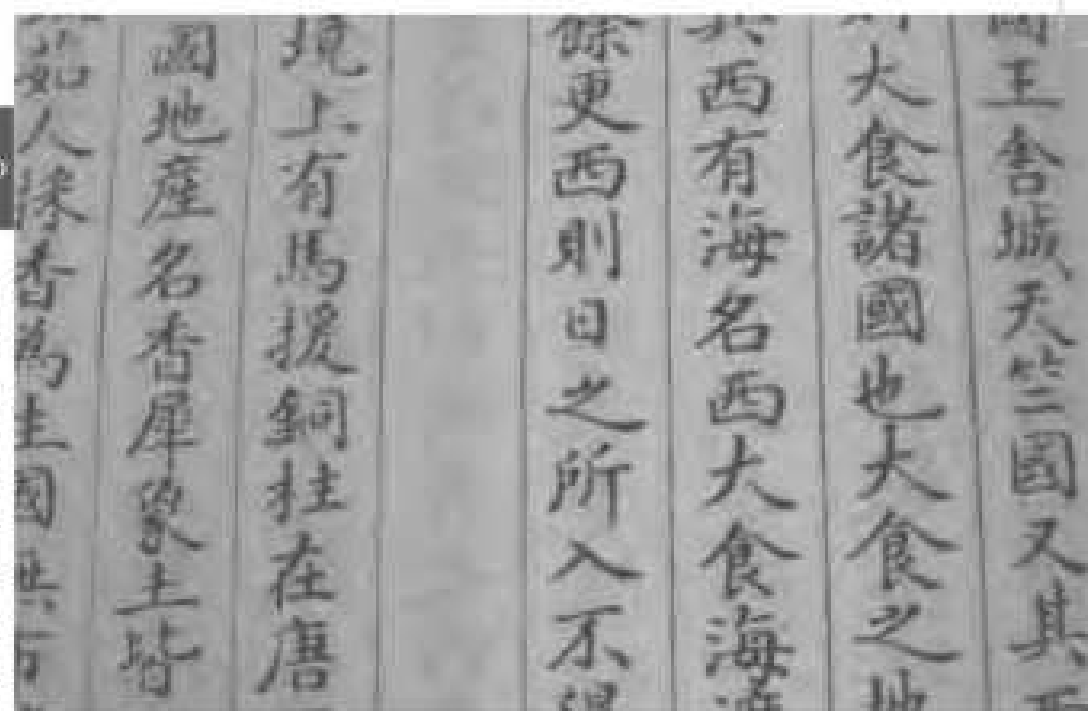
ISBN 978-88-255-2894-7



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Preface by
Paolo De Troia



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孔子新汉学计划 Confucius China Studies Program

This book has been published with the aid of a grant from the Confucius Institute Headquarters.

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Aracne editrice

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via Vittorio Veneto, 20
00020 Camerata (RM)
(06) 45551403

ISBN 978-88-255-2894-7

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1st edition: January 2020

To Emma and Riccardo

We are all infants born on a boat in the ocean.
We don't know where we came from, nor where we are going.

Bing Xin, 1923, *Poem 99*

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Notes on translation

This book follows the *pinyin* system to transliterate Chinese names and terms, and the system of the Library of Congress to transliterate Arabic names and terms. Common words and place names, such as Abbasid, Baghdad and Guilin, are written in the generally accepted English form without diacritics and not in italics. The book uses Chinese traditional characters.

For the original Chinese text (in the appendix of this book), the author refers to the version of the *Qinding Siku Quanshu* 欽定四庫全書 (*Complete Works of the Imperial Library*), *Dili lei* 地理類 (*Category Geography*).

Preface

by Paolo De Troia¹

This work addresses a topic that has long needed to be addressed in depth. It regards a fragment of the history of cultural relations between the Chinese and the Arab Islamic worlds, a history that for objective reasons few in the past have been willing or able to undertake.

Notes from the Land Beyond the Passes by Zhou Qufei is a difficult and precious text. It is difficult because of its length and because it is written in not easy to understand literary Chinese, and contains numerous place and person names, whose identifies are often difficult to trace and to translate into English. And it is precious because, like a snapshot of a precise moment in time, it is a written trace of that complexity and cultural richness which was the 12th century China in which Zhou Qufei lived. It is a compendium of stories whose genesis has now been lost, and hands down narratives and names belonging to different cultures.

Victoria Almonte has patiently translated and analyzed the Chinese text with scientific rigor, and in this volume offers some extracts.

In this monograph, Almonte presents for the first time in English the annotated translation of the geographical sections of the *Lingwai daida*, preceded by a comprehensive discussion of some important problems relating to this treatise and its author: the life of Zhou Qufei, useful for tracing the history of the text; the structure and the sources of the work, its editorial history and diffusion; and the relationship of this work with two of the most important geographical works of the Chinese past, the *Guilai yuheng zhi* (*Treatises of the supervisor and guardian of the Cinnamon Sea*) and the *Zhufan zhi* (*Description of the Foreign Lands*).

Notes from the Land Beyond the Passes records a fragment of the history of relations between China and the outside world and the par-

¹ Paolo De Troia is Associate Professor of Chinese Language and Literature at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of Sapienza University of Rome.

ticular way in which that history was told. Song China traded with many countries and cultivated frequent and innumerable contacts with other non-Chinese territories, with some countries of Asia and with the West.

Zhou Qufei, born in Zhejiang but an imperial official in Guangxi, was intrigued by the stories of merchants, foreign travelers and their interpreters, and began to collect them. He wrote about animals (real or fantastic), plants, customs and traditions, the administrative organizations of distant countries (barbaric and exotic populations), the wars and battles to defend and conquer territories, and the embassies and court ceremonies on the occasion of official visits. Most of those stories reached Song China by way of caravans or ships laden with exotic cargoes, heading to the markets of Hangzhou and the wealthy Chinese coastal cities.

This book one provides a glimpse of the world as it was known by the Chinese people a millennium ago, and how this image was influenced (in some cases) by Arab culture.

Although this book, due to the breadth of its subject matter, does not give an exhaustive treatment of the history of relations between China and the Arabic-speaking countries, it nevertheless provides an essential piece of the historical mosaic of China's contacts with the outside world, and as such is a worthy scholarly endeavor.

Introduction

From the eighth to the thirteenth century, Asia witnessed an important metamorphosis: two of the most influential civilizations, the Arab and the Chinese, located at the two opposite ends of the *ecumene*, developed a new geographical concept, expanding their geographical knowledge and, above all, transforming into *terra cognita* what was previously considered *terra incognita*.

The year 1492, which in a Eurocentric approach is usually recognized as the first significant moment in the history of interaction between two such culturally and geographically different civilizations, should be outclassed by other events and dates. In this work, the author has analyzed some historical sources that show how the maritime trade network between the Chinese Empire and Arab-Islamic world¹ grew over the centuries, before the arrival of the European explorers; and consequentially, how people became increasingly aware of foreignness. Cultural and commercial exchanges have had remarkable implications in world history, supporting great geographical discoveries and explorations.

The present work is the final result of four years of research, during my Ph.D. studies, in Italy and in China. It offers the English translation and analysis of two chapters of the Song geographical work, *Lingwai Daida* 嶺外代答 (*Notes from the Land Beyond the Passes* or *Various Replies from Beyond the Passes*)², written by Zhou Qufei in

¹ In this work I used the term Arab-Islamic world (or empire) as all those territories that in ancient times were included in present-day Iran, Iraq, North East Africa and Turkestan in Central Asia. See Francesco Gabrieli, *Viaggi e viaggiatori arabi*, Sansoni, Firenze, 1975, introduction, p. 1 and following.

² Henceforth *LWDD*. There is no English translation of *Lingwai Daida*. Almut Netolitzky provided a German one in Seventy's. See Almut Netolitzky, *Das Ling-wai dai-da von Zhou Ch'ü-fei: v. Landeskunde Südchinas aus d. 12. Jh.*, Wiesbaden, Steiner, 1977.

In 2001 it was published a Russian translation: Ulyanov, Mark Yuryevich (Марк Юрьевич Ульянов) (tr.): *Za Khrebtami. Vmesto otvetov (Ling Wai Dai Da) (За Хребтами. Вместо ответов [Лин вай дай да])*, Moscow: Izdatelskaya firma "Vostochnaya literatura" RAN, 2001. The English version of the title provided by Hyunhee Park is *Notes from the*

1178. This work requires further detailed analysis because of the account's innovative features, which set it apart from all older works of Chinese maritime literature. Its great value lies in the large amount of information, of its significant and new content system, of the sequence of its new sections and of its innovative concept of the world, which shows some similarities with Arab geographical knowledge.

Following this brief introduction, in which I provide a broader context to Zhou's work and its origin, highlighting the importance of Song maritime history and literature, and mentioning the main works about this field of research, the corpus of the work comprises two chapters. The first is divided into four subchapters, of which the first two are focused on Zhou's life on the historical background of *LWDD*'s creation, the history of its publications, its structure and its features. In the third and fourth subchapters, the analogies between *LWDD* and the previous *Guhai Yuheng Zhi* 桂海虞衡志, written by Fan Chengda and just after Zhao Rukuo's *Zhufan Zhi* 諸蕃志, are analyzed.

The second chapter contains the annotated translation of the geographical sections written by Zhou, with particular attention to the Arabic sources.

Importance of Song dynasty maritime history

Between the foundation of the Song dynasty in 960 and the conquest of northern China by the Jurchen nomads in 1127, China passed through a phase of economic growth that was unprecedented in earlier Chinese history, perhaps in world history up to this time. At least for this brief period, China became the leading society in the world in terms of productivity per capita, and behind the achievement was a combination of technical capabilities and political circumstances. The most general stimulant behind this development was an era of peace

Land Beyond the Passes. Please see Hyunhee Park, *Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds, Cross-Cultural Exchange in Pre-Modern Asia*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2012, p. 46. James Hargett in his introduction to the annotated translation of *Guhai Yuheng zhi* by Fan Chengda uses *Vicarious replies from beyond the ranges*. See James M. Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor and guardian of the Cinnamon Sea*, Washington press, Seattle and London, 2010, p. XL.

and a large internal market, linking cities that could be supplied at considerable distances with agricultural and industrial products³.

In 1127 the Song dynasty lost the capital Kaifeng to the Jin dynasty, which had been founded by the Jurchen population. The Song emperor Huizong and his son Qinzong were captured, but another son, Gaozong, fled and reached Lin'an (today Hangzhou), where he founded the Southern Song dynasty. The invasion by the Jurchen population and the loss of the capital Kaifeng are known as the Jingkang incident, in Chinese *Jingkang zhíchí* or *zhíbiàn* 靖康之耻 or 之变, or *Jingkang zhihuo* 靖康之祸⁴.

Although the Song dynasty had lost control of the traditional "birthplace of Chinese civilization" along the Yellow River, the Song economy was still strong, as the Southern Song Empire contained a large population and fertile agricultural land. The imperial government focused greater attention on the China's role in the international trading network between East and West. And the Song period was marked as a period of comprehensive promotion of maritime trade⁵.

Although southern islands such as Java (Shepo) and Sumatra (Sanfoqi) gained greater importance in Indian Ocean trade, Chinese harbors still remained reference points for foreign merchants. Foreign ships were often welcomed by officials of new *shibosi* 市舶司, the of-

³ Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, Cambridge University press, Cambridge, 1984, pp. 109–110. For further detail see John Willschop Haeger, *Crisis and prosperity in Sung China*, The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1975, pp. 13–43. For an overview on the Song history in Chinese see Wu Gou, 吴钩, *Song, Xindai de faxiao shichen*, 宋, 现代的靖康时代, (*Song Dynasty, The Dawn of Modern China*), Guangxi Normal University Press, Guilin, 2019 (reprint).

⁴ See Ari Daniel Levine, "The Reigns of the Hui-Tsung (1100–1126) and Ch'in Tsung (1126–1127) and the fall of the Northern Song" in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 5, part one, *The Song Dynasty and its precursors, 907–1279*, edited by Denis Twitchett and Paul Jakov Smith, pp. 556–643. In particular, the professor Levine deals with "the tragedy of Ching-k'ang", p. 639. See also Don J. Wyatt, "The Invention of the Northern Song", in *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries, and Human Geographies in Chinese History*, edited by Nicola Di Cosmo and Don J. Wyatt, Routledge Curzon, London and New York, 2003, pp. 220–243.

⁵ It was particularly the extension of trade and commerce, which sometimes has even been considered a "commercial revolution", that nourished the thesis of "China's transition to modernity", proposed by the Japanese sinologist Naitō Kōnan 内藤湖南 (1866–1934) and the so-called Kyōto-School of sinology. They considered the Song dynasty the end of the "Chinese middle ages" and the beginning of "modernity". See Angela Schottenhammer, "The Song dynasty (960–1279) – A revolutionary Era Turn?", in *China Across the Centuries*, papers from a lecture series in Budapest, edited by Gábor Kósa, Department of East Asian Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 2017, pp. 133–173: 133.

offices for supervising maritime trade⁶. From the commercial point of view, the Song dynasty was able to improve and take advantage of the tribute system (even better than the Tang dynasty had)⁷. It was subjected to the mercantile system: the trade network and its consequent enrichment became not only the goal of the Chinese empire but also one of its political instruments for controlling foreign countries. The variety and abundance of Chinese goods, and the efficiency of the mercantile services (offered by the *shibosi*) were able to attract merchants and travelers from foreign countries, even those further afield. In such a context, the number of Arab merchants increased too, promoting the formation of Muslim communities in Southeast China. The Islamic communities already established in Southeast Asia and in the area of the Indian Ocean played a remarkable role in the development of Chinese communities, enhancing the mercantile network between Java, Sumatra, Malaysia, Ceylon and Song China⁸. The importance of these communities grew to such an extent that the Song government

⁶ Also called superintendent of maritime trade or maritime trade offices. See Billy K. L. So, *Prosperity, Region and Institutions in maritime China: The South Fukien Pattern, 944-1368*, MA, Harvard University Asia Center, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 46-47. On the prominence of these offices see John Guy, "Tamil Merchant Guilds and the Quanzhou Trade", in *The Emporium of the World*, edited by Angela Schottenhammer, Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2001, pp. 283-308; 286. See also Xiong Zhuoming and Wei Ligu, *Guangxi gudai haichang nishou zhilu* [广西古代海上丝绸之路, (*Guangxi's Ancient Maritime Silk Road*), Guangxi Science & Technology Publishing House, Nanning, 2019, 089. Derek Heng, "Shipping, Customs Procedures and the Foreign Community: the 'Pingzhou Ketan' on aspects of Guangzhou's maritime economy in the late eleventh century", in *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, 38, 2008, pp. 1-38.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Regarding the role of Islamic communities in the merchant network in South East Asia see: Hugh R. Clark, "Muslims and Hindus in the Culture and Morphology of Quanzhou from the Tenth to the Thirteenth century", in *Journal of World History*, 6, 1, 1995, pp. 49-75; John W. Chaffee, "Diasporic Identities in the Historical Development of the Maritime Muslim Communities of Song - Yuan China", in *The Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 49, 4, 2006, pp. 395-420; John W. Chaffee, *The Muslim Merchants of Premodern China: The History of a Maritime Asian Trade Diaspora, 750-1400*, (New Approaches to Asian History), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2018, pp. 62 and 76-123; Tansen Sen, "Maritime Interactions between China and India: Coastal India and the Ascendancy of Chinese Maritime Power in the Indian Ocean", in *Journal of Central Eurasian Studies*, 2, 2011, pp. 41-82. See also Yokkaichi Yasuharu, "Chinese and Muslim Diasporas and the Indian Ocean Trade Network under Mongol Hegemony", in *East Asian Economic and Socio-cultural Studies*, edited by Angela Schottenhammer, East Asian Maritime History 6, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2008, pp. 73-98; André Wink, "From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean: Medieval History in Geographic Perspective", in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 44, 3, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002, pp. 416-445.

provided imperial posts to Muslim Arab and Persian merchants who contributed to promoting trade between China and the Islamic world⁹.

In addition, many royal family members and officials invested in the maritime trade for profit¹⁰. Moreover, the quality of the ships increased due to the improved techniques of shipbuilding of this period.

Thanks to the knowledge and experiences of previous travelers,¹¹ Song merchants expanded their maritime trade activity and gained not only great wealth, but also a wider exchange of knowledge, both of which – knowledge and goods – went hand in hand. On the one side, the interest in foreign countries increased due to the prosperity of maritime trade, and on the other the first travel journals and geographical works inspired people to travel and expand the maritime trade network in the Indian Ocean and beyond.

⁹ During Northern Song the title of General of Submission to Virtue (*jiangjun*) was conferred on the Arab merchant Abu Obide Xinya Tachao Qasim, from Oman. See Abdullah Saleh Al Saadi, "The Origins of Omani-China Friendship: A Historical Review", in *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)*, 6, 2: 84-105, pp. 93 and 97-98. The Southern Song court appointed Pu Shougeng, an Arab immigrant, as Director (*zhu*) in Quanzhou. See Zhang Junyan, "Relations between China and the Arabs in Early Times", in *The Journal of Oman Studies*, 6, 1980, pp. 91-109: 102. And Gang Deng, *Maritime Sector, Institutions, and Sea Power of Premodern China*, Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1999, p. 120. Kuwabara Jitsuzō 桑原隲藏, "Pu Shou-keng 蒲書庚. A Man of the Western Regions, who was Superintendent of the Trading Ships' Office in Ch'ian-chou 泉州 towards the End of the Sung Dynasty, together with a General Sketch of Trade of the Arabs in China during the T'ang and Sung eras", in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunkō*, 1935, 7, pp. 1-104.

¹⁰ John W. Chaffee, "The impact of the Song: Imperial Clan on the Overseas Trade of Quanzhou", in *The Emporium of the World, Maritime Quanzhou, 1000-1400*, edited by Angela Schottenhammer, Brill, Leiden, 2001, pp. 13-46; Robert M. Hartwell, "Foreign Trade, Monetary Policy and Chinese 'Mercantilism'", in *Collected Studies on Sung History dedicated to Professor James T.C. Liu in Celebration of his seventieth birthday*, edited by Kinugawa Toyoshi, Kyoto, Dobosha, 1989; Jung-ping Lo, "The Emergence of China as a Sea Power during the Late Sung and Early Yuan Periods", in *Far Eastern Quarterly*, 14, 4, 1955, pp. 489-503.

¹¹ As Du Huan and Jia Dan, which will be introduced in the following paragraphs. The most recent and perhaps most comprehensive surveys with a detailed bibliography regarding the Song dynasty maritime history and literature are Hargett and Chaffee. James M. Hargett, "Some preliminary remarks on the travel records of the Song dynasty (960-1279)", in *Chinese literature, Essays, articles, reviews (CLEAR)*, 1985, pp. 67-93. James M. Hargett, "Song dynasty local gazetteers and their place in the history of Difangzhi writing", in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 56, 2, 1996, pp. 405-442. Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, introduction, pp. 19-55. John W. Chaffee, "Song China and the multi-state and commercial world of East Asia", in *Crossroads – Studies on the History of Exchange Relations in the East Asian World*, 2010, 1, 2, pp. 33-54. John W. Chaffee, "Introduction: Reflections on the Song", in *The Cambridge History of China*, 5, 2, *Sung China, 960-1279*, edited by John W. Chaffee and Paul J. Smith, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2014, pp. 1-18.

Through the maritime Silk Road, a great process of interaction took place: a fruitful circulation of goods and information thanks to merchants, travelers, sailors and interpreters from different countries. Therefore, Chinese knowledge of the Arab-Islamic world and vice versa became more detailed.

This is the background of Zhou Qufei's life and his work, *LWDD*, one of the most important of Song literature dealing with maritime contact, and of other geographical works, such as Fan Chengda's *Guilai Yuheng zhi* (*Treatises of the supervisor and guardian of Cinnamon Sea*)¹² and Zhao Rukuo's *Zhufan zhi* (*Description of the Foreign Lands*)¹³. Fan Chengda wrote his geographical treatise, *Guilai Yuheng zhi*, (henceforth referred to as *Guilai*) in 1175 when he was moving from Jingjiangfu (today's Guilin district) to Sichuan province as *zhizhishi* 制置使 (military commissioner)¹⁴.

Zhufan zhi was written by Zhao Rukuo, a member of the Song imperial family, in 1225. It was composed by two long chapters: one on countries (*Zhiguo* 志國) and the other on products (*Zhiwu* 志物). He

¹² Fan Chengda (1126-1193) was a poet and a government official of the Song dynasty, he was considered an academic authority in geography, especially of southern provinces of China. He wrote three travel diaries: *Wuchuan lu* (*Diary of a boat trip to Wu*), in which he described his journey from Chengdu toward the north; *Lampai lu* (*Diary of grasping the carriage reins*) regarding his mission to Jin dynasty capital in 1170; and *Canduan lu* (*Diary of mounting a simurgh*) about his journey to Guilin in 1173. Hargett 2010, XV. Fan was older than Zhou, in 1173 he was in Guangxi as *anfuishi* (military commissioner), there they likely met and became friends. Hargett 1989, Yan Pei 严沛 1986. For a complete English translation see Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*. In the first chapter I has compared the work written by Fan Chengda (1126-1193) and that written by Zhou Qufei.

¹³ The name of this author has been transcribed in different ways from different scholars. Chinese characters are 趙如愚, the transcription can be Zhao Rukuo or Zhao Rushi, but in the Western source you can find Zhao Rugua, as mentioned in Hirth and Rockhill. See Hirth and Rockhill, *Chao-fu-chi: His work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, entitled *Chao-fu-chi*, Oriental Press, Amsterdam, 1966. Also see Zheng Yangwen, *China on the sea: how the maritime world shaped modern china*, Brill, Leiden, 2014, p. 209, the author uses Zhao Rushi. The professor Hargett uses the transcription Zhao Rukuo. Henceforth the present author uses Zhao Rukuo. Professor Hargett translated the title as *Treatises on Various Foreign Peoples*. Hargett, *Treatises of the Supervisor*, p. XLI (introduction). Zhao Rukuo lived between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He worked in the office for supervising maritime trade (*Shihou*) in Quanzhou, the great port in Fujian, therefore he had many opportunities to speak with the people who engaged directly in foreign trade. In the first chapter the author has compared the work written by Zhao Rukuo and that written by Zhou Qufei.

¹⁴ Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of official title in imperial China*, Taiwan Edition, Taipei, 1987, p. 156, entry 957.

was the first to provide the toponyms of many countries from south-western Asia, Africa, and the Mediterranean¹⁵.

Some important previous sources should be mentioned to gain a proper perspective on the extent to which Chinese geographical knowledge grew during the Southern Song dynasty: among earlier sources, Jia Dan and Du Huan are the most remarkable.

Du Huan's *Jingxing ji* 經行記 (*Record of travels*)¹⁶ was also cited by Zhao Rukuo in his *Zhufan zhi*¹⁷. For the first time, Du Huan, in the eighth century, introduced the country of Dashi¹⁸, inhabited by Arab people, who followed the new religion of Islam. He mentioned the Nile river and the northern coast of Africa, and was surprised by Egyptian medical science and the combination of Greek, Roman and Babylonian culture. He was able to distinguish the Persian people (Sassanid dynasty) from the Arabic and realized how much the Persians had influenced Arab culture¹⁹. In 751 he reached the Arab Empire by land along the Silk Road, and ten years later he returned to China via the maritime Silk Road, offering an eye-witness account of its growth and importance since the eighth century. Du Huan's experience in the Arab-Islamic world can be divided into three periods: 1)

¹⁵ For a complete translation of his work in English see Friedrich Hirth, and William Woodville Rockhill, *Chou Ju-Kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Entitled Chou-fan-chi*, Oriental Press, Amsterdam, 1966. For a more detailed comparison between Zhou's and Zhao's geographical chapters, see the first chapter of the present work and Almonde, "Identifying the country of Melugudan", in *Ming Qing Yanjiu Journal*, 21, Brill, 2017, pp. 1-43; 27.

¹⁶ Du Huan took part in the battle of Talas (today Kazakhstan) between the Tang empire and the Arab Islamic empire in 751. After the failure of the Chinese army, he was captured by the Abbasid dynasty and carried to the capital Kufa by land along the Silk Road. There he spent ten years. Once back in China (via the maritime Silk Road) he wrote his work *Jingxingji* 經行記. It was lost, but one of his relatives, Du You (735-812), kept his information and wrote *Tongdian* 通典, *Encyclopedic History of Institutions*. See Du Huan, Zhang Yichun 張一純, *Jingxingji jianzhu* 經行記箋注, Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing, Zhongwai Jiaotong shiji congkan 中外交通史籍丛刊, 2000, pp.1-66. See Song Xian 宋媛, *Zhongguo Alabo wenhua jiaoliu shi hua* 中国阿拉伯文化交流史话, Shenhui Kexue wenxian chubanshe, Beijing, 2011, p. 8. For a detailed analysis of the section about western countries in Du You's *Tongdian*, see Li Jinxin 李锦贤 and Yu Taishan 余太山, "Tongdian" *Xiyu wenxian yaozhu*, 通典西域文献要注 (*Main Annotations on the accounts about western regions in Tongdian*), Shanghai Renmin, Beijing, 2009.

¹⁷ Hirth and Rockhill, *Chou Ju-Kua*, p. 36.

¹⁸ The term Dashi was a transliteration from the Persian work *Tarikh* which was originally applied to Iranians in contrast to Turks, but then was often referred to Arab people. See *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 10, Brill, Leiden, 2000, pp. 62-63.

¹⁹ Song Xian, *Zhongguo Alabo wenhua jiaoliu shi hua*, p.11.

the first phase, in which Du Huan lived in Moluguo 末祿國 or Zhuluguo 朱祿國, in modern Turkmenistan, where he learned Arabic and became familiar with the local customs; 2) during the second period he travelled westward, first as far as Kufa and then until as far as Baghdad, the core of the Abbasid dynasty, where he lived for many years; 3) the last phase was his return journey to China, by boat over the Indian Ocean. The *Jingxing ji* was divided into twelve sections, with brief descriptions of eleven countries²⁰:

- Bahannaguo 拔汗那國, the territory of Ferghana, in today's eastern Uzbekistan;
- Kangguo 康國, today's Samarcanda in Uzbekistan;
- Shiziguo 師子國, modern Sri Lanka;
- Folinguo 拂菻國, western Syria²¹;
- Molinguo 摩鄰國, maybe modern Malindi²²;
- Bosiguo 波斯國, ancient Persia, modern Iran;
- Shiguo 石國, in today's Uzbekistan, Tashkent;
- Suiyeguo 碎葉國, in modern south-western Kirgikistan, territory of Tokmak;
- Dashiguo 大食國, Arab-Islamic Empire²³;
- Zhuluguo 朱祿國, or Moluguo 末祿國, Amol in today's Turkmenistan;
- Shanguo 苫國, in modern Syria²⁴.

²⁰ The sixth section is the only one that does not deal with a country, it is titled 'Dashu fa, Daqin fa, Xunxun fa, 大舍法, 大秦法, 尋尋法'. See Zhang Yichun, *Jingxing ji*, p. 21 and following.

²¹ Song Xian, *Zhongguo Alabo wenhua jiaoliu shi hua*, p. 9. Song states it corresponds with modern Egypt. In some cases, the toponym Folin could indicate the Byzantine empire.

²² The identification of this toponym is still under discussion. Park, *Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds*, p. 209, note 20.

²³ This section was the first extant Chinese account about the Islamic world. Although imprecise, it is important because it identifies a new group of people, the Arabs (*Dashi*), and their location, origins and customs. The description clearly suggests that the Abbaside dynasty ruled its empire according to the principles of Islam. Besides, Du Huan's account confirms the transfer of Chinese papermaking to the Islamic world after the Battle of Talas. He was surprised by the presence of some very strange animals: ostrich and camel. For a partial English translation of Du Huan's account see Park, *Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds*, p. 26. Song Xian, *Zhongguo Alabo wenhua jiaoliu shi hua*, p. 13.

While Du Huan's work was a kind of travelogue, belonging to the *youji wenxue* 游记文学 genre²⁵, Jia Dan (729-805) did not travel abroad but gathered much of his information on foreign countries exclusively from his work with foreign envoys. His *Guangzhou tong haiyi dao* 廣州通海夷道 (*Route to Foreign Countries across the Sea from Guangzhou*) was included in the geographical section of *New Tang History* (*Xin Tangshu*, *dilizhi* 新唐書, 地理志). Although he was not a traveller, he provided important information about the main harbours and cities in the Abbasid empire²⁶. His work deals with a journey from Guangzhou to the Persian Gulf via the Indian Ocean, and testifies to the passage from the traditional Silk Road to the maritime Silk Road, due to the growth in maritime contacts that had occurred since the eighth century²⁷. His informants probably came from the Persian Gulf area and had travelled to China and India. He divides the Arabian Sea into two separate itineraries: the first from the Southern Indian coast to al-Ubullah on the Persian Gulf, very close to Baghdad; the second from the East African coast to al-Ubullah, which acted as link for a variety of overseas itineraries, such as the port of Sirāf²⁸.

²⁵ Except for these toponyms, it's likely that Du Huan mentioned other countries, because these eleven countries are not contiguous. Zhang Yichun 張一純, *Jingxing ji jianzhu* 經行記箋注, *Zhongwai Jiaotong shi ci congkan* 中外交通史叢刊, Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing, 2000, 1-66.

²⁶ Hargett, "Preliminary remarks", pp. 67-93.

²⁷ Jia Dan (730-805) was an imperial official during Tang dynasty and a renowned geographer. See *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, 43, Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing, 1975, pp. 1146, 1153-4. See Ding Chao 丁超, "Tangdai Jia Dan de dili (ditu) zhushu ji qi dituxue chengji zai pingjia" 唐代賈耽的地理(地圖)著述及其地圖學成績再評價, in *Journal of Chinese Historical Geography*, (*Zhongguo lishi dili luncong* 中國歷史地理論叢), 27, 3, 2012, pp. 146-156. Yin Chenglin 尹承琳, Xu Xiaojun 許曉俊, "Jia Dan ji qi zai dilixue shang de chengji" 賈耽及其在地理學上的成就, in *Journal of Liaoning University Philosophy Social Sciences Edition*, 4, 1978, pp. 34-38. Paul Pelliot provides an important study on Jia Dan itineraries, see Paul Pelliot, "Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^e siècle", *BEFEO*, 4, 1904, pp. 131-413.

²⁸ Archaeologists have found many Chinese ceramics, that date to the eighth through tenth centuries, along the coastline of the Indian Ocean. These discoveries testify to the fact that West Asia was an important consumer of Chinese ceramics. Most of the traders were merchants from the Islamic world, that provided information about sailing routes and trade goods with the Chinese they encountered.

²⁹ At that time, navigators based in Middle Eastern ports did not sail directly across the Indian Ocean from the Red Sea region, but first sailed north to the Persian Gulf, then navigate east to India's northwest coastline and continued down India's

Specifically, Jia Dan in his account mentions the following toponyms: Geluo 箇羅, in the southern Malay Peninsula, from which a 20-day journey took one to the country of Shizi 獅子, today's Sri Lanka; after which one arrived in Meilai (or Molai) 沒來, the western coast of India; then, sailing northward one reached Bayu 拔赬, near the modern port of Bombay; and after 20 days the country of Tiyu 提訶 or Daibul in the north western India, on the estuary of the river Indo. From there, after sailing for 20 days, one arrived in the country of Tiluoluhe 提羅盧和, namely Dierrarah, in the Persian Gulf. The port of al Ubullah, in Chinese Wula 烏剌, is only a day away from Tiluoluhe. In Wula, the river Fulila (Euphrates) empties into the Persian Gulf. There, sailors who want to continue to travel westward had to change ship to get to Basra, the country of Moluo 末羅. Travelling northward by land for a thousand *li*, one finally reached the main city of the Arab-Islamic world, Baghdad, called by Jia Dan Fuda 縛達²⁹. The second itinerary comprises the country of Sanlan 三蘭, today's port of Dar es-Salaam, in modern Tanzania, from where, by sailing north, one arrived in the Arab-Islamic world. First, after 20 days, one reached the country of She 設, modern southern Yemen, then the country of Sayiquhejie 薩伊瞿和竭, in southern Oman, today's Shariqah, and lastly the countries of Meixun 沒巽 and Baligemonan 拔離訶磨難, in the Persian Gulf. From there the port of al Ubullah was very close³⁰.

Jia Dan's account indicates that the Arab-Islamic world was directly connected to East Africa. Muslim merchants played a dominant role in the integration of African territories into the Indian Ocean system

western coast, with some stopovers, before sailing on to China via southeast Asia. See Park, *Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds*, pp. 30 and following. For a detailed study on the Persian Gulf and its relevant role in the maritime trade along the Indian Ocean, see Thomas M. Ricka, "Persian Gulf Seafaring and East Africa: Ninth-twelfth Centuries", in *African Historical Studies*, 3, 2, 1970, pp. 339-357.

²⁹ See Song Xian, *Zhongguo Alabo wenhua jiaoliu shi lun*, p. 30 and Park, *Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds*, p. 32. For the Chinese version of Jia Dan itineraries see Zhang Xinglang: *Zhongxi jiaotong shilian huibian* 中西交通史料匯編, 4 volumes, Zhonghua shuju, Beijing, 2003, volume II, pp. 712 and following, and Zhang, *Huibian*, volume IV, pp. 1913 and following.

³⁰ Park, *Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds*, p. 33.

of sea travel and trade³¹. Additionally, Jia Dan's work clearly illustrates the extent to which the Tang Empire welcomed the products and the knowledge transferred by western travelers. Since he had no opportunity to travel abroad, he compiled his work only by hearsay information gathered from foreign and Chinese travelers³². Starting from that time, geographers could depict China among many other countries in the world, as Zhou did three centuries later.

Except for Zhao Rukuo's work, which was written after Zhou's *LWDD*, all the works mentioned above influenced Zhou in different ways and degrees, as highlighted in the first chapter³³.

In the last century there arose considerable interest in Chinese geographical knowledge and in the inter-linguistic exchanges between the Chinese and the Islamic world. Some previous works have discussed important geographical sources in general, and scholars such as Needham, Zhang Xinglang, and Tibbetts have explained how Arab geographers contributed to the growth of Chinese geographical knowledge during the Middle Ages³⁴. The innovative features of *LWDD* enabled

³¹ See Yin Chenglin 尹承琳, Xu Xiaojia 许晓家, "Jia Dan ji qi zai dilixue shang de chengjiu 贾耽及其在地理学上的成就" (Jia Dan and his results on the Chinese geographical knowledge), in *Journal of Liaoning University Philosophy Social Sciences Edition*, 4, 1978, pp. 34-38. And Ding Chao 丁超, "Tangdai Jia Dan de dili (ditu) zhushu ji qi dituxue chengji zai pingjia 唐代贾耽的地理 (地图) 著述及其地图学成绩再评价" (New valuations on the geographic and cartographic work by Jia Dan during the Tang dynasty), in *Journal of Chinese Historical Geography*, 27, 3, 2012, pp. 146-156.

³² Song Xian, *Zhongguo Alida wenhua jiaoliu shi hua*, p. 30.

³³ Compilers of gazetteers, geographic monographs, and ethnographic texts in ancient China routinely draw on and copied passages from earlier works, often without citing their sources. I have tried to highlight the major evidences of previous sources of Zhou's work. See the first chapter of this work.

³⁴ Joseph Needham, Ling Wang, *Science and Civilization in China, 3, Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1959, p. 512. Zhang, *Huibian*, 2, pp. 677-958 and 3, pp. 1279-1326. S. Maqbul Ahmad, "Cartography of al-Sharif al Idrisi", in *History of Cartography, Islamic Tradition*, edited by David Woodward and J. Brian Harley, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1987, 2, book 1, chapter 7, pp. 156-172. Gerald R. Tibbetts, "The Bulkhī School of Geographers", in *History of Cartography, Islamic Tradition*, edited by Woodward and Harley, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1987, 2, book 1, chapter 5, pp. 108-136. Gerald R. Tibbetts, "The role of Charts in Islamic Navigation in the Indian Ocean", in *History of Cartography, Islamic Tradition*, edited by Woodward and Harley, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1987, 2, book 1, chapter 13, p. 257. Fuat Sezgin must also be included. He studied the history of geography and cartography in the Islamic cultural sphere and published a monumental work in several volumes on Islamic knowledge: *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*. For this research I have relied also on the twelfth and thirteenth volumes: *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums, Band XII*,

me to better analyze and compare Zhou's work with Arabic sources in order to reveal the influence that Arabic geographical concept had on his work.

Through my translation and analysis of Zhou's sections, the intent of this work is to underline the influence of the Arab geographical concept of the world on Zhou Qufei's work.

From a broader perspective, the aim of this paper is to contribute to research on Chinese and Arab historical contacts, particularly regarding the exchange of geographical concepts, which doubtless took place along the Maritime Silk Road over many centuries.

Mathematische Geographie und Kartographie im Islam und ihr Fortleben im Abendland, Kartenband, Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, 2000, and *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums, Band XIII, Mathematische Geographie und Kartographie im Islam und ihr Fortleben im Abendland*, Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, 2007. He collected and analyzed all the most prominent Arab geographers, providing also the major maps. For an historical overview on the development of the cartographic science and of the geographical knowledge from the eighth to the fourteenth century see Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums, Band XIII*, p. 24.

Zhou Qufei and his work *Lingwai Daida*1.1. On Zhou Qufei's life¹

Little is known about his life. We can reconstruct Zhou's biography only by using indirect sources. All the important data have been pieced together by Yang Wuquan, the scholar who has provided the most recent annotated version of the *LWDD*². Only three aspects of his life are clearly known to us, due to some first-hand information contained in his work or that of his colleagues': 1) in 1163 he passed the imperial exam; 2) after 1163 he worked in Guangxi as an imperial official; 3) in 1178 he came back to his hometown, Yongjia, to write his work. Let us examine the details in depth.

Zhou Qufei, also known as Zhifu 直夫, was born in Yongjia, Wenzhou province, probably between 1133 and 1135, (in the third year of the Shaoxing era during the reign of Emperor Gaozong, 1107-1187), and died between 1187 and 1189 (in the Chunxi era of the reign of Emperor Xiaozong)³. He grew up in a literary family: his grandfather

¹ Studying Zhou's personal life experiences and career as a public official allows us to get a better understanding of the *LWDD*'s origins. In this section I will focus on Zhou's life, in order to achieve a clearer framework of the *LWDD*. Since Zhou describes territories never mentioned before him in earlier Chinese works, my study is twofold: 1) first, it is important to highlight what Zhou's sources were and if they could be considered reliable and trustworthy, and to what extent they were distorted by Zhou's experiences and perspective; 2) second, studying Zhou's life may help us to understand why he described certain countries and failed to describe others.

² Yang Wuquan 杨武泉, *Lingwai Daida Jiaozhu* 岭外代答校注, Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing 1999, preface part 1, pp. 1-6.

³ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, preface part 1. For biographical information, see also Yang Wuquan, "Zhou Qufei yu Lingwai Daida 周去非与岭外代答", in *Zhongguo Minzu Xueyuan xuekan*, 2, 1994, pp. 80-4; Ling Yan 凌燕, "Du Lingwai Daida zhaji 读岭外代答札记", in

Zhou Xingji 周行己 (1067-1125)⁴, known as Gongshu 恭叔, was the main representative of the Northern Song School of Thought, called *Yuanfeng jiu xiansheng* 元丰九先生 (the nine scholars from Yuanfeng)⁵; his nephew Zhou Duanchao 周端朝 (1172-1234) was one of the six scholars at the Imperial College during Ningzong's 宁宗 reign (1194-1224)⁶. Zhou himself was an outstanding scholar, as demonstrated by the inscription at the Four Virtuous Men Temple (*Si xian dian* 四賢祠) in Guilin, where Zhou Qufei's name appears as one of the thirty-three brightest disciples of the four ancient scholars (Zhou Dunyi, Li Yanping, Luo Qingshun, and Chen Baisha) to whom the temple is devoted⁷. At the age of thirty, in 1163, Zhou received a

Journal of the Graduates, Sun Yat-Sen University, 19, 4, 1998, pp. 51-56; Yang Dongfu 杨东甫, Huang Quncai 黄权才 and Lu Sifei 卢斯飞, "Shilun Lingwai Daida de zhongyao shiliao jiazhi 试论岭外代答的重要史料价值", *Guangxi Shilun xuebao*, 3, 1996, pp. 101-108; Huang Quncai 黄权才, Yang Dongfu 杨东甫 and Lu Sifei 卢斯飞, "Zhou Qufei shili kao 周去非仕历考", in *Guangxi Shilun xueyuan xuebao*, 4, 1996, pp. 76-82.

⁴ *Zhongguo Renming Daxidian* 中国人名大辞典, edited by Zang Lihe 臧勵蘇 *et alii*, Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, Beijing, 1993, p. 526.

⁵ The term *yuanyuan* 元丰 indicates the period from 1078 to 1085, in which nine scholars from Yongjia moved to Kaifeng to study at the imperial college.

⁶ The *Song Yuan Xue'an* 宋元學案 was compiled by Huang Zongxi (160-1695) during the late Ming dynasty. It included 100 volumes and 87 chapters and collected information about Confucian scholars from the Song and the Yuan dynasty. It also briefly mentions Zhou Qufei as Duanchao's uncle. According to the *Song Yuan Xue'an*, Zhou worked in Guilin and wrote the *LWDD*, describing events and customs regarding Guilin. In 1163 he passed the imperial exam and during the Shaoxing era he served as vice-prefect (*songpan* 通判). Cfr. *Song Yuan Xue'an*, section *Zibu* (Philosophical works), vol. lxxi, edited by Tong Xiang *et alii* in *collectanea Sibu Beiyao*, Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing, 1936. For the *songpan* assignment see Hucker, *Dictionary of Official*, p. 355, entry 7497.

⁷ Cfr. *Zhejiang tongzhi* 浙江通志, volume 225, Wenzhoufu 温州府, Yongjiaxian 永嘉县, Shanghai guji chubanshe, Shanghai, 1991, p. 3864. It is worth stressing that the poet Yang Wanli also mentions Zhou Qufei in two poems *Yuxuesuan ji* 宜雪軒記 (*An account of the notable Snow Studio*) and *Yichai ji* 怡齋記 (*An account of the Joyful studio*). Cfr. Yang Wanli, *Chengzhai ti* 誠齋體, Zhonghua shuju, Taipei, 1970, poem 72 and 73. Quoted also in Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, pp. 455-6. Yang Wanli 杨万里 (1127-1206), was born in Jishui county, in today's Jiangxi province. Yang was an important scholar, poet and politician, known for his strong resistance to the Jin dynasty. With Lu You 陆游, You Mao 尤袤, and Fan Chengda 范成大, he was one of the most important southern Song scholars, known as *Nan Song Si Dajia* 南宋四大家. In 1169 Yang Wanli also took part in the diplomatic journey to the Jin country with Lou Yao. During that period, he wrote several poems. See Hu Chuanchi, "Lun Yang Wanli jiesong Jin shi shi 论杨万里接送金使诗" (About Yang Wanli's Poem on the Diplomatic Mission to Jin Dynasty), in *Literary Heritage (Western Tieshan)*, 2010, pp. 62-69. In this work Yang's 352 poems are analysed. See also Shen Songjin, "Yang Wanli Chengzhai ti

jinshi degree (Metropolitan Graduate) and became an imperial official. However, he did not have a successful career. He was a serious official and worked very hard during his service, but he died young and his prospects for advancement had been limited. The main sources about his life and work as a government official are his friends' and colleagues' writings.

He spent six years in Guangxi province as an official. Yang divides this period into three phases.

During his first years (1164-1165 or 1166) in the southern province, Zhou was an official engaged as a teacher. In the *LWDD*'s introduction, Zhou himself states that he was sent to Guilin as a low-ranking official and then became an educational official in Ningyue, today's Qinzhou⁸.

In the second phase (1172-1174 or 1173-1175), Zhou held the office of vice-magistrate (*xianwei* 縣尉) in the Jingjiangfu district, first in Guxian and then in Lingchuan county⁹. This phase can be divided into two parts, corresponding to two different Jingjiangfu counties,

xinjie 楊萬里謫高休新解" (Some New Considerations about Yang Wanli's Name "Cheng-zhai"), in *Literary Heritage* (Wenxue Yichan), 2006, pp. 73-83.

⁸ Zhou states: «Pu shi wei Guilin, fen jiao Ningyue. 卜試尉桂林，分教寧越». Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, *Lingwai Daida xu*, p. 1. Hucker, *Dictionary of Official*, p. 141, entries 733 (*jiangqian*) and 740 (*jiangshou*). The scholar Yang assumes that soon after he passed the exam, a minor assignment was assigned to Zhou, but he is not able to establish in what place and for how long he served there. Cfr. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 2. The Japanese scholar Mei Yuanyou 梅圓佑, in his *Songdai guanlian zhidu yanjiu* 宋代官僚制度研究, affirms that the term *shi* 試, during the Song dynasty indicated one's first assignment after the exam. Cfr. Mei Yuanyou, *Songdai guanlian zhidu yanjiu* 宋代官僚制度研究, Tongpengshe chubanshe, Kyoto 1985, p. 34. Hucker states that the term *shi* 試, during the Song dynasty, was used as a prefix when the titular assignment was lower in rank than the appointee's salaried assignment. Cfr. Hucker, *Dictionary of Official*, p. 421, entry 5204. The name *wei* 尉 is an abbreviation of *xianwei* 縣尉: vice magistrate, with special responsibility for the control of the county's territory. Cfr. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, *Lingwai Daida xu*, p. 2. Cfr. Hucker, *Dictionary of Official*, p. 243, entry 2549.

⁹ During the Song dynasty, the toponym Jingjiangfu indicated the territory of today's Guilin city. Cfr. Gong Yanning 貢延明, *Songdai Guanli ci dian* 宋代官制辭典, Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing, 1997, p. 57. Before it was elevated to *fu* (municipality) status in 1133, throughout the Northern Song dynasty the territory of Gui County was one of the twenty-five counties under the jurisdiction of the Guangnan West Circuit. The name Jingjiang was taken from the name of the former Tang military district, founded in 909: the Jingjiang military district for Order and Rule (*Jingjiang Jun jushu*). Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, introduction, p. XXVI. *Songshi* 宋史 (*History of the Song dynasty*), edited by Tuotuo 脫脫 et alii, Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing, 1977, 90, p. 2239.

and the turning point was probably the support he received from Fan Chengda on the latter's arrival in Guangxi.

Despite the difficulty of establishing the precise year in which Zhou began this second assignment, it is very clear, thanks to his descriptions in several sections of the *LWDD*, that he worked in the county of Guxian.

In the tenth volume, in the section focused on fish, Zhou says he used to eat Guxian's fish, mentioning Guxian as the place where he served as official¹⁰. In the third volume, in the section titled *Yaoren*, Zhou lists the five counties included in the district of Jingjiang, showing an extensive knowledge of the territory¹¹.

Regarding the time frame of this second phase in Guangxi province, we can make reference to different sources to get a clearer idea.

Chen Zhensun (1179-1262) mentions the *LWDD* and Zhou Qufei in his bibliographical work, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書齋解題, and provides some brief information about them. He states that soon after Zhou passed the imperial exam he was sent to the southern prefecture as deputy (*cui* 倅), without specifying what kind of official title and without giving more detailed information about the length of time¹². The *Zhongguo renming dacidian* 中國人名大辭典 states that Zhou obtained the *jinshi* in the Longxing era, but it does not provide any more details¹³. The *Zhongguo Dabaike Quanshu* 中國大百科全書

¹⁰ «Yu shi Guxian, chang shi shi yu. 余仕古縣。常食市魚», in chapter *Chongyu* 虫魚 ('Fishes and insects'), section *Heyu* 河魚 ('Fishes'). Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 393.

¹¹ *Jingjianglu wu xian yu Yaoren jiejing. yue Xing'an, Lingchuan, Lingui, Yining, Guxian. 靜江府五縣與瑣人接壤。曰興安。黃川。龜柱。文寧。古縣», in chapter *Waiguo* 外國 ('Foreign countries'), section *Yaoren* 瑣人 ('Tribe Yao'). Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 118.*

¹² «《岭外代答》十卷。永嘉周去非直夫撰。去非。登宋進士。至郡倅。所記皆廣西事». In English: «*Lingwai Daida*, ten volumes. Zhou Qufei, also known as Zhifu, from Yongjia, wrote it. Qufei, passed the exam in the 20th year of the Sexagenary Cycle (1163), then he was sent to the prefecture as a deputy. He reported events and matters of Guangxi provinces». The author's own translation unless otherwise indicated. See Chen Zhensun 陳振孫, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題, volume 8, Shanghai Guji chubanshe, Shanghai 1987, p. 260. Chen Zhensun (1179-1262) is the author of a bibliographical work, divided into 36 volumes. He collected more than three thousand books and wrote an annotated catalogue. Though lost, it was included both in *Yongle Dadian* and in *Siku Quanshu*. See Zhang Shouwei 張守節, «Lan *Zhizhai shulu jieti* shulu de neirong he jiazhi 论《直齋書錄解題》著录的内容和价值», in *Journal of Academic Library and Information Science* 大学图书馆学报, 5, 2007, pp. 85-91.

¹³ Cfr. *Zhongguo Renming Dacidian*, p. 326.

summarizes Zhou's life, touching three main points: he first travelled eastward (probably meaning his journey to Yongjia in Zhejiang); then, at the beginning of the Chunxi era (1174-1189), Zhou was in Jingjiangfu; lastly, in the fifth year of the Chunxi era (1178), he wrote his work¹⁴.

According to the *Guisheng*, in the year *renchen* (the 29th year of the Sexagenary Cycle, 1172), Zhou was travelling, and he likely was returning to Guangxi for his second office¹⁵. There is no doubt that during these six years of working in Guangxi, Zhou came back to Zhejiang to manage some family affairs (grief). We know very little about this trip. Zhou's colleague, Lou Yao¹⁶, dedicates a memorial poem to him, titled "Ji Zhou tongpan Qufei 祭周通判去非" (In memory of the vice prefect Zhou)¹⁷, included in his work *Gongkai ji*

¹⁴ Cf. *Zhongguo Dabaiké Quanshu, Zhongguo Lishi*, volume 2, *Lingwai Daida*, Zhongguo dabaiké quanshu chubanshe, Beijing, 1997. Online edition edited by the Beijing Baiké Zaisian Wanghuo Chubans Youxian Gongsi, <https://exph.cnki.net>.

¹⁵ The *Guisheng* 桂勝 is a historical and geographical work, written between the 1573-1619 by the Ming official Zhang Mingfeng. It included sixteen volumes and reported matters about Guangxi province, in particular those regarding the Guilin territory. In the second volume the name of Zhou Qufei was mentioned twice, (the second time he was called Zhou Zhi-fu). Cf. Zhang Mingfeng 張鳴鳳, *Guisheng* 桂勝, 2, Beijing Airu shengshu zihuan jishu yan-jiu zhongxin, Beijing, 2009. Electronic version, edited by the University of Chicago.

¹⁶ Lou Yao 樓钥 (1137-1213) was born in Yin county, in modern-day Ningbo of Zhejiang province. He passed the imperial examination in 1163, the same year as Zhou. In 1169 he took part in a journey to the Jin dynasty territories through the city of Kaifeng, as a member of a diplomatic mission. As he wrote Zhou's epitaph, he very likely was a close friend of his. He was the author of *Gongkai ji* 攻瑰集, a poetry collection 120 rolls in length. Cf. Zhang Jin 張勁, "Lou Yao, Fan Chengda shi Jin guo Kaifengcheng neiluxian kaozheng 樓钥、范成大使金过开封城内路线考证", in *Collection of Essays on Chinese Historical Geography*, 19, 4, Jinan Daxue Gujiubao, 2004, pp. 36-49.

¹⁷ Below you can read Lou Yao's poetry.

«Shi sui tong ji, gütian yiyu. 始虽同祭，各天一隅。

Yu fen jun fu, jun fang you ju...余分郡符，君方忧居。...

Zai shi Jiaonan, pei li haoqu...再仕峤南，情仍崎嶇。...

Qian Zai Juyi, heran you yu. 前宰剧邑，赫然而裕».

«At first, we shared the same sacrifice, (living and working) in a border territory. I served as official in the prefecture, my colleague was worried about his hometown. He came back to Jiaonan again (Guangxi province), where he already had experience (as an official). He served as an assistant in the city and was highly praised for his impressive works».

The author's own translation unless otherwise indicated. Cf. Lou Yao, *Gongkai ji* 攻瑰集, *A Zhou tongpan 祭周通判*, volume 83, collection *Chongshu Jicheng*, Shanghai ying-yuguan, Shanghai, 1935. The title *zai* 宰 indicates 'assistant', used as element in many titles. Cf. Hucker, *Dictionary of official*, p. 514, entry 6809.

攻姚集。He states that when he became an official in the prefecture (1171), his friend Zhou Qufei was in mourning in his native place¹⁸.

We can argue that Zhou held his office as vice-magistrate in Jingjiangfu from 1173 to 1175, or from the end of 1172 to 1174, depending on the duration of his trip to and from his hometown, Yongjia.

Thanks to Fan Chengda's poem, "Song Zhou Zhifu jiaoshou gui Yongjia 送周直夫教授归永嘉" (The return of the professor Zhou Zhifu to Yongjia)¹⁹, written in the middle of 1173, we know that at that time Zhou had almost completed his trip to Yongjia and was returning to Guangxi province. The friendship between Zhou and Fan deserves further comment, since it was very useful for Zhou's imperial career. Let us examine the poem closely in translation:

When we were young, we were badly off and wretched (*ruman*).
 Adulthood has bridled our delight in traveling.
 Last night in Rongxi it was quite rainy, today at Guiling it is quite cold.
 It is rare and difficult to know the vast inner world of our feelings, we live separately at the far corners of the earth (*rianyu*) and feel lonely.
 When we meet again, we mustn't talk anymore about when we were far apart, after a while we can be together again.²⁰

This poem shows that Fan and Zhou had a very close friendship. They were not only colleagues who shared a common literary interest, but it is possible that they built a mentor-protégé relationship and that Fan had become a sort of teacher for Zhou. Therefore, we can assume

¹⁸ According to Lou Yao's biographical data, he was sent to the prefecture during the seventh year of the *gǎndào* era, that is to say between 1171 and 1172. This period fully corresponds to the information provided by the *Guisheng* (*renchen* year: 1172). See above. See also Lou Yao, *Gonghui ji*, volume 109, *Muzhiming* 墓志銘.

¹⁹ Below you can read Fan Chengda's poetry.

«Qingdeng xianghui xue wan, lao-qu ji you zi nianhua. 青灯相对许催醒,老去萧萧白群欢。
 Zuoye tong xi sancunyu, jinzhao Guiling shu fen han. 昨夜梧溪三寸雨,今朝桂岭十分寒。
 Zhi xin hainei xiang lai shao, jieshou tianyu liang du nan. 知心海内向来少,解手天涯良独难。
 Yi xiao buxu lanjuan, shuoyan wu yizuo gui an. 一笑不须论聚散,少焉吾亦转归鞍».

Fan Chengda, *Fan Shiku ji* 范石湖集, Shanghai Guji chubanshe, Shanghai 1981, vol. 14, p. 174, poem "Song Zhou Zhifu jiaoshou gui Yongjia".

²⁰ The author's own translation unless otherwise indicated. In this poetry we can highlight several metaphors typical of Tang and Song poems. For instance, all the weather conditions have a figurative meaning, representing the different seasons of the human life: Fan and Zhou at that time had reached their autumn season, that is to say, adulthood. The two toponyms, Rongxi e Guiling, respectively indicate a city in southern China and one of the Guangxi's counties.

that they had first met long before 1173. We know that Fan Chengda was an imperial examiner during the first year of the Longxing era, i.e. 1163-1164, which was exactly the year Zhou passed his exam²¹. At that time, Zhou probably became Fan's protégé and, then, ten years later, Fan helped him advance in his career.

Knowing the dates of Fan's career allows us to also clarify Zhou's second career phase in Guangxi province. According to Fan's biographical reconstruction provided by Yu Beishan, in the third month of 1173 Fan was in Jingjiangfu as military commissioner (*anfuishi* 安撫使) of Guangxi province, responsible of all military affairs and other pacification activities. He invoked the *dingchaifa* 定差法 (the law for deciding the transfer of officials) and appointed Zhou as magistrate, *xianling* 縣令, for the county of Lingchuan. That was a huge leap in Zhou's career²². In the *LWDD*, in both the first and tenth volume, Zhou himself states that he remained in Lingchuan county. In detail, in the *Lingyan* section of the "Geography" chapter of volume 1, he says that he worked there²³. In the *Mugu* section of the chapter on Man's customs in volume ten, Zhou states that he served as an official in Lingchuan county and met people of the Yao tribe, who used the wood contract system when they were involved in private affairs²⁴. On

²¹ Yu Beishan 于北山, *Fan Chengda nianpu* 范成大年譜, Shanghai guji chubanshe, Shanghai, 1987, p. 72. According to Yu, in 1163 Zhou was about thirty years old and Fan about thirty-eight.

²² Yu Beishan, *Fan Chengda nianpu*, p. 168. Cfr. Hucker, *Dictionary of official*, p. 164, entry 17. The *dingchui* law, during the southern Song, remained in force only in the Guangxi, Guangdong and Sichuan provinces. According to it, local high officials were able to appoint and transfer low-ranking officials. The selection used to be based on the directives of the *Lihu* (the Ministry of Civil Appointment), whose task was limited to approving that appointment. For a more detailed study, see Miao Shumei 苗書梅, *Songdai de guanlian xuanren he guanli zhidu* 宋代的官員選任和管理制度, section dedicated to *Dingshaifa*, Henan Daxue chubanshe, Zhengzhou, 1996, pp. 196-206. For the title *xianling* see Hucker, *Dictionary of Official*, p. 242, entry 2518.

²³ «Yu chang she yi Lingchuan, tian jiu buyu, wang dao yu yan. 余嘗攝邑興川。天久不雨。往禱于岩». In English: «I worked in Lingchuan county, there it usually did not rain for many days, people often prayed to the mountains». The author's own translation unless otherwise indicated.

²⁴ «Yu chang she yi Jingjiang fu Lingchuanxian, you Yaoren sizheng, fu xian tou muqi, nai yipian zhi ban. 余嘗攝靜江府靈川縣。有瑶人私爭。赴縣投木契。乃一片之板». In English: «I served as an official in Lingchuan county in the Jingjiang prefecture, where there were some people of the Yao tribe, who went to the county to deal with their private affairs and presented their wood contract, (in one plate)». The title of this section indicates the habit

the twenty-eighth day of the first lunar month of 1175, Fan left Guilin to move to Sichuan province and wrote a farewell poem to his friends, among them Zhou Qufei, whom he called Zhou Zhifu. Here Fan depicts his friend with some outstanding adjectives, such as *juan* 隽 (talented)²⁵.

After Fan Chengda went northward, Zhou was sent once more to Qinzhou.

The third phase (1174-1176 or 1175-1177) were the last two years he spent in Guangxi, in particular in Qinzhou, again as an instructor (*jiaoguan*)²⁶. There are many references to his experience in this city, both in the *LWDD* and in the works of his colleagues and friends²⁷.

In the tenth volume, chapter *Guji* 古迹 ("Historic sites") section *Jiaozhi* ("Jiaozhi country") of the *LWDD*, Zhou states that in Qinzhou he saw men with black teeth and bare feet²⁸. In addition, in the ninth volume, chapter *Qinshou* 禽兽 ("Animals and birds"), section *Hu* 虎 ("Tiger"), Zhou affirms that he personally saw tigers when was at the northern gate of Qinzhou, before being sent to the Provincial Office for promoting education (*tiixuesi* 提学司)²⁹. In the *Yingwu* 鸚鵡 ("Par-

of Yao people to use wood plate to sign or register documents (contracts and so on), since they had no writing system.

²⁵ The poetry was titled "Chen Zhongsi, Chen Xizhen, Li Jingweng, Zhou Zhifu, Zheng Mengshou *zhailupao* dating xiangsong zhi Luojiang fennei, liu shi weibie 陈仲思、陈康珍、李静翁、周直夫、郑梦授追路过大通，相送至罗江分袂，留诗为别" (Farewell poem for greeting some friends Chen Zhongsi, Chen Xizhen, Li Jingweng, Zhou Zhifu, Zheng Mengshou), it is included in the poetry collection by Fan Chengda, *Fan Shihui ji*, vol. 15, p. 190. Fan Chengda says of Zhou Qufei «Zhouzi juan basu 周子隽俊留». In English this would be «he is a talented and outstanding writers». The author's own translation unless otherwise indicated.

²⁶ *Jiaoguan* or *jiaoshou* as reported by Fan Chengda and Zhang Shi in their poems. Cf. Hucker, *Dictionary of Official*, pp. 141-2, entries 733 and 740.

²⁷ «Yu zhi Qin, jian fu heichi xianzu. 余至钦，见夫黑齿獠人». In English: «when I arrived in Qin (zhou), I saw men with black teeth and bare feet». The author's own translation unless otherwise indicated.

²⁸ «Yu shi zhi Qin, ji jian cheng Beimen zhong zhuyu, po ya zhi. Weiji, baishi tiixuesi. 余始至钦，已见城北门众逐虎，惊讶之。未几，白事提学司». In English: «At the beginning of my stay in Qin (zhou), at the northern gate of the city, I personally saw many tigers. Soon after, I was appointed at the Office for promoting Education (as *jiaoshou*)».

It is interesting to emphasize that the verb *baishi* 白事, which usually means funeral rites, here means "to affirm, to state, to explain". Fan first used it with this meaning in the tenth poem of his collection of classical poems in six characters: «Yandang yi shi baishi, shan ke zhongri xiangpei. 圆丁以时白事，山客终日相陪». In English: «When the teacher explains

rots”) section, chapter *Qinshou* 禽兽 (“Animals and birds”), Zhou states that when he was in Qinzhou, he personally saw two parrots, one white and one red²⁹.

Zhang Shi (1133-1180), who succeeded Fan as head military commissar in Guilin in 1175, also mentions Zhou’s second appointment in Qinzhou³⁰. In the chapter *Qinzhou Xueji* 钦州学记 (*A study in Qinzhou*) of the *Nanxuan* 南轩 collection, Zhang states that after Zhou had finished his assignment in Guilin, he was sent to Qinzhou again as chief professor³¹.

Although it is very difficult to know how long he spent in Qinzhou for his second appointment, there is no doubt that in the winter of 1178 he was in Yongjia, writing his work.

Regarding the last part of Zhou’s life, the pieces of information are scantier and more misleading. According to Lou Yao, after 1178 he became an assistant magistrate (*zai* 宰) and was praised for his service³². However, we do not have enough information to establish when he was assigned to this post. Since in the *LWDD* there is no reference to this appointment, we can assume that he was appointed as assistant magistrate only after he had written the *LWDD*. Besides, the *Siku quanshu tiyao* states that Zhou was in service as

things, his guest usually likes to keep him company all days». The author’s own translation unless otherwise indicated.

²⁹ «Yu zai Qin, chang yu Nie shou jian bai yingwa hong yingwa. 余在欽普于聶守見白鸚鵡紅鸚鵡». In English: «When I was in Qin(zhou), near Nie I personally saw the white and the red parrot». See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 368.

³⁰ Zhang Shi 張栻 (1133-1180) was one of Zhu’s teachers. He was the main scholar of *Huixiang xuepai* 湖湘學派 (Philosophical School of Hunan); he can be considered one of the three most important Neo-Confucian scholars, with Zhu Xi and Lu Zogian. He wrote the *Nanxuan Anthology*, *Nanxuanji* 南軒集. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, preface, p. 6. The relationship between Zhang Shi and Zhou is mentioned in the *Rulin Zongpai*, in which the Qing dynasty historian, Wan Sitong, describes Zhou Qufei as one of the main disciples of Zhang Shi. Wan states, “Zhang shi menren 張氏門人”. Wan Sitong (1638-1702) wrote the sixteen-chapter history of Confucianism *Rulin zongpai* and the history of the Ming dynasty *Mingshiyao* 明史稿, divided into five hundred chapters. Cf. Wan Sitong 萬斯同, *Rulin Zongpai* 儒林宗派 (The school of Confucian scholars), volume 11, Song, Siming Gongshuben, 1935, p. 7.

³¹ «You mingnian, qi xuezhi jianzhou Zhou Qufei, zhiman dao Gui. 又明年其學之教授周去非. 秩典道柱». In English: «After he had completed his post at Guilin, Zhou Qufei was sent again (the next year) to Qinzhou as a professor».

³² «Qian zai ju yi, heran youyu 前宰劇邑. 赫然有譽». Lou Yao, *Gonghai ji*, volume 83, poetry: “Ji Zhou tongpan”.

magistrate in Guilin during the Chunxi era. The Chinese scholars Huang Quancai, Hu Sifei and Yang Dongfu affirm that Zhou became magistrate in Guangxi province after the fifth year of the Chunxi era, that is to say after 1178³³.

The Provincial Gazetteer of Zhejiang Province from the Yongzheng Era (*Zhejiang tongzhi* 浙江通志) reports that Zhou Qufei was vice-magistrate in the town of Shaoxing in Zhejiang province³⁴. But later gazetteers do not mention Zhou's name.

After this brief biographical reconstruction, we can surmise that Zhou collected his notes in the Qinzhou and Jingjiang districts of Guangxi province, where he spent at least six years. During this period, he was also able to travel to Guilin, the main city of Guangxi and one of the most important trading centers during the Southern Song dynasty.

To get a broader perspective, it is worth emphasizing that during the Song dynasty Guangxi province was mostly inhabited by non-Chinese³⁵. The history of Guangxi and its population, like most places in China, is long and complex. In approaching Southern Song history, we need to consider three main aspects: 1) throughout dynastic history, the unstable political situation in the Chinese Empire led many people from the north to flee to Guangxi and other parts of the South³⁶; 2) abundant natural resources, unique local products and the strategic location of Guangxi province were very attractive for the Chinese dynasties that sought to colonize and control this southern territory; 3) the interaction between the Chinese and the local people has always been considered a crucial point for the "sinization" process or for the conversion to a Chinese cultural lifestyle. In particular, in order to heighten the administrative control of areas in Guangxi with heavy concentrations of tribespeople and only limited Chinese influence, the Song followed a management practice called "bridle and halter" (*jimi* 羈縻)

³³ See Huang Quancai, Lu Sifei and Yang Dongfu, "Zhou Qufei shili kao", in *Guangxi Shifan Xueyuan xuebao*, Zhaxue Shehui Kexueban, 4, 1996, pp. 76-82.

³⁴ *Zhejiang tongzhi* 浙江通志, volume 225, Wenzhoufu 温州府, Yongjiaxian 永嘉县, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1991, p. 3864.

³⁵ The largest group among these people is now called Zhuang, an ethnic minority in the People's Republic of China.

³⁶ Since the Six Dynasties era (220-589), Chinese people from the northern territory moved to the south. Hargett, *Treatises of the Supervisor*, p. XXV (introduction).

political-administrative units³⁷. In other words, local people were organized by the Song into a Chinese administrative hierarchy, usually headed by hereditary local chiefs who were subordinated to the Chinese authority in the region. This approach reflects a long-standing Chinese policy of "using barbarians to control barbarians" (*yi yi zhi yi* 以夷制夷). The purpose was to achieve and maintain Chinese political control over border regions, without engaging in costly campaigns against local people³⁸.

When Zhou Qufei arrived in Guangxi in the 1170s the population of the region was overwhelmingly non-Chinese, because the lands beyond the Chinese administrative areas were controlled by tribal peoples. Besides, many merchants who dealt in southern products, and settlers who farmed the fertile areas along the rivers, lived in bridge and halter counties and towns.

Although Zhou never travelled abroad³⁹, he probably met Chinese merchants who travelled over the Song empire, or foreign merchants who lived in Guangxi territory, and gathered his information from them⁴⁰. The reliability of those informants may have been quite doubtful, but those people provided Zhou with much information he had never heard before. Moreover, there were several instances in which Zhou tried to force his descriptions to fit into a "Chinese frame", in order to contain the differences between what was considered Chinese and what was external and foreign. He often calls foreign places, things or people with Chinese names in order to bring them closer to the Chinese concept of the world⁴¹ or simply because he knew very

³⁷ Hargett, *Treatises of the Supervisor*, p. XXVI (introduction).

³⁸ Cushman provided a useful list of the various administrative units: Richard David Cushman, "Rebel Haunts and Lotus Huts: problems in the ethnohistory of the Yao", Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1970, pp. 157-160. For additional information on this system under the Song, see also Harold J. Wiens, *China's March toward the Tropics*, The Shoe String Press, Hamden, Connecticut, 1954, pp. 211-214.

³⁹ Woodward, Yee and Schwartzberg state that it would not be an exaggeration to say that for a geographer, particularly in Asia, studying a place meant, above all, reading its relevant materials, and not just traveling there. See Woodward, Yee and Schwartzberg, "Concluding Remarks", in *The History of Cartography, Cartography in South East Asia*, edited by Woodward David and Harley J. Brian, 2, 2, 21, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1987, p. 846.

⁴⁰ In the next section I will also focus on Zhou's sources, highlighting the passages in which he refers directly to the interpreter or translator who provided him with the information.

⁴¹ For example, he uses the term *ta* (pagoda) to indicate Muslim minarets and mosques, when he deals with Islamic territories. *Ta*, in fact, stands for the Buddhist pagoda. See section 40, *Dushi* (Arab-Islamic countries).

little about them⁴². The time he spent in Guangxi province enabled him to get an accurate perception of foreign people and the world beyond the Song Empire. Living with local tribes 'people increased his cultural awareness of both his new and old knowledge of the world. He became aware of how diversity and the foreignness could be considered a useful instrument of enhancement for all people. This is really the main goal of his work: to broaden the knowledge that the Chinese had of foreign countries and to get them to praise their differences. He took note of what was going on around him, for the sole purpose of recording experiences that differed sharply from those of his country of origin. Then, as an afterthought, he decided to organize them into a geographical treatise, the *LWDD*⁴³. I believe that this decision heightened his new awareness of foreignness even more: he first collected notes only because he liked to recall different habits and customs, then wrote a true geographical work, putting his personal first-hand experiences at the service of his readers⁴⁴.

Not all the officials and scholars that were sent to the border provinces showed the same awareness and perception of foreign peoples and lands. In the next section I will explain how Zhou's work was created, pointing out both his sources and informants.

1.2. The *Lingwai Daida*

1.2.2. *The LWDD's origin and sources*

The *LWDD* was compiled in 1178. It was a casual composition. Zhou had no intention to write a geographical work; he was merely collect-

⁴² In the section *Mulanpiguo* ("Mulanpi country", northern-western coast of Africa) Zhou talks about a strange animal, called *huyang*, probably a kind of sheep or goat. It is very tall, with a fan-like tail. Zhou also deals with the process to extract the fat from its stomach. As we will see in the next chapter, comparison with Arabic sources, in particular with Idrisi's geographical work, has revealed that during the Almoravid dynasty on the northern coast of Africa there lived several ostriches, whose stomach fat was very precious. In this instance, Zhou was unable to understand exactly what kind of animal his informant was talking about, because ostriches were not common in China at that time. See the next chapter, section *Mulanpiguo*.

⁴³ In the next sections I will deal with the origin of the *LWDD* and Fan Chengda's influence on it.

⁴⁴ For instance, when he says that he personally saw the tiger and the barbaric man in the Jingjiangfu district.

ing a series of personal notes (*suishi biji* 隨事筆記). But, as he states in the *LWDD*'s preface, he decided to answer once and for all the questions his friends plied him with about what he'd seen and heard in Guangxi province. He had tried to answer their questions orally, but he soon realized that his material deserved a more in-depth treatment. After he read Fan Chengda's *Guihai yuheng zhi* 桂海虞衡志, he began writing the *LWDD*'s 294 sections.

Zhou's preface reads as follows:

入國問俗，禮也。矧嘗仕焉而不能舉其要。廣右二十五郡，俗多夷風，而疆以戎索。海北郡二十有一，其列于西南方者，蜿蜒若長蛇，實與夷中六詔，安南為境。海之南郡，又內包黎獠，連接黃支之外。僕試尉桂林，分教寧越，蓋長遶首尾之邦，備堪之事，經國之具，荒忽誕漫之俗，瑰譎譎怪之產，耳目所治，與得諸學士大夫之緒談者，亦云廣矣。蓋嘗隨事筆記，得四百餘條，秩滿束擔東歸，邂逅與他書東道，置勿復稱也。迺綴故帙勞苦，問以絕域事，靡莫知所對者，蓋數數然。至觸事而談，或能舉其一二，事類多而應得者浸廣，曉得范石湖《桂海虞衡志》，又於藁裏得所抄名數，因次序之，凡二百九十四條，應酬備矣。有復問僕，用以代答。雖然，異時訓方氏其將有考於斯！
淳熙戊戌冬十月五日永嘉周去非直夫記。

When you arrive in a new land you should ask (and learn) about its people's customs and habits, as the Book of Rites said.⁴⁵ Even more so if you have been appointed there as an official and are not able to understand its features. Guangyou⁴⁶ has twenty-five prefectures, the customs here are mostly barbaric (yí 夷) and the borders are drawn according to their military affairs. North of the sea (Hai Bei) there are twenty-one prefectures, towards the southern-western area they form a long line like a long wriggling serpent, and border on the six barbarian Zhao 詔⁴⁷ and the land of Annan. South of the sea (Hai

⁴⁵ Zhou begins his work with a significant quotation from the first chapter of *The Book of Rites*, *Qu Li shang* 曲禮上: «入竟而問禁，入國而問俗，入門而問諱». In English: «When one is crossing the boundaries (of a state), he should ask what its prohibitory laws are; when he has fairly entered it, he should ask about its customs; before entering the door (of a house), he should ask about the names to be avoided in it».

See the online version provided by the Chinese text project, with James Legge's English translation. Website: <https://ctext.org/liji/qu-li-i>. Nowadays we can translate these four characters, *ruo guo wen mu* 入國問俗, as: when in Rome do as the Romans do.

⁴⁶ Guangyou 廣右 is the ancient toponym indicating the province of Guangxi, including Hainan island. Zhou uses this term many times in his work.

⁴⁷ Liuzhao, or the six Zhao, indicates the territory of the ancient reign of Nanzhao 南詔, in today's Yunnan province. In 937 the land of Dali 大理 succeeded it and managed the terri-

zhi Nan), the prefectures are very close to the Li and the Liao lands and at a great distance follow the borders of Huangzhi 黃支.⁴⁸ When I also served as an official in Guilin,⁴⁹ and in Qinzhou (Ningyue) as a professor, from beginning to end I collected information about these territories as a whole: borders and national affairs, the strange customs of the barbaric people and their weird products. I combined here, in this work, what I personally heard and saw and what other scholars and officials told me. I collected notes about various items and topics, approximately 400 or more, which I bound together and carried toward eastward (when I returned home). Here I had abandoned them in a corner and wouldn't have picked them up again if relatives and friends had not badgered me to do so. They asked me information regarding those very distant territories, but I was unable to give them satisfactory answers orally and needed to organize these notes. Without organizing them, I could explain just a few things, not as much as I would have liked. The contents were too much, and I was overwhelmed by the mass of my experiences. Later I read Fan Shihui's *Guilai yinhang zhi*, and from the "medicine pocket"⁵⁰ I took all my notes and counted them: there were 294. I got tired of dealing with people, so I decided to write this work in order to provide answers to all their questions. [This is precisely why he includes *da 答* in the title.] In the future professors and officials will be able to study and discuss them.

Chunxi era wazu year (1178), in winter, tenth month, fifth day, Yongjia, written by Zhou Qufei Zhifu.

As the title implies, Zhou sought to answer questions he received about the territories beyond southeastern China—territories he called Ling (for 'Lingnan territories', today's Guangdong and Guangxi provinces)—and foreign lands.

His four hundred random notes derive not only from his personal experiences on Guangxi province, but also from what he heard from local and foreign informants. In the preface, he states that he not only combined information from his personal experiences but also from scholars and officials. Besides, as I already said in the previous sec-

tory of northern Yunnan until 1253. Zhou also mentions the toponym Dali several times, for instance see sections 31-34-42-51, all belonging to the chapters about the foreign countries.

⁴⁸ Modern scholars have very contrasting opinions regarding the identification of this ancient toponym. It normally indicated the territory of Kanchipuram, today's Indian state of Tamil Nadu, on the southern eastern coast of India. See Chen Jianrong 蔣建榮, Xie Fang 謝方 and Lu Junling 陸駿峰, *Guidai Nanyang diming Huishi* 古代南海地名匯釋, Zhonghua shuju, Beijing, 1986, 2, p. 694, entry Huangzhi. See also Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 2 note 5.

⁴⁹ *Shiwei* 試尉 stands for *xianwei* 縣尉. For a detailed treatment of Zhou's life see the first section of this book. Zhou held his office as vice magistrate in Jingjiangfu district, that is to say Guilin territory, between 1173-1175.

⁵⁰ A figurative phrase indicating messiness.

tion, Zhou met foreign merchants and travelers or interpreters. For instance, in the Geography chapter, in the section *Xiangbisha* 象鼻砂 (“Xiangbi Desert”) section he mentioned a merchant or a sailor (*boshang* 舶商) who provided him with information about itineraries leading to the east or west. Or the *Fangyan* 方言 (“Dialects”) section, which refers to an interpreter who explained the difference between the Guangxi and Jiaozhi languages.

In the table below (Table 1.1), I list all the passages where Zhou mentions his encounter with interpreters, called *yizhe* 譯者, or merchants called *boshang* 舶商.

Table 1.1. LWDD's passages containing the terms *yizhe* or *boshang*.

Volume	Chapter	Section ⁵¹	Passages	Translation
1	<i>Dilimen</i> 地理門 ("Geography")	(20) <i>Xiangbisha</i> 象鼻砂 ("Xiangbi Desert" ⁵²)	嘗聞之 舶商曰: “自廣州 而東,其 海易 行。自 廣州而 西,其 海難 行。自 欽廉而 西,則 尤為難 行。”	I heard from a merchant traveler that eastward from Guangzhou navigation is very easy. Westward from Guangzhou it is quite difficult. Westward from Qinlian it is more difficult.
2	<i>Waiguomen</i> 外 國門 ("Foreign countries I")	(37) <i>Gulinguo</i> 故 國國 ("The country of Gu- lin" ⁵³)	中國 舶商 欲往 大食, 必自 故臨 易小	Chinese merchants and naviga- tors who want to sail as far as the

⁵¹ In this column I included also the number of the section, between parentheses.

⁵² Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 37.

⁵³ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 90.

			舟往，而 以一月 南風至 之，然 往返經 二二年 矣。	Arab empire have to stop in Gulin in order to transfer to a smaller ship and then can continue their travels. Although by following the south wind they are able to get there in only one month, they need two years for a round trip.
8	<i>Huamumen</i> 花 木門 ("Flowers and trees")	(160) <i>Gui</i> 桂 ("Cinnamon Tree" ¹⁴)	南方號 桂海，秦 取百粵， 號曰桂 林。桂所 之產，古 以地名。 今桂產 於欽。二 賓州，于 賓者，陸 行商致之 北方。	In the southern provinces it is called Guihai, but after the Qin territory of Baiyue it began to be called Guilin. Since the Guilin territory is full of this tree, the toponym comes from it. Now the cinnamon tree is present in two prefectures:

¹⁴ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 287.

			于者。欽 商。舶 致。海 方。運 。東 。蜀 。有 。天 。桂。為 。其。以 。西。方 。資。所 。桂。用 。於。藥 。尚。矣 。枝。能 。散。發 。能。肉 。益。補 。用。二 。同。不。	Qin and Bin. The traders from Bin prefecture take it northward by land. The merchants- navigators from Qin, instead, take it eastward by sea. In Shu territory there is also a cinnamon tree. Is the quality of this tree growing in the west (in Shu territo- ry) deter- mined by the climate? The cinnamon tree can be used to make medicine. Its branches can disperse in- ternal heat, and its flesh is invigorat- ing and ton- ic. Two dif- ferent appli- cations.
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4	<i>Fengtumen</i> 風土門 ("Local customs")	(74) <i>Fangyan</i> 方言 ("Dialects" ³⁵)	余又嘗令譯者以《禮部韻略》接交趾語。字字異。唯“花”字不譯。又謂“北”為“朔”	I asked an interpreter to explain the difference from (our written language and) the <i>Jiaozhi</i> language using the dictionary <i>Libuyun</i> ³⁶ . Every character is different, even the character ‘hua’ (flower) is not easy to translate. The character ‘bei’ (north) becomes ‘shuo’ (new moon).
5	<i>Cailimen</i> 財計門 ("Wealth")	(87) <i>Yongzhou Hengshangzhai</i> <i>bo yichang</i> 邕州橫山寨博易場 ("Market in the village of Hengshangzhai in the pre-	蠻馬之來。他貨亦至。蠻之所賣。麝香。胡羊。長	Other goods are also transported by the barbarian horses (<i>Manna</i>). ³⁶ They bring (in the Song

³⁵ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 159-60.³⁶ Here Zhou is possibly referring to the *Libu yunlie* 禮部韻略 (Concise rhymes from the Ministry of Rites). It is a dictionary with characters arranged phonetically according to a rhyme system. It was compiled on imperial order by the northern Song period scholar Ding Du 丁度 (990-1053) and was finished in 1037.

		lecture Yong") ⁵⁷	of	鳴鷄、 按遼、 雲南、 及諸 物。吾 商賈 所銷 緇、豹 皮、文 書及 奇巧 之物。 是於 平價 交市。 一 至開 場之 日，羣 商請 于官， 依所 定價， 與蠻 為市。 不許 減價 先售， 恐騙 者導 恣買。	territory) musk, the sheep <i>huyang</i> , ⁵⁸ the chicken <i>changming</i> , coarse felt, Yunnan swords and all kinds of medicine. Our mer- chants bring brocades, silk, leopard skin, as well as books and several other handicrafts objects. The interpreters bargain over the products' price. — When the market starts, the merchants ask the offi- cials to es- tablish the price. Then, according to the price set by the offi-
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⁵⁶ In the previous section, n. 86, entitled *Magang* 馬綱, Zhou deals with the transportation of goods by horses, in particular the barbarian horses. See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 191.

⁵⁷ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 193.

⁵⁸ In the section *Mulanpiguo*, ("The country of Mulanpi"), n. 41, Zhou describes this kind of animal. See the next chapter. See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 106.

				cial, they trade with the barbarians. They are not allowed to reduce the prices before selling. The interpreters are urged to contribute purchased goods to the barbarians at merchants' prices.
10	<i>Manxumen</i> 蠻俗門 ("Barbaric Man customs")	(273) <i>Muqi</i> 木契 ("Wood contract or letter" ⁶⁰)	殊不曉所謂。譯者曰：「左下一大痕及數十小痕，指所論仇黨數十人攻我也。左上一大主痕也。右一大痕」	What is written was particularly impossible to understand ⁶¹ . The interpreter said: "At the bottom left one big icon and several dozen small icons indicate what is being told about hostile people and their dozen followers who came here and at-

⁶⁰ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 426.

⁶¹ Zhou was telling a story of two Yao people that went to the Lingchuan district in order to solve their personal argument. They brought their special contract, written on wood, but Zhou was unable to read it and asked an interpreter.

			縣也。一線者主縣也。為形仇箭也。燒痕，官急也。十而結，欲以餘備也。續牛角云。 官牽道詞投官刻箭言以我火為乞火行板蕞草，人十，我結喻。	tacked us. At the top left, one big icon is the word "sovereign-ruler." On the right, one big icon is the "county official". Leading the rim, it says that the ruler sent the county official. The carved arrow-like image says that people fight us with arrows. The fire-like icon means that they asked the official to urgently handle the fire. The dozen holes in the board, in which they twisted the herbs, means that they hope their enemies will pay for their faults by using dozens of cows. The
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				twisted herbs indi- cate the cows' horns."
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These passages show both the important role that the translator or interpreter had in border provinces like Guangxi, and how precious the contact with Chinese and foreign merchants was for Zhou's work.

1.2.2. Editorial history and diffusion

The *LWDD* had a wide circulation soon after its compilation in 1178. All the main bibliographical works during the Southern Song dynasty mention it, in certain instances even providing a brief abstract of its contents:

Among these are the *Suichutang shumu* 遂初堂書目 (*The Bibliographical Catalogue of the Hall Suichu*) compiled by You Mao 尤袤 (1127 - 1194)⁶² and the *Dushu fuzhi* 讀書附志 (*Study Supplement*) by Zhao Xibian 趙希弁 (? -1250), which also provides the following brief abstract, copied verbatim from Zhou's preface:

《嶺外代答》十卷。右周去非直夫記廣右二十五郡。疆場之事。經國之具。荒忽誕漫之俗。瑰詭譎怪之產。耳目所治。輿得諸學士大夫之精讀者。四百條云。

The *Lingwai Daida* is composed of ten volumes, (the author) Zhou Qufei, also known as Zhifu, described twenty-five prefectures of Guangxi province (called Guangyou). He dealt with borders and national affairs, the strange customs of the barbaric peoples, their weird products. He combined (in his

⁶² You Mao was one of the four great scholars of Song dynasty: Yang Wanli, Fan Chengda and Lu You. He is the author of *Suichutang shumu* 遂初堂書目 also known as *Yi zhai shumu* 益齋書目, a bibliographical catalogue. It is divided into four parts: nine chapters for Classic books, eighteen for history, twelve for scholars and five for collections. See Zhang Lei 張雷 and Li Yanqiu 李曉秋, "You Mao Suichutang shumu xintan 尤袤遂初堂書目新探", in *Shandong Library Quarterly (Shandong Tushuguan jikan 山東圖書館季刊)*, 2, 2002; Tian Mengmeng 田萌萌, "You Mao Suichutang shumu yanjiu zongshu 尤袤遂初堂書目研究綜述", in *Journal of Cangzhou Normal University (Cangzhou Shifan Xueyuan xuebao 滄州師範學院學報)*, 3, 2015.

work) what he personally heard and saw and what other scholars and officials told him, about four hundred sections.⁶¹

The *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題 (*Commented Library Catalogue of the Zhizhai Studio*) written by Chen Zhensun 陳振孫, reports that the *LWDD* was divided into ten volumes, written by Zhou Qufei from Yongjia, known also as Zhifu⁶².

During the Yuan dynasty, the *Wenxian Tongkao* 文獻通考 (*Comprehensive Investigations Based on Literary and Documentary Sources*) compiled by Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1245 – 1322), copies verbatim the brief description provided by Chen Zhensun in the *Zhizhai shulu jieti*⁶³.

Yang Shiqi 楊士奇 (1365-1444), in the Ming dynasty, compiled the *Wenyuange shumu* 文淵閣書目 (*Catalogue of the Hall of Literary Profundity*), and mentions the *LWDD*, but he does not give us any information about its author or the number of its chapters⁶⁴.

⁶¹ The author's own translation, unless otherwise indicated. Zhao makes a mistake by saying that this work comprises four hundred sections. Zhou, at the beginning, collected four hundred notes, but he combined them into two hundred ninety-four sections in the *LWDD*. Zhao Xibian is the author of one of the main bibliographical works of 12th century: *Dushu fu zhi* 讀書附志. It included 469 books and was divided into two volumes, which later were included in the larger work written by Chao Gongwu 晁公武, *Juehai dushu zhi* 郡齋讀書志 "Records of books read in my studio in the province". See Sun Meng 孫猛, *Dushu fu zhi jiaozheng* 讀書附志校證, 5b, Shanghai Guji chubanshe, Shanghai, 1990, p.1234.

⁶² «《岭外代答》十卷。永嘉周去非直夫撰». For the English translation of the entire abstract written by Chen Zhensun, see above, the first section of this chapter.

⁶³ Ma Duanlin 馬端臨, *Wenxian Tongkao* 文獻通考, 205, *Jingji* 經籍 32, section (*kao* 考) 1704, Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing, 1986. The *Wenxian Tongkao* is a detailed account on all aspects of state administration from ancient times to 1224, the last year of Emperor Ningzong. Ma Duanlin divides his book into twenty-four categories, partially inspired by Du You's work, *Tongdian*, written during the eighth century. Zhou's work is mentioned in the bibliographical volume, *Jingji kao* 經籍考, which is divided into seventy-six chapters and includes all the main works written until 1224.

⁶⁴ Yang Shiqi 楊士奇, *Wenyuange shumu* 文淵閣書目, 18, Congshu jichengchu bianben 丛书集成初編本, Shanghai shengwu yinshuguan, Shanghai, 1936, p. 227. Yang Shiqi (1365-1444) became a member of the Hanlin Academy in 1399 and posthumously was granted the title of Grand Preceptor, *Taishi* 太師. In 1421 he moved to the new capital Beijing and during the Zhengtong reign (1436-1449) he compiled the catalogue of the imperial library, housed in the Wenyuan Hall (*Wenyuan ge*). Zhou's work is included in the fourth part, focused on the great scholars, in Chinese *hongguang* 洪寬.

The catalogue compiled by Ye Sheng 葉盛 (1420–1474), *Luzhutang Shumu* 葉竹堂書目, also mentions Zhou's work, without quoting either the author or the length of the volumes. Jiao Hong 焦竑 (1540–1620) also includes the *LWDD* in his work *Guoshi jingji zhi* 國史經籍志, mentioning the name of Zhou Qufei and its division into ten volumes⁶⁷.

The *Siku Quanshu* 四庫全書 (*The Complete Library in Four Sections*)⁶⁸ cites a version from the *Yongle Dadian* 永樂大典 (*The Yongle Encyclopedia*)⁶⁹ divided into two volumes later lost.

The Qing scholar Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 (1848–1908) mentions Zhou's book in his bibliographical work, *Wenzhou Jingji zhi* 溫州經籍志 (*The Book of Wenzhou or the Treatise on Wenzhou*)⁷⁰, adding also a brief abstract. It contains Zhou's chapter titles, except for the fourth'. Here is his abstract.

周直夫《輿外代答》。凡二十門：一地理。二邊防。三外國。五風土。六法制。七財計。八器用。九服用。十食用。十一香。十二樂器。十三寶貨。十四金石。十五花木。十六禽獸。十七蟲魚。十八古跡。十九蠻俗。二十志異。惟第四門缺其目。據白叙。蓋其初筆記本四百餘條。後次序併為二百九十四條。《讀書附志》擇錄白序。虛舉初紀條數。誤也。其書敘廣西諸州沿革。風土。最為詳悉。所載外國。多得之傳聞。

⁶⁷ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 439.

⁶⁸ The *Siku Quanshu* is the largest collection of books in Chinese. It contains an annotated catalogue of over ten thousand titles. The Qing emperor Qianlong ordered the creation of that kind of encyclopedia in 1773, commissioning seven copies of it. In 1782 it was completed, and all seven copies were distributed. Two of them were located in the imperial library of Beijing (*Wenyuange* 文淵閣) and in the imperial library of the Old Summer Palace (*Yuanming yuan* 圓明園).

⁶⁹ The *Yongle Encyclopedia* was compiled from 1403 to 1407, on the order of Emperor Yongle. It was completed by a team of more than two thousand people, supervised by Xie Jin and Yao Guanxiao. They collected all the available written sources in the Empire, arranged according to the rhyme group of the keywords. Because of the fire in the Wenyuan Hall at the end of the Ming dynasty, when the *Siku Quanshu* was compiled in 1173, a substantial part of the *Yongle Dadian* was already missing. The Qing compilers were nevertheless able to copy five hundred books from it. Yet there were some books quoted in the *Yongle Dadian* that found their way into the *Siku Quanshu*. Today it is possible to read only a few original volumes, among the 11 thousand.

⁷⁰ Sun Yirang was a bibliographer and philologist in the later Qing dynasty and his work *Wenzhou Jingji zhi* can be considered a new model for modern bibliographical literature. It collects more than a thousand kinds of books and monographs.

自粵中互市番夷及宋詩貢獻之國外，皆未能詳審，蓋海外輿地，自古茫然，不止直夫此書也。⁷¹

Zhou Zhifu “*Lingwai Daida*” has twenty chapters in all: 1. Geography, 2. Border Commanders, 3. Foreign countries, 5. Local customs, 6. Legal system and institutions, 7. Wealth, 8. Utensils, 9. Clothes, 10. Food, 11. Perfumes, 12. Musical instruments, 13. Treasures, 14. Metals and stones, 15. Flowers and trees, 16. Animals and birds, 17. Insects and fishes, 18. Historic sites, 19. Barbaric Man customs, 20. Oddities. Only the fourth chapter is missing.⁷² According to the author’s preface, at the beginning he collected more than four hundred notes, then they were combined into 294 sections. The *Dashu fuchi*⁷³ partially copied the author’s preface but made the mistake of mentioning only the number of notes (not the number of sections that actually make up the book). This book describes the history and the local customs of Guangxi province. It is extremely detailed and complete. Information about foreign countries is from hearsay. Descriptions about the frontier trade between people from the Yue territory (today Guangdong and Guangxi province) and the barbarian peoples, and those sections regarding the foreign countries that give tributes to Song empire also cannot be considered reliable. (Knowledge of) the overseas territories since ancient times was more indistinct and vaguer than this book written by Zhifu.

Modern scholars can read and study the *LWDD* only because of the Qing dynasty copyists. Zhou Qufei’s work wasn’t printed until the twentieth century, but it was copied by Qing scholars and included in the *Siku quanshu*, with an abstract dated 1781 (or the forty-sixth year of Emperor Qianlong). The *LWDD* is placed in the historical section 11 (*Shibu shiyi* 史部十一), geographical category number 8 (*Dili shu ba* 地理類八), miscellaneous (*Zaji* 雜記). The present research has taken that version as its point of departure⁷⁴. As you will read in the

⁷¹ I have considered the version available online on the website of the Chinese text project, under the entry *Wenzhou Jingji zhi* 溫州經濟志, <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&rc=176448>. I have compared that version with the one included in the Yang Wuquan study. See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 461.

⁷² Sun, in fact, lists only nineteen chapters. The two chapters regarding foreign lands were joined together: *Wai guomen shang* 外國門上 and *Wai guomen Xia* 外國門下. In his number sequence he, actually skipped the fourth chapter. Besides, he did not cite the (real) fifth chapter, title *Bing guomen* 兵民門 (“Soldiers”) and makes a mistake when he writes that the fifth chapter is titled *Fengtu* (“Local customs”).

⁷³ Sun is referring to Zhao Xibian’s work, *Dashu fuchi* (*Supplement to the study*), written during the thirteenth century. See above, in this section.

⁷⁴ I have analyzed the electronic version of *Siku quanshu*, distributed by the Chinese University Press with Digital Heritage Publishing, Hong Kong, 1998. But the most reliable version of the *Lingwai daida* is also the newest, annotated by Yang Wuquan 楊武泉 and pub-

abstract below, the Qing copyists duplicated Zhou's work from the *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典. In that Ming dynasty version, the *LWDD* was divided into only two volumes, but the Qing scholars preferred to divide it into ten volumes, as Song bibliographical treatises reported and seemingly in line with the original work.

The preface of the *Siku quanshu* reads as follows:

《嶺外代答》十卷，宋周去非撰。去非字直夫，永嘉人，隆興癸未進士。淳熙中，官桂林通判。是書即作於桂林代歸之後。自序謂本范成大《桂海虞衡志》而益以耳目所見聞，錄存二百九十四條。蓋固有問嶺外事者，僭於應酬，書此示之。故曰代答。原本分二十門。今有標題者，凡十九門，一門存其子目而佚其總綱。所言則軍制、戶籍之事也。其書條分縷晰，視稽含、劉恂、段公路諸書，敘述為詳。所紀西南諸夷，多據當時譯者之詞，音字未免舛訛，而邊鄙、法制、財計諸門，實足補正史所未備，不但紀土風物產徒為談助已也。《書錄解題》及宋史藝文志並作十卷。《永樂大典》所載併為二卷。蓋非其舊，今從原目，仍析為十卷云。乾隆四十六年九月恭校上。總纂官臣紀昀、臣陸錫熊、臣孫士毅。總校官臣陸費輿。

The *Lingwai daida* was written by Zhou Qufei during the Song dynasty. Qufei, also known as Zhifu, was born in Yongjia; during the 20th year of Longxing he passed the imperial examination. During the Chunxi period he was an official in Guilin, as an assistant prefectural magistrate. The *Lingwai daida* was written after he returned from Guilin. As you will read in the preface, he was influenced by Fan Chengda's work, *Guilai yuheng zhi*, and his writings were drawn from what he had seen and heard during his career. The *Lingwai daida* is made up of 294 sections. Dealing with people and answering their questions about the Lingwai territories were wearing him out. As this book represents Qufei's attempt to answer people's questions, it was named *daida*. The original copy was divided into 20 chapters, but now there are only 19, as one was lost—it probably dealt with the military system. The prose of the various sections composition is very clear and detailed, and his descriptions are also very accurate, like the works written by Ji Han,⁷⁵ Liu

lished in 1999. He not only analyses Zhou's work, but also compares it to other geographical works, trying to identify place names. See Yang Wuquan 楊武泉, *Lingwai daida jiaozhu* 嶺外代答校注, Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 1999. It is the volume sixteen of the series *Zhongwai jiaotongshi shuji congkan* 中外交通史書集刊.

⁷⁵ Ji Han (263-306) was a writer of the Western Jin dynasty (Xiji 西晉, 263-316). His service as a high official in southern China (in particular as regional inspector of the province of Guangzhou) enabled him to study all the plants, herbs and vegetable products of Guangzhou and Jiaozhi. He compiled the three-volume long *Nanfang caomu Zhuang* 南方草木狀 (*Herbs and trees of the south*), with an accurate system of taxonomy. Unfortunately, the original manuscript was lost and probably the transmitted copy was a

Xun⁷⁶ and Duan Gonglu.⁷⁷ The author describes the facts regarding the Barbarian peoples (Yi 夷) of the southwestern borders of China. Since he gathered most of his information from the interpreters of that time, the characters and their sound (pronunciation) (sometimes) are inevitably wrong. On the other hand, the chapters dealing with the Bianshuai (Border Commanders), the Fazhi (Legal system and institutions) and Caiji (Wealth) fully make up for what the standard histories (dynastic histories) have not dealt with. Besides, local customs and products are also important topics of this work. *Shulu jieti*,⁷⁸ and other Song dynasty bibliographical treatises state that it was divided into 10 volumes. However, the *Yongle dadian* version was divided into only two volumes. In order to respect the original composition, it is divided here into 10 volumes. The ninth month of the 46th year of Qianlong (1781), edited by officials Ji Yun, Lu Xixiong, Sun Shiyi. Checked by official Lu Feichi.

The mid-Qing collectanea, *Zhibu zhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書 (*Collectanea of the Studio of Conscious Insatiability*) also mentions and includes Zhou's book⁷⁹. This abstract is quite similar to that contained in the *Siku Quanshu*. Below you can read it.

reconstruction from quotations of the Tang period. See Gou Cuihua 苟萃華, "Nanfang caomu zhuang tiyao 南方草木狀提要", in *Zhongguo kexue jishu dianji tonghui* 中國科學技術典籍通彙, *Shengwu juan* 生物卷, 1, edited by Ren Jiyu 任繼愈, Gou Cuihua 苟萃華, Henan jiaoyu chubanshe, Zhengzhou, 1993, pp. 47-49.

⁷⁶ Liu Xun was a writer of the late Tang dynasty. He held a post in Guangzhou during the reign of Emperor Zhaozong (889-904). He was the author of the *Lingbiao lu yi* 嶺表錄異 (*Records of Extraordinary Things from Lingbiao*), the earliest work on the geography and customs of the Lingnan area (Liang Guang, that is to say Guangzhou and Guangxi provinces). The original book was lost, but extensive fragments are found in later works. The *Siku Quanshu* version was copied from *Yongle Dadian* one. See Zheng Jinsheng, Nalini Kirk, Paul D. Buell and Paul U. Umschuld, *Dictionary of the Ben Cao Gang Mu, 3: Persons and Literary Sources*, University of California Press, Oakland, 2018, pp. 288 and 301.

⁷⁷ Duan Gonglu was an imperial official during the late Tang dynasty. He served as District Defender (*xianwei* 縣尉) in Jingzhou, today Xi'An in Shaanxi province. While he was traveling in the Lingnan area he recorded his experiences to create in 871 the *Beihu lu* 北戶錄 (*Records from the Beihu*). It contains descriptions of plants, animals and local customs of the territory called *Beixianghu* (The place of the northern echoes), which indicated the five mountains in the area of the provinces of Hunan, Jiangxi, Gulin and Guangdong. He provided information about more than 20 different plants and more than 20 animals which were typical of those territories and not to be found in other places of China. See Zheng Jinsheng et al., *Dictionary of the Ben Cao Gang Mu*, pp. 37 and 117.

⁷⁸ *Zhizhai Shulu jieti* was a bibliographical work written by Chen Zhensun during the Song dynasty.

⁷⁹ The *Zhibu zhai congshu* was compiled by Qing scholar Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博 (1728-1814) and his son Bao Shigong 鮑士恭. It includes 207 books, divided into 30 collections (*ji* 集). The *LWD* was included under collection number seventeen.

《嶺外代答》。宋淳熙中桂林通判周去非撰。去非字直夫。永嘉人。隆興癸未進士。書分二十門。今有標目者。凡十九。其一門。存其子題而佚其標目。所言則軍制。戶籍之事也。自序謂本范成大《桂海虞衡志》而益以耳目所治。錄存二百九十四條。蓋因有問嶺外事者。倦於應酬。書此示之。故曰代答。其書條分縷晰。視稽含、劉恂諸書。敘述為詳。所紀西南諸夷。多據當時譯者之詞。音字未免舛訛。而邊帥、法制、財計諸門。實足補正史所未備。不但紀土風物產徒為談助己也。馬端臨《文獻通考》作十卷。《永樂大典》所載併為二卷。蓋非其舊。今仍為釐十卷。列目如右。乾隆三十八年七月茲校上。

The *Lingwai Daida*, Song dynasty Chuanxi era, compiled by the vice-magistrate in Guilin Zhou Qufei. Qufei, also known as Zhifu, was born in Yongjia; during the 20th year of Longxing he passed the imperial examination. His book was divided into twenty volumes, but today there are only nineteen. We know what it talked about, but its title was lost. It probably dealt with the military system. According to his preface, he was influenced by Fan Chengda's work, *Guibai yuhong zhi*, and he wrote about what he had seen and heard during his career. His work is made up of 294 sections. Dealing with people and answering their questions about the Lingwai territories were wearing him out. As this book represents Qufei's attempt to answer people's questions, it was named *daida*. The prose of the various sections is very clear and detailed, and his descriptions also are very accurate, like the works written by Ji Han³⁰ and Liu Xun.³¹ The author describes the facts regarding the Barbarian peoples (方夷) of the southwestern borders of China. Since the majority of his information comes from the interpreters of that time, the characters and their sound (pronunciation) (sometimes) are inevitably wrong. On the other hand, the chapters on the *Bianshuai* (Border Commanders), the *Fazhi* (Legal system and institutions) and *Caji* (Wealth) fully make up for what the standard histories (dynastic histories) have not dealt with. Besides, local customs and products are also important topics of this work. Ma Duanlin in his *Wenxian Tongkao* states it was divided into ten volumes, but the *Yongle dadian* version was divided into only two volumes. In order to respect the original composition, it is divided here into 10 volumes, as follows. The seventh month of the 38th year of Qianlong (1773).

This abstract was written in 1773, eight years earlier than that of *Siku Quanshu*, dated 1781.

Apart for some sentence construction, the main differences of content between them are:

³⁰ See the note above, in *Siku Quanshu* abstract.

³¹ See the note above, in *Siku Quanshu* abstract. This abstract does not mention the scholar Duan Gonghu, that it's included in the *Siku Quanshu*'s one.

- 1) *Siku Quanshu*'s does not mention Ma Duanlin and his work *Wenxian Tongkao*, compiled during the thirteenth century;
- 2) *Zhibuzi Zhai Congshu*'s does not cite the Tang scholar Duan Gonglu, the work *Shulu Jieti* written by Chen Zhensun during the Song dynasty, and the other ancient bibliographical works.

For the present research I was able to consult different versions of Zhou's work.

I have based my research on the version included in the *Siku Quanshu*. Later, during my study in Beijing, I examined the version printed on the basis of the *Zhibuzi zhai congshu*. In addition, the rare books section of the library of Kansai University in Osaka has the *Lidai xiaoshuo bijixuan* 历代小说笔记选 (*Memoirs Selected through the Ages*) published in 1958 in Hong Kong. It is a collection of selected works written during Chinese dynastic history. A partial version of the *LWDD* is located in the third volume along with some other works from the Song dynasty. This version does not contain all the 294 sections, but only some of them⁸²; in particular it includes all the sections regarding the foreign countries, except section number 29, *Annanguo* ("Annan country"), 35 *Sanfoqiguo* ("Sanfoqi country") and 44 *Dong-nanhai shang zhuzhiguo* ("Various countries on the South Eastern sea"). There are two annotated versions of the *LWDD*, published in the 1990s: the first, published in 1996 and annotated by the Chinese scholar Tu Youxiang 屠友祥, is based on the Qing version of the *Zhibuzi zhai congshu*⁸³; and the second, published in 1999 and annotated by the scholar Yang Wuquan 杨武泉, is perhaps the most accurate version until now. He not only compares Zhou's work with several other earlier works, but also considers the hypotheses of foreign

⁸² *Lidai Xiaoshuo Bijixuan* 历代小说笔记选, edited by Jiang Shejing 江舍经. (Song 宋), volume III. Shangwu yinshuguan chubans, Hong Kong, 1958, pp. 465-500. In details, it contains the following sections: from section number 19 to section number 22 (included), from 30 to 34, from 36 to 43, from 45 to 52, sections 80, 96, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 109, 114, 115, from 136 to 139, from 147 to 153, sections 161, 163, 171, 172, from 176 to 205, 208, 209, 211, 212, from 215 to 223, from 235 to 237, from 246 to 248, from 250 to 254, 259, 261, from 263 to 266.

⁸³ Tu Youxiang 屠友祥, *Lingwai Daida Jiaozhu* 岭外代答校注. Shanghai yundong chubanshe, 1996. It is contained in the collection, titled *Song Ming Qing xiaopinwen jizhu* 宋明清小品文集辑注 (*Collection of essays of Song, Ming and Qing dynasty*). As the title shows, Zhou Qufei's work is considered as a *xiaopinwen*, "essay".

scholars regarding the difficult identification of some toponyms. Although his version is based on the *Zhibuzi Zhai congshu*, (like the previous one), he has also taken that of the *Siku Quanshu* and the *Biji Xiaoshuo daguan* into consideration⁸⁴.

Two other versions of the *LWDD* are in circulation but were not available to me. The version contained in the *Biji xiaoshuo daguan* 筆記小說大觀 (*Great Overview on the Brush Note Style Novellas*), a lithography printed in 1912 from the Shanghai Jinbu Press, in which there appears only the name Zhou Zhifu, written with different characters: 直甫, instead of 直夫, without mentioning the name Zhou Qufei⁸⁵. The second is the one contained in the *Congshu jicheng chubian* 丛书集成初编 (*The first edition of the encyclopedic compendium*), a collection of selected works written from the Song dynasty to the Qing dynasty⁸⁶.

In several instances where I met some translation problems, I have taken into consideration the two translations of the *LWDD*: the first, by the German scholar Almut Netolitzky in 1977, and the second by the Russian scholar Mark Yuryevich Ulyanov (Марк Юрьевич Ульянов) in 2001⁸⁷.

1.2.3. *The LWDD's structure*

The *LWDD's* structure is very complex. As shown in the table below (table 1.2.), it includes ten volumes and twenty-one chapters on vari-

⁸⁴ See above, Yang Wuquan, *Lingwai Daida*.

⁸⁵ The *Biji Xiaoshuo Daguan* (*Great Overview on the brush note style novellas*) is a collection of more than two hundred works, written from the Jin to the Qing dynasty. It comprises thirty-five volumes. The *Lingwai Daida* is located in the seventh volume, along with other Song works. See the newest edition: *Biji Xiaoshuo Daguan* 筆記小說大觀, Jiangsu Guanglin Guji Keyin she 江苏广陵古籍刻印社, Yangzhou, 1983-1984.

⁸⁶ The *Congshu jicheng chubian* (*The first edition of the encyclopedic compendium*) comprises ten categories and includes four thousand volumes and more than four thousand works. The first edition was printed in 1935, the second and more easily available one is that of 1985, printed by the Zhonghua Shuju.

⁸⁷ Almut Netolitzky, *Das Ling-wai tai-ta von Chou Ch'ü-fu: v. Landeskunde Südchinas aus d. 12. Jh.*, Wiesbaden, Steiner 1977. And Mark Yuryevich Ulyanov (Марк Юрьевич Ульянов), *Za Khrebtami, Vmesto otvetov* (Ling Wai Dai Du) (За Хребтами. Вместо ответов [Ling wai dai du]), Izdatelskaya firma "Vostochnaya literatura" RAN, Moscow 2001.

ous topics, organized into 294 sections⁸⁸. Every volume starts with a new chapter and includes a maximum of four chapters. Chapter length varies from a mere six sections (as in chapters 2, 7, and 13) to as many as forty-five (as in chapter 16). Section length varies too: some contain just a few characters, while others contain a thousand or so.

⁸⁸ *Jiao* 卷 has been translated as 'volume', *men* 門 as 'chapter', *dao* 條 as 'section'. Zhang Hui 張輝, *Songdai biji yanjiu* 宋代筆記研究, Huazhong Shifan daxue, Beijing 1993, p. 29.

Table 1.2. *LWDD*'s structure.

Volumes	Chapters	Sections
1	1. <i>Dilimen</i> 地理門 ("Geography")	1-22
	2. <i>Bianshuaimen</i> 邊帥門 ("Border Commanders")	23-28
2	3. <i>Waignomen shang</i> 外國門上 ("Foreign countries 1")	29-38
3	4. <i>Waignomen xia</i> 外國門下 ("Foreign countries 2")	39-52
	5. <i>Bingminmen</i> 兵民門 ⁸⁹ ("Soldiers")	53-64
4	6. <i>Fengtumen</i> 風土門 ("Local customs")	65-75
	7. <i>Fazhimen</i> 法制門 ("Legal system and institutions")	76-81
5	8. <i>Caijimen</i> 財計門 ("Wealth")	82-89
6	9. <i>Qiyongmen</i> 器用門 ("Utensils")	90-109
	10. <i>Fuyongmen</i> 服用門 ("Clothes")	110-119
	11. <i>Shiyongmen</i> 食用門 ("Food")	120-126
7	12. <i>Xiangmen</i> 香門 ("Perfumes")	127-133
	13. <i>Yueqimen</i> 樂器門 ("Musical instruments")	134-139
	14. <i>Baohuomen</i> 寶貨門 ("Treasures")	140-146
	15. <i>Jinshimen</i> 金石門 ("Metals and stones")	147-159
8	16. <i>Huamumen</i> 花木門 ("Flowers and trees")	160-204

⁸⁹ This is the lost title to which the preface of the *Siku Quanshu* version refers. See the above paragraph. According to that preface, Yang Wuquan believes it can be named *Bingmin*, "Soldiers". Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 130.

9	17. <i>Qinshoumen</i> 禽獸門 ("Animals and birds")	205-242
10	18. <i>Chongyumen</i> 蟲魚門 ("Insects and fishes")	243-254
	19. <i>Gujimen</i> 古跡門 ("Historic sites")	255-263
	20. <i>Manzumen</i> 蠻俗門 ("Barbaric Man customs")	264-279
	21. <i>Zhiyimen</i> 志異門 ("Oddities")	280-294
		294 sections

Despite Zhou's extensive use of Fan's work, the *LWDD*'s structure is more detailed than both it and many other contemporary works⁹⁰. The *LWDD*, in the chapter "Geography", deals with Guangxi's borders, administrative divisions and rivers. In the chapter "Border Commanders", it provides many details about public officials and intermediaries in the army. The two chapters "Foreign Countries" concern overseas territories which had trading contacts with the Chinese Empire, from Annan (Northern Vietnam) to Mulanpi (Northwestern Africa). The chapter "Local customs" deals with the weather, diseases and local traditions of Guangxi territories; the chapter "Legal system" concerns the selection of local officials, imperial exams and trade regulations. "Wealth" provides details on infrastructures, water transferal, the salt law, horses management and product circulation. In chapters "Utensils", "Clothes", "Foods", "Perfumes", "Musical Instruments", "Treasures", "Metals and stones", "Flowers and trees", "Animals and birds" and "Insects and fishes", Zhou describes natural resources, local products, spices, utensils, Guangxi flora and fauna. In the chapter named "Historic sites", he gives his readers information about the most interesting places in Guangxi province; "Barbaric Man's customs" deals with the strange customs and traditions of non-Han ethnic minorities. The last chapter "Oddities" deals with several religious

⁹⁰ According to Zhang Hui's studies, only a few Song works have the same structure as that of the *LWDD*. For a full discussion on this topic see Zhang Hui, *Songdai biji*, p. 29. For a more detailed comparison between Fan's and Zhou's works see Victoria Almonte, "Zhou Qufei's work and historical value", in *Italian Association for Chinese Studies, Selected Papers* 2, 2018, pp. 1-8; and the next section of the present chapter.

doctrines, divinations and strange things and tales. As this brief description of its contents shows, the *LWDD* can be considered one of the most detailed works concerning Guangxi province as well as other things, during the Song dynasty⁹¹. The similarity with the local gazetteers, which during that period began to spread, deserves greater analysis⁹². However, the first Guangxi province gazetteers were compiled and published only during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644)⁹³. The local gazetteers described all the aspects regarding local customs, products, animals and plants of a particular territory⁹⁴. They aimed at circulating knowledge throughout the Empire. In my opinion, Zhou's work reveals two common aspects with local gazetteers: its regionalism and its goal. Zhou collected notes about the province of Guangxi and then wrote his work in order to provide information and to teach people about that province.

Now let's take a look at the contents of the *LWDD*. The table below gives the titles of all its sections.

Table 1.3. *LWDD*'s sections.

Volumes <i>juan</i> 卷	Chapters <i>men</i> 門	Sections <i>tiao</i> 条
1	<i>Dilimen</i> 地 理 門 ("Geography")	22: 1. <i>Baiyue Gudi</i> 百 粵 故 地、 2. <i>Bingbian</i> 並 邊、 3. <i>Guangxisheng Bingzhou</i> 廣 西 省 併 州、

⁹¹ *Lingwai daida* is highly valued by different scholars as an encyclopedic work on the Southern territories during the Song dynasty. Ling Yan, "Du Lingwai Daida zhaji", pp. 51-56; Yang Dongfu et al., "Shilun 'Lingwai Daida' de zhongyao shiliao jiazhi", pp. 101-108; Yang Wujun, "Zhou Qufei yu Lingwai Daida", pp. 80-84.

⁹² James M. Hargett, "Song Dynasty Local Gazetteers and Their Place in the History of Difangzhi Writing", in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 56, 2, 1996, pp. 405-442. During the Song dynasty the local gazetteers became a real literary genre.

⁹³ The first comprehensive gazetteer for Guangxi, the *Guangxi tongzhi* in sixty volumes, edited by Huang Zuo, was published in 1532. The earliest extant local gazetteer for Guilin (which survives only in fragments) is the *Guilin jingzhi*, edited by Chen Lian, dated 1450. Hargett, *Treatises of the Supervisor*, Introduction, p. XXIX.

⁹⁴ For a more detailed study on the local gazetteers see Huang Weideng 黃華等, *Fangzhi xue* 方志学, Fudan Daxue chubanshe, Shanghai, 1993, p. 267.

		4. <i>Wuling</i> 五嶺、 5. <i>Huguangzhushan</i> 湖廣諸山、 6. <i>Guishan</i> 桂山、 7. <i>Guilin Yandong</i> 桂林巖洞、 8. <i>Lingyan</i> 靈巖、 9. <i>Lucongyan</i> 羅叢巖、 10. <i>Limushan</i> 黎母山、 11. <i>Guangxi Shuijing</i> 廣西水經、 12. <i>Zangkejiang</i> 特柯江、 13. <i>Lingqu</i> 靈渠、 14. <i>Guishui</i> 癸水、 15. <i>Longmen</i> 龍門、 16. <i>Xiangshan</i> 象山、 17. <i>Tianweiyao</i> 天威遙、 18. <i>Tianfenyao</i> 天分遙、 19. <i>Sanheliu</i> 三合流、 20. <i>Xiangbishu</i> 象鼻砂、 21. <i>Tianya haijiao</i> 天涯海角、 22. <i>Hu</i> 薺、
	<i>Bianshuaimen</i> 邊帥門 ("Border commanders")	6 条: 1. <i>Guangxi jinglüe Anfushi</i> 廣西經略安撫使、 2. <i>Qiongzhou jian Guangxilu Anfu Doujian</i> 瓊州兼廣西路安撫都監、 3. <i>Yongzhou Jian Guangxilu Anfu Doujian</i> 邕州兼廣西路安撫都監、 4. <i>Yizhou jian Guangxilu</i>

		<i>Bingma Doujian</i> 宜州兼廣西路兵馬都監、 5. <i>Rongzhou jian Guangxi-lu Bingma Doujian</i> 融州兼廣西路兵馬都監、 6. <i>Qin lian Xidong Doucun Jianshi</i> 欽廉溪峒都巡檢使、
2	<i>Waiguomen</i> 外國門 (Shang 上) ("Foreign countries 1")	10 条: 1. <i>Annanguo</i> 安南國、 2. <i>Haiwai Liman</i> 海外黎蠻、 3. <i>Haiwai Zhufanguo</i> 海外諸蕃國、 4. <i>Zhanchengguo</i> 占城國、 5. <i>Zhenlaguo</i> 真臘國、 6. <i>Puganguo</i> 蒲甘國、 7. <i>Sanfoqiguo</i> 三佛齊國、 8. <i>Shepoguo</i> 闍婆國、 9. <i>Gulinguo</i> 故臨國、 10. <i>Zhunianguo</i> 注輦國、
3	<i>Waiguomen</i> 外國門 (Xia 下) ("Foreign countries 2")	14 条: 1. <i>Daqingguo</i> 大秦國、 2. <i>Dashi Zhuguo</i> 大食諸國、 3. <i>Mulanpigu</i> 木蘭皮國、 4. <i>Xitian Zhuguo</i> 西天諸國、 5. <i>Xitian Nannihualuoguo</i> 西天南華囉羅國、 6. <i>Dongnan Haishang Zhuzaguo</i> 東南海上諸雜國、 7. <i>Kunlun Cengqiguo</i> 崑崙層期國、

		8. Bosiguo 波斯國、 9. Danman 聶蠻、 10. Sanfutuo 三佛馱、 11. Yaoren 徭人、 12. Xinanyi 西南夷、 13. Tongdao Waiyi 通道外夷、 14. Hanghai Waiyi 航海外夷、
	<i>Bingminmen</i> 兵民門 ("Soldiers")	12 条: 1. <i>Yan bian bing</i> 沿邊兵、 2. <i>Tuding Shubian</i> 土丁戍邊、 3. <i>Dongding Shubian</i> 峒丁戍邊、 4. <i>Tianzi jia</i> 田子甲、 5. <i>Dongding</i> 峒丁、 6. <i>Zhaiding</i> 寨丁、 7. <i>Tuding Baoding</i> 土丁保丁、 8. <i>Xiaoyong</i> 效用、 9. <i>Tuxuan</i> 土宣、 10. <i>Wumin</i> 五民、 11. <i>Dunong</i> 惰農、 12. <i>Sengdao</i> 僧道、
4	<i>Fengtumen</i> 風土門 ("Local customs")	11 条: 1. <i>Guangyou fengqi</i> 廣右風氣、 2. <i>Xuebao</i> 雪雹、 3. <i>Zhangdi</i> 瘴地、 4. <i>Zhang</i> 瘴、 5. <i>Wushi</i> 屋室、

		6. <i>Chaoju</i> 巢居、 7. <i>Tali</i> 踏犁、 8. <i>Zhuangtang</i> 樁堂、 9. <i>Songlao</i> 送老、 10. <i>Fangyan</i> 方言、 11. <i>Suzi</i> 俗字。
	<i>Fazhimen</i> 法制門 ("Legal system and institutions")	6 条： 1. <i>Zoubi</i> 奏辟、 2. <i>Dingni</i> 定擬、 3. <i>Shichang</i> 試場、 4. <i>Sheguan</i> 攝官、 5. <i>Nanhai Yifa</i> 南海役法、 6. <i>Changping</i> 常平。
5	<i>Caijimen</i> 財計門 ("Wealth")	8 条： 1. <i>Guangyou Caoji</i> 廣右漕計、 2. <i>Guangxi Yanfa</i> 廣西鹽法、 3. <i>Jinglüe Simai ma</i> 經略司買馬、 4. <i>Yizhou maima</i> 宜州買馬、 5. <i>Magang</i> 馬綱、 6. <i>Yongzhou Hengshan Zhai Bo Yichang</i> 邕州橫山寨博易場、 7. <i>Yongzhou yongping zhai bo yichang</i> 邕州永平寨博易場、 8. <i>Qinzhou Bo Yichang</i> 欽州博易。
6	<i>Qiyongmen</i> 器用門 ("Utensils")	20 条： 1. <i>Duanyan</i> 端硯、 2. <i>Bi</i> 筆、

		3. <i>Mo</i> 墨、 4. <i>Chaju</i> 茶具、 5. <i>Luobei</i> 螺杯、 6. <i>Yushan</i> 羽扇、 7. <i>Mandao</i> 蠻刀、 8. <i>Man jiazhou</i> 蠻甲冑、 9. <i>Man An</i> 蠻鞍、 10. <i>Man Nu</i> 蠻弩、 11. <i>Rong jian</i> 融劍、 12. <i>Li gong</i> 黎弓、 13. <i>Majian</i> 葉箭、 14. <i>Wuzhou tieqi</i> 梧州鐵器、 15. <i>Mulanzhou</i> 木蘭舟、 16. <i>Tengzhou</i> 藤舟、 17. <i>Kumuzhou</i> 剗木舟、 18. <i>Duo</i> 舵 (or <i>yi</i> 楫)、 19. <i>Manli</i> 蠻笠、 20. <i>Pili</i> 皮屨、
	<i>Fuyongmen</i> 服用門 ("Clothes")	10 条: 1. <i>Tian</i> 綫、 2. <i>Bu</i> 布、 3. <i>Yaobanbu</i> 徭斑布、 4. <i>Shuichou</i> 水綢 (or <i>shuixi</i> 水細)、 5. <i>Shuzi</i> 練子、 6. <i>Annanjuan</i> 安南絹、 7. <i>Tan</i> 毯、 8. <i>Jibei</i> 吉貝、 9. <i>Chongxi</i> 蟲絲、 10. <i>Poshan poqun</i> 婆衫婆裙、

	<i>Shiyongmen</i> 食用門 ("Food")	7 条: 1. <i>Jiu</i> 酒、 2. <i>Cha</i> 茶、 3. <i>Shibinglang</i> 食檳榔、 4. <i>Laozha</i> 老鮓、 5. <i>Yiwei</i> 異味、 6. <i>Zhaixu</i> 齋素、 7. <i>Shishui jieshui</i> 實水潔水。
7	<i>Xiangmen</i> 香門 ("Perfumes")	7 条: 1. <i>Chenshuixiang</i> 沉水香、 2. <i>Pengcaixiang</i> 蓬萊香、 3. <i>Zhegubanxiang</i> 鵲鴝斑香、 4. <i>Jianxiang</i> 箋香、 5. <i>Zhongxiang</i> 眾香、 6. <i>Linglingxiang</i> 零陵香、 7. <i>Fanzhizi</i> 蕃梔子。
	<i>Yueqimen</i> 樂器門 ("Musical instruments")	6 条: 1. <i>Pingnanyue</i> 平南樂、 2. <i>Yao yueqi</i> 瑤樂器、 3. <i>Yaogu</i> 腰鼓、 4. <i>Tonggu</i> 銅鼓、 5. <i>Guilinnuo</i> 桂林鼉、 6. <i>Baijin guyue</i> 白巾鼓樂。
	<i>Baohuomen</i> 寶貨門 ("Treasures")	7 条: 1. <i>Zhuchi</i> 珠池、 2. <i>Shezhu</i> 蛇珠、 3. <i>Pichenxi</i> 辟塵犀、 4. <i>Hupo</i> 琥珀、 5. <i>Chequ</i> 磲磻、

		6. <i>Longxian</i> 龍涎、 7. <i>Dabei</i> 大貝。
	<i>Jinshimen</i> 金石門 ("Metal and stones")	13 条： 1. <i>Shengjin</i> 生金、 2. <i>Danshashuiyin</i> 丹沙水銀、 3. <i>Lianshuiyin</i> 煉水銀、 4. <i>Yinzhu</i> 銀朱、 5. <i>Tong</i> 銅、 6. <i>Tonglü</i> 銅綠、 7. <i>Qianfen</i> 鉛粉、 8. <i>Zhongru</i> 鍾乳、 9. <i>Huashi</i> 滑石、 10. <i>Shiyan</i> 石黃、 11. <i>Shixie shixia</i> 石蠟石蝦、 12. <i>Shimei</i> 石梅、 13. <i>Shibai</i> 石柏。
8	<i>Huamumen</i> 花木門 ("Flowers and trees")	45 条： 1. <i>Gui</i> 桂、 2. <i>Rong</i> 榕、 3. <i>Shamu</i> 沙木、 4. <i>Yanzhimu</i> 燕脂木、 5. <i>Sileimu</i> 思櫨木、 6. <i>Binglang</i> 檳榔、 7. <i>Guanglang</i> 桃榔、 8. <i>Yezimu</i> 椰子木、 9. <i>Zhu</i> 竹、 10. <i>Lizhi Yuanyan</i> 荔枝圓眼、 11. <i>Hongyan caoguo</i> 紅鹽草果、 12. <i>Bajiao huixiang</i> 八角茴

		香、
		13. <i>Yuganzi</i> 餘甘子、
		14. <i>Shili</i> 石栗、
		15. <i>Shaoli</i> 杓栗、
		16. <i>Jiaozi</i> 蕉子、
		17. <i>Wulan</i> 烏欖、
		18. <i>Youzi</i> 柚子、
		19. <i>Baizi</i> 百子、
		20. <i>Teng</i> 藤、
		21. <i>Huateng</i> 花藤、
		22. <i>Danpingjiao</i> 膽瓶蕉、
		23. <i>Shuijiao</i> 水蕉、
		24. <i>Hongjiaohua</i> 紅蕉花、
		25. <i>Nanshancha</i> 南山茶、
		26. <i>Suxinhua</i> 素馨花、
		27. <i>Molihua</i> 茉莉花、
		28. <i>Shiliuhua</i> 石榴花、
		29. <i>Shijunzihua</i> 史君子花、
		30. <i>Tianse furong hua</i> 添色 芙蓉花、
		31. <i>Doukouhua</i> 豆蔻花、
		32. <i>Paohua</i> 泡花、
		33. <i>Mantuoluohua</i> 曼陀羅 花、
		34. <i>Junahua</i> 拘那花、
		35. <i>Shuixihua</i> 水西花、
		36. <i>Guomeihua</i> 裹梅花、
		37. <i>Yuxiuhua</i> 玉脩花、
		38. <i>Yuehe</i> 月禾、
		39. <i>Dahao</i> 大蒿、
		40. <i>Douguancao</i> 都管草、
		41. <i>Jucao</i> 姐草、
		42. <i>Tonggucao</i> 銅鼓草、

		43. <i>Shifa</i> 石髮、
		44. <i>Biancai</i> 圓菜、
		45. <i>Humancao</i> 胡蔓草。
9	<i>Qinshoumen</i> 禽獸門 ("Animals and birds")	38 条: 1. <i>Xiang</i> 象、 2. <i>Hu</i> 虎、 3. <i>Tianma</i> 天馬、 4. <i>Manma</i> 蠻馬、 5. <i>Guoxiama</i> 果下馬、 6. <i>Manquan</i> 蠻犬、 7. <i>Yuan</i> 獾、 8. <i>Bailu</i> 白鹿、 9. <i>Wei</i> 雉、 10. <i>Renxiong</i> 人熊、 11. <i>Shanzhu</i> 山猪、 12. <i>Huayang</i> 花羊、 13. <i>Mianyang</i> 綿羊、 14. <i>Dali</i> 大理、 15. <i>Fengli</i> 風狸、 16. <i>Yangshu</i> 仰鼠、 17. <i>Xiangshu</i> 香鼠、 18. <i>Shishu</i> 石鼠、 19. <i>Shexiang</i> 麝香、 20. <i>Lanfu</i> 懶婦、 21. <i>Shanta</i> 山獺、 22. <i>Shanfenghuang</i> 山 鳳 凰、 23. <i>Kongque</i> 孔雀、 24. <i>Yingwu</i> 鸚鵡、 25. <i>Wufeng</i> 烏鳳、 26. <i>Qinjiliao</i> 秦吉了、 27. <i>Feicui</i> 翡翠、

		28. <i>Yan</i> 鴈、 29. <i>Lingwu</i> 靈鵠、 30. <i>Guzao</i> 骨噪、 31. <i>Zhen</i> 鴒、 32. <i>Chunchong</i> 春虫、 33. <i>Chunzi</i> 鶉子、 34. <i>Douji</i> 鬪雞、 35. <i>Changmingji</i> 長鳴雞、 36. <i>Chaoji</i> 潮雞、 37. <i>Zhenji</i> 枕雞、 38. <i>Fanmaoji</i> 翻毛雞。
10	<i>Chongyumen</i> 蟲魚門 ("Insects and fishes")	12 条: 1. <i>Ranshe</i> 蝥蛇、 2. <i>Liumugui</i> 六目龜、 3. <i>Bidaimao</i> 鼈蟊瑁、 4. <i>Shan</i> 蟾、 5. <i>Xunhuangyu</i> 蜃蜺魚、 6. <i>Jiayu</i> 嘉魚、 7. <i>Heyu</i> 河魚、 8. <i>Zhuyu xiayu</i> 竹魚蝦魚、 9. <i>Guijiadie</i> 鬼蛟蝶、 10. <i>Heijiadie</i> 黑蛟蝶、 11. <i>Tianxia</i> 天蝦、 12. <i>Yu</i> 蜃 or 蚌。
	<i>Gujimen</i> 古跡門 ("Historic sites")	9 条: 1. <i>Shaoshi</i> 韶石、 2. <i>Qincheng</i> 秦城、 3. <i>Lüzhujiang</i> 綠珠井、 4. <i>Gufuzhou</i> 古富州、 5. <i>Tongzhu</i> 銅柱、 6. <i>Zhiqisi</i> 眇妃寺、 7. <i>Jiaozhi</i> 交趾、

		8. <i>Dan'er</i> 僮耳、 9. <i>Bingjing huoshan</i> 冰井火山。
	<i>Mansumen</i> 蠻俗門 ("Barbaric Man customs")	16 条: 1. <i>Mansu</i> 蠻俗、 2. <i>Liaosu</i> 獠俗、 3. <i>Ruliao</i> 入寮、 4. <i>Guajian</i> 掛劍、 5. <i>Xiumian</i> 繡面、 6. <i>Biyin</i> 鼻飲、 7. <i>Feituo</i> 飛駝、 8. <i>Tayao</i> 踏搖、 9. <i>Kuansai</i> 款塞、 10. <i>Muqi</i> 木契、 11. <i>Dabeng</i> 打鬻、 12. <i>Diya</i> 抵鴉(鴉)、 13. <i>Shiqi</i> 十妻、 14. <i>Juanban</i> 捲伴、 15. <i>Doubaima</i> 闕白馬、 16. <i>Yingmaoniang</i> 迎茅娘。
	<i>Zhiyimen</i> 志異門 ("Oddities")	15 条: 1. <i>Tianshen</i> 天神、 2. <i>Shengfo</i> 聖佛、 3. <i>Ningjianyi</i> 甯諫議、 4. <i>Wupopo</i> 武婆婆、 5. <i>Zhuanzhi Dawang</i> 轉智大王、 6. <i>Xinsheng</i> 新聖、 7. <i>Jibu</i> 雞卜、 8. <i>Maobu</i> 茅卜、 9. <i>Nanfa</i> 南法、 10. <i>Jiagui</i> 家鬼、

		11. <i>Tiaosheng</i> 挑生、 12. <i>Gudu</i> 蛊毒、 13. <i>Wangliang</i> 罔兩、 14. <i>Liuzhou wugong</i> 柳州蜈蚣、 15. <i>Guilin Honyao</i> 桂林猴妖。
Total	21 <i>men</i> 門	294 <i>tiao</i> 条

As the table shows, Zhou's work contains two chapters titled "Foreign Countries" (*Waiguo* 外國) and includes twenty-four sections: ten in the first chapter (*Waiguomen shang* 外國門上) and fourteen in the second (*Waiguomen xia* 外國門下).

The following chapter of the present work will focus on these two chapters and their translation.

1.3. The *LWDD* and Fan Chengda's *Guikai Yuheng zhi*

Zhou Qufei was influenced by Fan Chengda's treatise *Guikai yuheng zhi* 桂海虞衡志 (*Treatises of the Supervisor and Guardian of Cinnamon Sea*)⁹⁵. During his service in Guilin and Qinzhou, as already mentioned, he gathered many notes, but until he read Fan's work, he did not know how to use them. After reading Fan's work, he realized his notes were a precious source of knowledge regarding overseas countries and Guangxi territories. Therefore, he began to write his work in order to broadcast his experiences and satisfy the curiosity of colleagues and friends. Zhou, in his preface, wrote specifically that he acquired a copy of Fan's work and was inspired by it to write the *LWDD*. Besides, he showed his appreciation for his older colleague and friend by mentioning him eleven times in his work. Zhou called Fan *Shihu ju (shi)* 石湖居士, from the name of Fan's hometown, Rocky lake (*shihu* 石湖). For instance, in the chapter "Foreign Coun-

⁹⁵ For a complete English translation see James M. Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor and guardian of the Cinnamon Sea*, Washington press, Seattle and London, 2010.

tries 1", Annan section, Zhou states that during the appointment of Fan Chengda he used to organize and enrich his banquets for the envoys with presents, outclassing the other ceremonies⁹⁶. Or in the chapter "Wealth", in the section on the salt law in Guangxi, Zhou says that Fan had a great ability to manage economic resources. At the end of this section, Zhou calls Fan with the name Fan Gong 范公⁹⁷.

In this section, I summarize important information about Fan's geographical work and compare his work with the *LWDD*.

Fan Chengda was a poet and a government official of the Song dynasty; he was considered an academic authority on geography, especially of China's southern provinces. As professor Hargett has stated, he was not only an outstanding poet but also a gifted prose writer⁹⁸.

Apart from *Guihai*, he wrote three other travel diaries: *Wuchuan lu* (*Diary of a Boat Trip to Wu*), in which he describes his journey northward from Chengdu; *Lanpei lu* (*Diary of Grasping the Carriage Reins*), regarding his mission to the Jin dynasty capital in 1170; and *Canluan lu* (*Diary of Mounting a Simurgh*), about his journey to Guilin in 1173, and many *shi* poems that of his works are the chief interest of scholars.

Fan's career as public official spanned about three decades, from the mid-1150s to the mid-1180s, during which he spent most of his time in the provinces, first in Guangxi and Sichuan. His travel experiences and knowledge of local affairs and customs enabled him to write the earliest and most detailed account on China's southwestern frontier: the *Guihai Yuheng zhi*⁹⁹.

His work was written in 1175 during a trip from the town of

⁹⁶ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 59. The Chinese is: «时范石湖为帅。属威严以临之。而盛其饗宴馈遗。视绍兴二十六年礼遇颇杀。使者不敢较也»。In English: «When Fan was commander in chief, in his relations with his subjects he showed both strength and severity, but with a majestic approach, enriching his banquets with gifts, and outclassing even the ceremony (for the embassy) of the twenty-sixth year of Shaoxing (1156), and the envoys didn't dare to disagree».

⁹⁷ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 182. The Chinese is: «范石湖作帥抗疏請復官賣, [...] 其議遂定。然漕計優裕實范公之力也»。In English: «When Fan was commander in chief in (Guangxi) he objected and asked to introduce the government monopoly again, [...] at the end his request had been accepted. The economic surplus deriving from the water transportation was all due to the efforts of Fan Gong».

⁹⁸ Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, introduction, p. XV and XXX.

⁹⁹ Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, introduction, p. XIX.

Jingjiang (today Guilin district) to Chengdu, in Sichuan province. At that time Fan had already spent two years in Guilin as chief civilian and military officer of this administrative area. Since his work required him to be well informed about almost every aspect of regional affairs, he gathered a great deal of information and reported many facts.

According to professor Hargett, it is important to emphasize that Fan prepared himself for his journey south to Guilin by gathering information on the province from earlier writers, though all he was able to find were a few descriptions in poems by the Tang writers: Du Fu (712-770), Han Yu (768-824) and Liu Zongyuan (773-819)¹⁰⁰. Little information about Guangxi appeared in Chinese literary circles before the Ming dynasty, when the first gazetteers for the region were compiled and published: *Guangxi Tongzhi*, in sixty volumes edited by Huang Zuo, in 1532.

The *Guilai* was a geographical treatise, divided into thirteen chapters (called *zhi* 志)¹⁰¹, and focused primarily on the topography of Guangxi province and the commercial products of China's southern provinces¹⁰². The title is made up of three components, which require more explanation: the first is *Guilai*, an ancient toponym indicating the town of Guilin and the entire southern region; the second is the term *yuheng*, an office title during the Zhou dynasty indicating the government official who managed work in mountains, waterways, marshes and forests¹⁰³; the third component is the term *zhi*, which can

¹⁰⁰ Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, introduction, p. XXIX.

¹⁰¹ In the titles of Fan's thirteen chapters the term *zhi* appears as the initial word and is used as a verb, meaning "treatise on".

¹⁰² James M. Hargett, *On the Road in Twelfth Century China: The Travel Diaries of Fan Chengda*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 1989. Yan Pei 严沛, "Guilai Yuheng zhi jiaozhu 桂海虞衡志校注", (*Annotation on the Guilai Yuheng zhi*), Guangxi Renmin chubanshe, Nanning, 1986.

¹⁰³ In details, *yuheng* indicated the Supervisor of Forestry and Hunting, an abbreviation for *shan yuheng* 山虞 which in the Zhou dynasty designated local officials responsible for supervising the felling of timber and all hunting and trapping activities at each major mountain region in the royal domain. See Hucker, *Dictionary of Official*, p. 406, entry 4969 and p. 588 entry 8103. *Heng* 衡 is a combination of the titles *shanyu* 山虞 (Guardian of Forestry and Hunting), *chuanheng* 川衡 (Guardian of the Waterways), *zeyu* 泽虞 (Supervisor of Marshes) and *linheng* 林衡 (Supervisor of Public lands), and was used as a general designation of people who were regulated by such officials as itinerant workers in the woodlands and waterways. Hucker, *Dictionary of Official*, p. 590 entry 8132.

indicate many different varieties of prose texts, including geographical and even travel works¹⁰⁴. Fan used a direct, unadorned language, typical of classical Chinese prose (*gao wen*). His purpose was to convey information in an easily understandable way, not to compile a government document. All his thirteen chapters include a preface in which he provided background information regarding his personal experiences relating to the next chapter topic. He was careful to delineate the limits of his knowledge and writing, and highlighted his intention not to include information that usually appeared in gazetteers.

My research on Zhou's work led me to compare these two works using three criteria: regionalist aspects, structure (and taxonomy system) and contents.

Guilai, as the title implies, provides a more regionalist overview than Zhou's does. *Guilai*, as already mentioned, was a synonym for Guilin and its territories: Fan's treatise deals with practical management of rural life, and with natural resources, limited to Guilin's territories.

The *LWDD*, as already explained, enlarges its contents, providing details on the social, political, military, geographical, religious and commercial aspects of the Guangxi provinces, and describing foreign lands, with a substantial treatment even of Islamic ones too.

Another important difference between *Guilai* and *LWDD* is their length: the former has 10,000 characters and comprises a single volume, while *LWDD* has of 70,000 characters and comprises 10 volumes, so the contents of Zhou's work are much more detailed than *Guilai*'s.

As for their structure, as shown in the table below (table 4), *LWDD* reveals a greater completeness and cohesiveness than *Guilai*.

Guilai is divided into thirteen chapters with brief introductions. The *LWDD*, instead, comprises twenty-one chapters and 294 sections. Fan in his chapter titles inserted the term *zhi* before the names, as the verb 'regard something'. Zhou's chapters are titled *men*, added after the name.

¹⁰⁴ For a better treatment of the meaning and the usage of the term *zhi*, and of why professor Hargett translated it into English as "treatise", see the introduction to Hargett's translation, Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, introduction, p. XXXIV.

The following table shows *Guizhai*'s and *LWDD*'s structure with the translation of each title¹⁰⁵.

Table 1.4. *Guizhai*'s and *LWDD*'s structure.

	<i>Guizhai</i> : 13 Chapters	<i>LWDD</i> : 21 chapters
1.	<i>Zhi Yandong</i> 志岩洞: "Precipice and Grottoes"	<i>Dilimen</i> 地理門: "Geography"
2.	<i>Zhi Jushi</i> 志金石: "Metals and Stones"	<i>Bianshuaimen</i> 邊帥門: "Border Commanders"
3.	<i>Zhi Xiang</i> 志香: "Aromatics"	<i>Waigwamen shang</i> 外國門上: "Foreign Countries 1"
4.	<i>Zhi Jiu</i> 志酒: "Wines"	<i>Waigwamen xia</i> 外國門下: "Foreign Countries 2"
5.	<i>Zhi Qi</i> 志器: "Implements"	<i>Bingmingmen</i> 兵民門: "Soldiers"
6.	<i>Zhi Qin</i> 志禽: "Birds"	<i>Fengtumen</i> 風土門: "Local conditions"
7.	<i>Zhi Shou</i> 志獸: "Quadrupeds"	<i>Fazhimen</i> 法制門: "Legal system and institutions"
8.	<i>Zhi Chongyu</i> 志蟲魚: "Insects and Fishes"	<i>Caijimen</i> 財計門: "Wealth"
9.	<i>Zhi Hua</i> 志花: "Flowers"	<i>Qiyongmen</i> 器用門: "Utensils"
10.	<i>Zhi Guo</i> 志果: "Fruits"	<i>Fuyongmen</i> 服用門: "Clothes and articles for daily use"
11.	<i>Zhi Caomu</i> 志草木: "Herbaceous Plants and Trees"	<i>Shiyongmen</i> 食用門: "Food"
12.	<i>Za Zhi</i> 雜志: "Miscellaneous Items"	<i>Xiangmen</i> 香門: "Aromatics"
13.	<i>Zhi Man</i> 志蠻: "The Man (people)"	<i>Yueqimen</i> 樂器門: "Musical Instruments"
14.		<i>Baohuomen</i> 寶貨門: "Precious Goods"
15.		<i>Jinshimen</i> 金石門: "Metals and Stones"
16.		<i>Huamumen</i> 花木門: "Flowers and Trees"

¹⁰⁵ For the English translation of the titles in the *Guizhai* the author has relied on professor Hargett's translation. The *LWDD*'s titles are the author's own translation, unless otherwise indicated.

17.		<i>Qinshoumen</i> 禽獸門: "Animals and Birds"
18.		<i>Chongyumen</i> 蟲魚門: "Insects and Fish"
19.		<i>Gujimen</i> 古蹟門: "Historic sites"
20.		<i>Manzumen</i> 蠻俗門: "The Man people's customs"
21.		<i>Zhiyimen</i> 志異門: "Oddities"

As shown in the table above, in eight instances Fan's treatise strongly influenced the *LWDD* by its chapter titles:

1. *Zhi qi* corresponds to the *Qiyong* of Zhou's work;
2. *Zhi xiang* with *Xiang*;
3. *Zhi jinshi* is *Jinshi*;
4. *Zhi hua* in the *LWDD* becomes *Huamu*;
5. *Zhi qin* and *Zhi shou* have been combined in the chapter *Qinshou*;
7. *Zhi chongyu* corresponds to *Chongyu* in Zhou.

The taxonomy system is also different. Zhou's work has a better way of classifying information.

Here are some details of the entries in Fan's chapter titled *Zazhi*, translated as "Miscellaneous items".

The *Zazhi* chapter written by Fan included 22 entries, as shown in the table below (table 1.5.). Among them, the *Zhang* ("Miasma") and *Suzi* ("Vulgar characters") sections were inserted by Zhou in the *Fengtu* ("Local conditions") chapter, while the *Gui River* and *Lingqu* ("Numinous canal") sections were inserted in *Dili* ("Geography"), *Juanban* ("Abducting a partner") in *Manzhi* ("Man people customs"), the *Jibu* ("Divination with chickens"), *Tiaosheng* ("Bringing back to life, black magic") and *Gudu* ("Gu poison") sections in *Zhiyimen* ("Miscellaneous items"), the *Qincheng* ("Qin city") and *Tongzhu* ("Bronze pillar") sections in *Gujimen* ("Historic sites"), the *Sengdao* ("Buddhists and Daoists"), *Tuding* ("Local militia") and *Baoding* ("Security guards"), *Zhaiding* ("Stockade troops"), *Dongding* ("Settlement militia") sections in *Bingmingmen* ("Soldiers"), and the *Yuehe* ("Moon Croops") section in *Huamumen* ("Flowers and Plants"). In the

Fengtu ("Local customs") chapter Zhou inserts a section titled *Xuebao*. As this brief analysis reveals, the division provided by Zhou seems more logical and accurate. He copies seventeen entries and divides them into seven different chapters, according to their main topic.

Table 1.5. *Guhan's* chapter *Zazhi* and the division provided by Zhou.

Pinyin	Character	English translation provided by Hargett	Zhou's chapter
<i>Xue</i>	雪	Snow	in Chapter <i>Fengtu</i> Zhou inserted section titled <i>Xuebao</i> .
<i>Feng</i>	風	Wind	Not inserted
<i>Gui Shui</i>	葵水	Gui River	<i>Dilimen</i>
<i>Zhang</i>	瘴	Miasma	<i>Fengtumen</i>
<i>Guiling</i>	桂嶺	Cinnamon Mountain Range	Not inserted
<i>Suizi</i>	俗字	Vulgar characters	<i>Fengtumen</i>
<i>Wenshu</i>	文書	Written documents	Not inserted
<i>Juanban</i>	擄伴	Abducting a partner	<i>Manzhimen</i>
<i>Caozi</i>	草子	Fever	Not inserted
<i>Jibu</i>	雞卜	Divination with Chickens	<i>Zhiyimen</i>
<i>Qincheng</i>	秦城	Qin City	<i>Gujimen</i>
<i>Lingqu</i>	靈渠	Numinous Canal	<i>Dilimen</i>
<i>Chaozong qu</i>	朝宗渠	Chaozong Canal	Not inserted
<i>Tongzhu</i>	銅柱	Bronze Pillars	<i>Gujimen</i>
<i>Sengdao</i>	僧道	Buddhists and Daoists	<i>Bingmingmen</i>
<i>Yuche</i>	月禾	Moon Crops	<i>Huanumen</i>
<i>Tuding</i>	土丁	Local Militia	<i>Bingmingmen</i>
<i>Bao ding</i>	保丁	Security Guards	<i>Bingmingmen</i>
<i>Zhuiding</i>	寨丁	Stockade Troops	<i>Bingmingmen</i>
<i>Dongding</i>	洞丁	Settlement Militia	<i>Bingmingmen</i>
<i>Tiaosheng</i>	詭生	Bringing Back to life	<i>Zhiyimen</i>
<i>Gudu</i>	蠱毒	Ga poison	<i>Zhiyimen</i>

The comparison between Fan's *Zhi Man* chapter ("Treatise on the Man") and Zhou's *Mansu* chapter ("The Customs of the Man People") also makes evident the improved taxonomy of the *LWDD*. *Man* 蠻 is a

general term used to indicate southern tribes, considered by the Chinese as racially and culturally inferior. Despite the fact that the titles of these two chapters are almost the same, the contents are dissimilar.

The *Zhi Man* chapter is the longest chapter of the *Guilai*. In it, Fan inserts thirteen sections and not only describes the bridle and halter system for administering counties and settlements adopted by the Southern Song dynasty (*Jimi Zhoudong* 羈縻州洞)¹⁰⁶, but also notes five tribal names: Yao, Lao, Man, Li and Dan, and provides information about the Annan territory, the Jiaozhi country and the Dali State. Besides, in the last entry ("Foreign Lands") Fan mentions several toponyms of foreign lands: Zhancheng, Zhenla, Dengloumei, Xilan, Tufan, Dashi, Sanfoqi, Gulin and so on. In this chapter Fan merges together his knowledge about the Guangxi administration system, the indigenous tribes within China itself and foreign territories, while Zhou distributes these topics in a more coherent way in different chapters.

For instance, he describes the Yao and the Dan people in the chapter "Foreign Lands 2", in two different sections, respectively: *Yaoren* 瑶人 and *Danman* 蠻蠻. Information about the Li people is included in the chapter "Foreign Countries 1", in the section "Overseas Barbarian People: the Li people" (*Haiwai Li Man*). Whereas he devotes separate sections to all those territories beyond the Chinese Empire: the Annan section in the "Foreign countries 1" chapter, and the Jiaozhi section in the "Historic sites" chapter. He does not write a specific section focused on the Dali country, but he mentions it several times as a reference point to calculate the distance from one country to another¹⁰⁷. Besides, Zhou inserts specific sections about those territories, which Fan mentions only in the last entry of his *Zhi Man* chapter: Zhancheng, Zhenla, Xilan, Dashi, Gulin, Shepo, Sanfoqi are comprehensively described by Zhou in the "Foreign countries 1 and 2" chapters. Lastly, Zhou, in the chapter "The Customs of the Man People" (*Mansu*), inserts the sections *Laosu* 獠俗

¹⁰⁶ Zhou does not insert a section on the *jimi* system of administration, but mentions it in four instances: in the "Geography" chapter, the *Bingbian* section, dealing with the administration and the borders of Guangxi province; in the "Commanders in the border region" chapter, the *Yongzhou Jian Guangxi Anfu Doujiam* section; in the "Soldiers" chapter, the Dongding frontier garrison section; and in the same chapter, the *Zhaiding* garrison section.

¹⁰⁷ As in sections 31, 34, 42.

and *Mansu* 蠻俗, dealing respectively with the customs of the Lao and the Man people. It is worth to emphasizing that the *Laosu* section is largely copied from Fan's Lao entry written, and that in the *Mansu* section Zhou mentions his friend Fan as Fan Shihu and reports a fact about a particular prisoner¹⁰⁸.

Despite these differences, Zhou's and Fan's chapters reveal a common point: they both use the word Man as a generic term to refer to tribal or barbarian people, regardless of their origins. Zhou, actually, in his *Mansu* chapter, collects several customs concerning tribal people: those pertaining to the Lao people, Yao people, to the inhabitants of Annan, and so on¹⁰⁹.

In comparing the contents of these two geographical works, it is worth pointing out that in many instances Zhou's account provides a greater amount of new information on different items than *Guilai* does.

For instance, the "Food" (*Shiyong* 食用門) chapter comprises seven sections, the first one dealing with several types of wine produced into Guangxi province, titled "Wine" (*Jiu* 酒), while the *Guilai* contains a chapter (not a section as in Zhou), titled "Wine" (*Zhi jiu* 志酒) that influenced Zhou's choice. However, apart from this, Zhou's section and Fan's chapter have nothing else in common. Moreover, Zhou describes five kinds of wine, while Fan describes only three, but their descriptions too are very different. Here are some details.

Fan describes three wines: Auspicious Dew (*ruilu* 瑞露), Gula Spring (*gula quan* 古辣泉) and Vintage Wine (*laojiu* 老酒), while, in addition to these three kinds, Zhou also mentions *zhaozhoujiu* (昭州酒) and *baijiu* 白酒, respectively the wine from the prefecture of Zhou and white wine¹¹⁰.

In comparing Zhou's "Aromatics" (*Xiangmen*), "Flowers and Trees" (*Huamumen*), and "Animals and Birds" (*Qinshoumen*) chapter

¹⁰⁸ «范石湖作帥。捕姑以聞。南籍寢之。其後稍變». In English: «Since Fan Shihu was governor, he had him imprisoned, removed from office and exiled (banished). After that, peace returned». See also the German translation in Netulitzky, *Das Ling-Wai Tai-tu*, p. 189-190.

¹⁰⁹ As *Dijia* 筵筵, which describes one of Annan country customs. Or *Taiwu* 羅羅, which describes the wedding rite among the Yao people.

¹¹⁰ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 232.

with those written by Fan, it is worth noting that Zhou largely copied from Fan's sections. In particular, Zhou's "Aromatics" chapter contains seven sections, and mentions eleven different aromatics. Among these, six descriptions reveal that Zhou copied Fan's verbatim. For instance, the *Pengcaixiang* 蓬菜香 section was entirely copied from the *Guihai*¹¹¹. In addition, two sections, *Chenshuixiang* 沉水香 and *Jianxiang* 箋香, were partially copied from Fan's descriptions. In particular, the *Chenshuixiang* 沉水香 consists of 314 characters, 162 of which copied from Fan's section.

In his *Huamu* chapter Zhou mentions ninety-four kinds of flowers and trees, while the *Guihai* contains two different chapters, *Zhihua* and *Zhicaomu*, that deal with flowers and plants, and that include a hundred sections. Among these, Zhou copies verbatim twenty-two sections and partially copies forty-four. Just seventeen sections reveal some original contribution by Zhou (such as *dapingjiao* 膽瓶蕉, a kind of liana)¹¹².

Fan's work contains two chapters (*Zhiqin* and *Zhishou*) in which he has thirty sections regarding animals and birds. Zhou in his *Qinshou* ("Animals and Birds") chapter describes thirty-eight kinds of animals and birds. Among them, ten sections were partially copied from Fan's work (such as *guoxiama* 果下馬 or *huayang* 花羊), and five sections have different contents but the same titles (such as *kongque* 孔雀, *xiang* 象 and *manma* 蠻馬).

In the "Metals and Stones" (*Jinshi*), "Insects and fishes" (*Chongyu*) and "Precious Goods" (*Baohuo*) chapters the correspondences of the contents are much less notable. In detail, although thirteen sections of the *Jinshi* chapter have the same title as those in the *Guihai*, only three of them copy Fan's descriptions. The *Chongyu* and *Baohuo* chapters have nineteen sections (respectively twelve and seven), eight of which have the same title, though only two have a similar content.

The "Geography" (*Dili*), "Soldiers" (*Bingmin*) and "Clothes and articles for daily use" (*Fuyong*) chapters have a very few correspondences between their contents. "Border Commanders" (*Bianshuai*), "Foreign chapters" (*Waiguo*), "Legal system and institutions" (*Fazhi*) and "Wealth" (*Caiji*) have no similarity with any chapter of Fan's

¹¹¹ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 243.

¹¹² Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 325. Netolitzky, *Das Ling-Wai Tai-ai*, p. 149.

treatise. They are all characterized by their authenticity and attention to details. To quantify Fan's influence on Zhou's *LWDD*, the *Gulhai* influenced about 25% of the *LWDD* descriptions, including sections with the same title and content (such as *Pengcaixiang* in the "Aromatics" chapter or *Shiluhua* in the "Flowers and trees" chapter), and including those sections in the "Flowers and trees", "Animals and Birds", "Aromatics" and "Insects and fishes" chapters, which have the same title but dissimilar contents (such as *Yingwu* 鸚鵡 and *Feicui* 翡翠 in the "Animals and Birds" chapter or *Linglingxiang* 零陵香 in the "Aromatics", or *Shili* 石栗 and *Yuganzi* 餘甘子 in the "Flowers and trees" chapter).

1.4. The *LWDD* and Zhao Rukuo's *Zhufanzhi*

Zhao Rukuo lived between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, during the Southern Song dynasty. Working as the superintendent of maritime trade (*Shibosi*) in Quanzhou, the great port in Fujian, he had more opportunities than Zhou Qufei to speak with the people who engaged directly in foreign trade. Except for a little information contained in Chen Zhensun's *Zhizhai Shulu jieti*, we do not have enough references to make a precise reconstruction of his life. Chen, who also mentioned Zhou's work, said that the official working in the *shiboguan* 市舶官 (the office for the foreign trade) in the Fujian province, Zhao Rukuo, collected information about foreign countries that had trading relationships with the Song Empire¹¹³. He left only a single two-chapter prose work, *Zhufan zhi* (*Descriptions of Foreign Lands*)¹¹⁴. As the title itself shows, the author studied the various for-

¹¹³ The Chinese was: «諸蕃志 二卷，福建提舉市舶趙汝談記諸蕃國及物貨所出». Chen Zhensun 陳振孫, *Zhizhai shulu jieti* 直齋書錄解題, volume 8, Shanghai Guji chubanshe, Shanghai 1987, see the electronic version provided on the project Chinese text. See also Alexander Wylie, *Notes on Chinese literature: with introductory remarks on the progressive advancement of the art: and a list of translations from the Chinese into various European languages*, Paragon Book Reprint Corp., New York, 1964, p. 60.

¹¹⁴ For the annotated modern Chinese version of *Zhufan zhi*, see Feng Chengjun 馮承鈞, *Zhufanzhi jiaozhu* 諸蕃志校注, Quanzhou Wenku, Shanghai Cishu chubanshe, Shanghai, 2011. The first and until now the only complete translation into English with annotations is Hirth's and Rockhill's.

eign lands of the Song Empire, using the name *Fan* 蕃 to indicate the various non-Han people.

This work deserves special mention because it is an important source dating back to the Song that talks about the foreign people “beyond the seas” with whom China had direct or indirect contact. The first chapter (*Zhiguo* 志国) introduces the geography, people, and customs of those lands, and their relationship with China, while the second chapter (*Zhiwu* 志物) discusses the various products imported into China from foreign lands. Although he generously quoted from other people’s works (without citation)—such as dynastic histories, Du Huan’s *Jixingji*, Fan Chengda’s *Guihai* and Zhou Qufei’s *Lingwai daida*—he was able to supply a large amount of information directly from Chinese and foreign traders. Zhao was the first to provide the names and facts about many countries from south-western Asia, Africa, and the Mediterranean¹¹³. Hirth and Rockhill, who provided the unique English annotated translation of *Zhufan zhi*, gave full value to Zhao Rukuo’s account and to the rise and development of maritime intercourse between China and southern and southwestern Asia. They pointed out which sections he based exclusively on oral information furnished by traders, and which he took from Zhou Qufei’s work or earlier treatises. In any case, *Zhufan zhi* reveals the extent of Chinese geographical knowledge about foreign places. Zhao Rukuo’s work is better known in Western academy thanks to Hirth and Rockhill’s translation, but few scholars have studied the influence of Zhou’s *LWDD* on Zhao’s *Zhufan zhi*.

In this section I indicate and quantify the *LWDD*’s contribution to the *Zhufan zhi*.

In the table below, I provide the *Zhufan zhi*’s structure, with the English translation of every section’s titles, according to the Hirth and Rockhill version.

Table 1.6. *Zhufan zhi*’s structure with titles.

Volumes	Chapters	Sections
<i>Juan shang</i> 卷上 (Vol- ume no. 1)	<i>Zhiguo</i> 志 国 (“Coun-	1. <i>Jiaozhiguo</i> 交趾国: “Tongking” 2. <i>Zhanchengguo</i> 占城国:

¹¹³ Hirth and Rockhill, *Chan Ju-Kua*, p. 36.

	tries")	"Annam" 3. Bintonglongguo 宾瞳龙国: "Panrang" 4. Zhenlaguo 真腊国: "Kamboja" 5. Dengliumeiguo 登留眉国: "Ligor" in Malay Peninsula 6. Puganguo 蒲甘国: "Burma" 7. Sanfoqiguo 三佛齐国: "Palembang" in Eastern Sumatra 8. Danmalingguo 单马令国: "Kwantan" in Malay Peninsula 9. Lingyasijiaguo 凌牙斯加国: "Lengkasuka", Malay Peninsula 10. Foluoanguo 佛罗安国: "Beranang", in Malay Peninsula 11. Xintuoguo 新拖国: "Sunda", in Western Java 12. Jianbiguo 监篋国: "Kampar", in Eastern Sumatra 13. Lanwuliguo and Xilanguo 兰无里国、细兰: "Lambri and Island of Ceylon" 14. Shepoguo 阇婆国: "Java" 15. Sujidan 苏吉丹: "Central Java" 16. Nanpiguo and Gulinguo 南毗国、故临国: "Malabar"
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		17. Huchalaguo 胡茶辣国: "Guzerat"
		18. Maluohuaguo 麻罗华 国: "Malwa"
		19. Zhunianguo, Pengqieluoguo, and Nanni- hualuoguo 注犁国、鹏茄罗 国、南尼华罗国: "Chola Do- minion, Coromandel Coast"
		20. Daqinguo 大秦国: "Baghdad"
		21. Tianzhuguo 天竺国: "India"
		22. Dashiguo 大食国: "The Arab-Islamic empire"
		23. Majiaguo 麻嘉国: "Mecca"
		24. Cengbaguo 层拔国: "Zanguebar"
		25. Bipaluoguo 弼琶罗国: "Berbera Coast"
		26. Wubaguo 勿拔国: "Sohar"
		27. Zhongliguo 中理国: "Somali Coast"
		28. Wengmanguo 瓮蛮国: "Oman"
		29. Jishiguo 记施国: "Island of Kishi"
		30. Baidaguo 白达国: "Ba- ghdad"
		31. Bisiluoguo 弼斯罗国: "Basra"
		32. Jiziniguo 吉兹尼国: "Ghazni"

		33. Wusiligu 忽斯离国: "Mosul" 34. Lumeiguo 朮眉国: "Rum" or "Asia Minor" 35. Mulanpiguo 木兰皮国: "Murabit and Southern Spain" 36. Wusiligu 勿斯里国: "Misr", that is to say Egypt 37. Egentuoguo 遏根陀国: "Alexandria" 38. Haishang zaguo 海上杂国: Countries in the sea; Antuomanguo 晏陀蠻国: "Andaman Islands"; Kunlun Cengqiguo 昆仑层期国: "Pemba and Madagascar"; Shahuagongguo 沙华公国: Malay "Men of the sea"; Nureguo 女人国: "The Amazons" (the Countries of the Women); Bosigu 波斯国: "Besi" in Sumatra; Chabishaguo 茶弼沙国: "Djabulsa" or the Land of the Setting Sun; Sijialiyeguo 斯伽里野国: "Sicily"; Mojialieguo 默伽猎国: "Mogreb-el-aksa". 39. Bonigu 渤泥国: "Borneo" 40. Mayiguo 麻逸国: "Philippine Islands" 41. Sanyuguo, Puliluguo 三屿国、蒲哩鲁国: "Islands of Calamian, Busuanga, Palawan" (Philippine Islands)
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		42. Liuqiuguo 流求国: "Northern Formosa" 43. Pisheyeguo 毗舍耶国: "Southern Formosa" 44. Xinluoguo 新罗国: "Korea" 45. Weiguo 倭国: "Japan" 46. Hainan 海南: "Island of Hainan"; Rouzhou 瓠州, Changhua 昌化, Jiyang 吉阳, Wan'an 万安, Li 黎, wuhuo 物货 (products¹¹⁶)
Juan Xia (卷下) Volume no. 2	Zhiwu 志物 (Products)	1. Naozi 脑子: "Camphor" 2. Ruxiang 乳香: "Frankincense" 3. Moyao 没药: "Myrrh" 4. Xuejie 血竭: "Dragon's blood" 5. Jinyanxiang 金颜香: "Sweet benzoin" 6. Duruxiang 笃耨香: "Dammar" 7. Suhexiangyou 苏合香油: "Liquid storax" 8. Anxixiang 安息香: "Benzoin" 9. Qizihua 梔子花: "Gardenia flowers" 10. Qiangweishui 蔷薇水: "Rose water"

¹¹⁶ This section in Feng annotated version is contained in the second chapter (*Zhiwu*) and is divided into six subsections: Rouzhou, Changhua, Jiyang, Wan'an, Li and wuhuo. See Feng, *Zhuifan zhi*, pp. 116-121.

		11. <i>Chenxiang</i> 沉香 : "Gharu wood". It includes: <i>Jianxiang</i> 笏香 : "Gharu wood"; <i>suzanxiang</i> 速暂香 : "Su and zan gharu wood"; <i>huangshuxiang</i> 黄熟香 : "Huangshu gharu wood"; <i>shengxiang</i> 生香 : "Sheng gharu wood" 12. <i>Tanxiang</i> 檀香 : "Sandal wood" 13. <i>Dinxiang</i> 丁香 : "Cloves" 14. <i>Roudoukou</i> 肉豆蔻 : "Nutmegs" 15. <i>Jiangzhenxiang</i> 降真香 : "Laka wood" 16. <i>Shexiangshui</i> 麝香木 : "Musk wood" 17. <i>Boluomi</i> 波罗密 : "Jack fruit" 18. <i>Binglang</i> 槟榔 : "Areca nuts" 19. <i>Yezi</i> 椰子 : "Cocoanut" 20. <i>Moshizi</i> 没石子 : "Oak galls" 21. <i>Wumenu</i> 乌楠木 : "Ebony" 22. <i>Sumu</i> 苏木 : "Sapan wood" 23. <i>Jibei</i> 吉贝 : "Cotton" 24. <i>Yexindian</i> 椰心簞 : "Mats" 25. <i>Muxiang</i> 木香 : "Putchuck"
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		26. <i>Baidoukou</i> 白豆蔻 : "Cardamoms"
		27. <i>Hujiao</i> 胡椒: "Pepper"
		28. <i>Bichengqie</i> 草澄茄 : "Cubebs"
		29. <i>Awei</i> 阿魏: "Asa foetida"
		30. <i>Luhui</i> 芦荟: "Aloe"
		31. <i>Shanhushu</i> 珊瑚树 : "Coral tree"
		32. <i>Liuli</i> 琉璃: "Opaque glass"
		33. <i>Maoerjing</i> 猫儿睛 : "Cat's eyes"
		34. <i>Zhenzhu</i> 真珠: "Pearls"
		35. <i>Chequ</i> 砗磲: "Chequ"
		36. <i>Xiangya</i> 象牙: "Ivory"
		37. <i>Xijiao</i> 犀角: "Rhinoce- ros horns"
		38. <i>Wanaqi</i> 鼈纳脐: "Ca- storeum, civet"
		39. <i>Cuimao</i> 翠毛: "Kingfi- shers' feathers"
		40. <i>Yingwu</i> 鹦鹉: "Parrots"
		41. <i>Longxian</i> 龙涎: "Am- bergris"
		42. <i>Daimao</i> 蟠瑁: "Tortoi- se-shell"
		43. <i>Huangla</i> 黄蜡: "Bees- wax"

As the table shows, Zhou's influence is more evident in the first volume of *Zhufan zhi*, *Zhiguo*. In some cases, as we will see below, Zhao copied Zhou's descriptions verbatim. In the second volume, Zhou's contribution is less prominent, as I will highlight later.

I will first focus on the first chapter written by Zhao, *Zhiguo*, and its similarities with Zhou's descriptions of the two chapters on Foreign Countries, *Waiguo shang* and *xia*. According to their respective geographical sections, it is evident that Zhao mentioned fifty-eight countries, while Zhou mentioned forty. Only twenty-one countries occur in both works. This difference has helped scholars to identify how Zhou influenced Zhao's work, and to highlight the value of Zhou's geographical sections. Table 1.7, shows the extent to which Zhao quotes verbatim (or nearly verbatim) from the *LWDD*. In the second column these twenty-one toponyms are listed, based on the *LWDD* sequence. The third column lists characters used by Zhao, and the fourth those used by Zhou. The last column contains notes regarding the extent to which Zhao copied Zhou's sections.

Table 1.7. Comparison between Zhou's and Zhao's geographical sections.

	TOPONYMS	<i>Zhufan zhi</i>	<i>LWDD</i>	Notes
	Zhancheng	725	270	Low correspondence
	Zhenla	601	126	Low correspondence
	Pagan	105	118	Partial correspondence
	Sanfoqi	840	273	Low correspondence
	Shepo	742	163	Partial correspondence
	Gulin	139	180	Partial. In Zhao's work there is no section titled <i>Gulin</i> , but it is a sub-section of <i>Nanpiguo</i> .
	Zhunian	850	259	Partial correspondence
	Daqin	499	257	Partial correspondence
	Dashi	1,320	21	Low correspondence. In Zhou's work this section contains six sub-sections: <i>Malibaguo</i> , <i>Majiaguo</i> , <i>Baidaguo</i> , <i>Jizini</i>

				uo, <i>Meiluguduo</i> , <i>Wusiligu</i> .
	Majia	102	138	Partial correspondence
	Baida	194	129	Partial correspondence
	Jizini	193	121	Partial correspondence
	Meilugudun	145	85	Partial correspondence. In Zhao's work this section is titled <i>Lumeiguo</i> 廬眉國; he also mentioned the Meilugu 眉路骨 toponym.
	Wusili	63	69	Nearly verbatim. Zhao used two very similar toponyms twice: <i>Wusiligu</i> 勿斯離國 for Mosul (as in Zhou's section); and <i>Wusiligu</i> 勿斯里國, which probably meant territory in Egypt. Zhou did not mention this second toponym.
	Mulanpi	244	210	Nearly verbatim.
	(Xitian) Nannihualuoguo	146	92	Partial correspondence. In Zhao's work this is a subsection of <i>Zhurian</i> . He used the toponym <i>Nannihualuoguo</i> .
	Dongnan Haishang zhuzaguo	\\ <i>Haishang zhuzaguo</i> 海上雑國	\\ <i>Dongnan Haishang zhuzaguo</i> 东南海上諸雑國	Partial correspondence. Only the title is similar; Zhou and Zhao describe different subsections.

	Shahuagong	92	95	Nearly verbatim.
	Nürenguo	187	108	
	Kunlun Cengqi	116	135	Nearly verbatim
	Bosi	100	94	Nearly verbatim

As the table shows, in the descriptions of Wusiliguo, Mulanpiguo, Shahuagong, Nürenguo, Kunlun Cengqiguo, and Bosiguo, Zhao quotes the *LWDD* nearly verbatim, adding a phrase here or changing some words there. Eleven sections are based on descriptions taken from Zhou Qufei's work, but with added information supplied by Chinese or foreign traders. They are the sections regarding the countries of Pugan, Shepo, Gulin, Zhunian, Daqin, Majia, Baida, Jizini, Meilugudun, Nannihualuo, and Dongnan haishang zhuza. Among them only the Shepo, Zhunian, and Daqin sections are richer and more detailed than Zhou's. The Zhancheng, Zhenla, Sanfoqi, and Dashi sections contain no overlap with Zhou's sections, indicating they are based exclusively on oral information.

The six sections that Zhao copied verbatim from Zhou's work deserve more detailed analysis. Evidence of Zhou's important influence of Zhou is contained in the following table with its six similar descriptions. The main differences are in bold type¹¹⁷.

Table 1.8. Comparison between the six sections.

Toponyms	<i>Zhu fan zhi</i>	<i>LWDD</i>
1. Wu siliguo 勿斯離國	勿斯離國。其地多石山。秋露沆瀣。日曜即凝。狀如糖霜。採而食之。清涼甘腴。蓋真甘露也。 山有天生樹。一歲生果。名蒲芦。次歲生沒石子。地產火浣布。珊瑚。	有勿斯離國。其地多名山。秋露既降。日出照之。凝如糖霜。採而食之。清涼甘腴。此真甘露也。 山有天生樹。一歲生果。次歲生沒石子。 地產火浣布。珊瑚。
2. Mu lanpiguo 木蘭皮國	木蘭皮國。大食國西有巨海。海之西有國。不可勝數。大食巨龍所可至者。木蘭皮國爾。自	大食國西有巨海。海之西。有國不可勝數。大食巨龍所可至者。木蘭皮國爾。

¹¹⁷ For the whole English translation of these six sections see Chapter 2 of the present work.

	大食之陸盤地國發舟。正西涉海百余日方至其國。一舟可容數千人。舟中有酒食肆。櫓杆之屬。言舟之大者。莫木蘭皮若也。 國之所產極異。麥粒長三寸。瓜圍六尺。可食二、三十人。櫓重五斤。桃重二斤。香圓重二十餘斤。莧菜每莖可重十餘斤。其葉長三、四尺。米、麥開地窖藏之。數十年不壞。產胡羊。高數尺。尾大如扇。春割腹取脂數十斤。再縫而活。不取。則發臍脹死。陸行二百程。日暮長三時。秋月西風忽起。人獸就水飲乃生。稍遲則渴死。	蓋自大食之陸盤地國發舟。正西涉海一百日而至之。一舟容數千人。舟中有酒食肆。櫓杆之屬。言舟之大者。莫木蘭若也。今人謂木蘭舟。得非言其莫大者乎？ 木蘭皮國所產極異。麥粒長二寸。瓜圍六尺。米麥窖地數十年不壞。產胡羊。高數尺。尾大如扇。春割腹取脂數十斤。再縫而活。不取則羊以肥死。其國相傳。又陸行二百程。日暮長三時。秋月西風忽起。人獸就水飲乃生。稍遲。以渴死。
3. Sha huagong 沙華公國	沙華公國。其人多出大海劫奪。得人縛而賣之閩婁。又東南有野島蠻賊居之。號麻囉奴。商船飄至其國。群起擒人。以巨竹夾燒而食之。其賊首鑽齒。皆以黃金裝飾。取人腦蓋為飲食器。其島愈深。其賊愈甚。	東南海上有沙華公國。其人多出大海劫奪。得人縛而賣之閩婁。又東南有近佛國。多野島。蠻賊居之。號麻囉奴。商船飄至其國。擒人以巨竹夾而燒食之。賊首鑽齒。陷以黃金。以人腦為食器。其島愈深。其賊愈甚。
4. Ni- renguo 女人國	又東南有女人國。水常東流。數年水一泛漲。或流出蓮肉長尺餘。棋核長二尺。人得之。則以獻於女王。昔常有船舟飄落其國。羣女攜以歸。數日無不死。有一	又東南有女人國。水常東流。數年水一泛漲。或流出蓮肉。長尺餘。棋核長二尺。人得之。則以獻於女王。昔常有船舟飄落其國。羣女攜以歸。數日無不死。有一智者。夜盜船

	暫者。夜盜船亡命得去。遂傳其事。其國女人遇南風盛發。裸而感風。即生女也。 西海亦有女國。其地五男三女。以女為國王。婦人為吏職。男子為軍士。女子貴則多有侍男。男子不得有侍女。生子從母姓。氣候多寒。以射獵為業。出與大秦、天竺博易。其利數倍。	亡命得去。遂傳其事。其國女人。遇南風盛發。裸而感風。咸生女也。
5. Kunlun Ceng-qiguo 崑崙層期國	崑崙層期國。在西南海上。連接大海島。常有大鵬飛。蔽日移晷。有野鷄。大鵬遇則吞之。或拾鷄翅。截其管。可作水桶。 土產大象牙。犀角。西有海島。多野人。身如黑漆。虬髮。誘以食而擒之。轉賣與大秦國為奴。獲價甚厚。托以管鑰。謂無无系屬之憂也。	西南海上。有崑崙層期國。連接大海島。常有大鵬飛。蔽日移晷。有野鷄。大鵬遇則吞之。或拾鷄翅。截其管。堪作水桶。又有鷄。身項長六七尺。有翼能飛。但不高耳。食雜物炎火。或燒赤熱銅鐵與之食。土產大象牙。犀角。又海島多野人。身如黑漆。拳髮。誘以食而擒之。勸以千萬。賣為秦奴。
6. Bosiguo 波斯國	波斯國。在西南國上。其人肌理甚黑。髻髮皆糾。以青花布纏身。以兩金串鈴手。無城郭。其王早朝。以虎皮蒙炕。疊足坐。群下膜拜而還。出則乘軟兜。或騎象。從者百餘人。執劍呵護。食餅。肉。飯。盛以甕器。掬而啗之。	西南海上波斯國。其人肌理甚黑。髻髮皆拳。兩手鈴以金串。纏身以青花布。無城郭。其王早朝。以虎皮蒙炕。疊足坐。羣下禮拜。出則乘軟兜或騎象。從者百餘人。執劍呵護。食餅。肉。飯。盛以甕器。掬而啗之。

As the table shows, apart from some instances in which the order of the sentences and the characters are slightly different, the main content

of each section is the same. In detail, there are three important instances in which Zhao descriptions contain more information than Zhou's and two noteworthy instances in which the latter provides more details than Zhao does.

When Zhao describes the land of Mulanpi (the northwestern coast of Africa), he adds a phrase about the melon and some details regarding other fruits (like pomegranates and peaches), that Zhou does not mention at all¹¹⁸. In the section on the lands of women (Nürenguo) the first part is a quotation from Zhou, while the second is entirely Zhao's. It describes another country inhabited by women, situated in the Western Ocean¹¹⁹. This an important point because, according to other Chinese sources, there were many female lands in different territories. Zhao's description reveals a deeper knowledge of those lands than Zhou's¹²⁰.

The third instance in which Zhao adds information is in the Kunlun Cengqiguo (Eastern coast of Africa, Madagascar island) section, where he says that the savages were caught and carried off into slavery to the Dashi countries, to be used as gatekeepers¹²¹. Zhou does not mention the destination of those savages sold as slaves. It is important to be aware of the fact that the Arabs caught them and sold them in Arab countries, because it reveals the prominent role that the Arabs already played in the Indian Ocean territory during the eleventh century.

In the Shahuagong (territory in the Malay peninsula) section there is only one difference, where he describes the islands inhabited by savages called *Maluonu*: Zhou mentions the toponym Jinfoguo (the country of Jinfo) or Foguo (the country of Fo), while Zhao omits it en-

¹¹⁸ Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua*, p. 142.

¹¹⁹ Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua*, p. 151.

¹²⁰ There is a long tradition linked to the description of the Country of Women or, better, of the Countries of Women. The French sinologist Paul Pelliot, in his analysis of the work of Marco Polo, divides the chapter concerning the Country of Females into five sections, each of them devoted to a different Country of Women (Nüguo) found in Chinese sources and placed in different territories: one in northwest China, one in northeast China, one in northeast and northwest Tibet, and a Indochinese and an Indonesian one. He states that it is important to treat the various Countries of Women separately, in an attempt to compare Islamic sources with those in Chinese literature. Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, 2, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1959, p. 675.

¹²¹ Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua*, p. 149.

tirely¹²². The second remarkable case in which Zhou's description is more detailed than Zhao's is in the section on the land of Kunlun Cengqi. Zhao does not copy the information about a strange animal called a camel-crane (*luotuohe*)¹²³. Zhao actually copies this data in another section, not mentioned by Zhou, on the land of Pipaluo (the Berber coast), where this animal (probably an ostrich) was found¹²⁴.

Zhou's contribution is also important in Zhao's second chapter, called *Zhiwu*, in which he describes about forty-seven products (including animals, trees and plants, different kinds of wood and perfumes) imported from foreign countries to the Song empire. Among these products, just a few were not mentioned by Zhou: *jinyanxiang* 金顏香 (sweet benzoin), *wumenmu* 烏楠木 (ebony wood), *yezindan* 椰心簞 (mats made from a vine plant), *bidengqie* 簞澄茄 (cubeb, piper cubeba, tailed pepper or Java pepper), *luhui* 蘆薈 (aloe). Actually, Zhou had mentioned the second product, *wumenmu* 烏楠木, in the section titled *Yi* ("Helm") in the chapter called *Qiyong* ("Utensils"), where he describes the different kinds of wood used for building ships' helms. He does not use the name *wumenmu* 烏楠木, but rather *wulanmu* 烏婪木¹²⁵.

The sections on *longxian* 龍涎 ("Ambergris") and *yingwu* 鸚鵡 ("Parrots") were copied verbatim from Zhou's, which are longer and more detailed than Zhao's.

Binglang 檳榔 ("Areca nuts"), *Yezimu* 椰子木 ("Cocoanut"), and *Jibei* 吉貝 ("Cotton") show great similarities with Zhou's descriptions. In particular, the whole section on *yezimu*, except for the last phrase, is quoted from the *LWDD*'s section, and the whole first part of the *Jibei* section is substantially quoted from Zhou, who provides a much longer description of this product.

Chenxiang 沉香 ("Gharu wood") was also partially copied by Zhou's section called *Chenshuixiang* 沉水香.

¹²² There are different hypotheses on the identification of this territory. See Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua*, p. 150. Yang, *Lingwai Daida* p. 112.

¹²³ Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua*, p. 149.

¹²⁴ Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua*, p. 129.

¹²⁵ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 219. Feng, *Zhushan zhi*, p. 94. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-Kua*, p. 216. Hirth and Rockhill use the Chinese name *wumenzi* 烏楠子, instead of *wumenmu* 烏楠木.

Zhao's remaining sections do not display a significant reliance on Zhou's work.

The following table compares the descriptions of the above-mentioned products both in Zhao's and in Zhou's work.

Table 1.9. Comparison between some sections of Zhou and Zhao.

Products	<i>Zhufan zhi</i>	<i>LWDD</i>
<i>Longxian</i> 龍涎 "Ambergris" ⁽¹²⁶⁾	大食西海多龍。枕石一睡。涎沫浮水。積而能堅。蛟人採之。以為至寶。新者色白。稍久則紫。甚久則黑。不薰不腐。似浮石而輕也。人云龍涎有異香。或云龍涎氣腥。能發眾香。皆非也。龍涎於香。本無損益。但能聚煙耳。和香而真用龍涎焚之。一縷舉燧浮空。結而不散。座客可用一剪分煙縷。此其所以然者。屬氣樓台之餘烈也。	大食西海多龍。枕石一睡。涎沫浮水。積而能堅。蛟人採之。以為至寶。新者色白。稍久則紫。甚久則黑。因至番馬嘗見之。不薰不腐。似浮石而輕也。人云龍涎有異香。或云龍涎氣腥。能發眾香。皆非也。龍涎於香。卒無損益。但能聚烈耳。和香而用真龍涎。焚之一縷。眾烟浮空。結而不散。座客可用一剪分烟縷。此其所以然者。屬氣樓臺之餘烈也。
<i>Yinguo</i> 鸚鵡 ("Parrots" ⁽¹²⁷⁾)	鸚鵡。產占城。有五色。唐太宗時。環王所獻是也。案傳謂能拆寒。有詔遣之。環王國。即占城也。欽州有白鸚鵡。紅鸚鵡。大如小娥。羽毛有粉如蝴蝶翅。謂之白鸚鵡。其色正紅。尾如烏鶯之尾。謂之紅鸚鵡。	占城產五色鸚鵡。唐太宗時。環王所獻是也。案《傳》謂能拆寒。有詔遣之。環王國即占城也。余在欽。嘗于蠡守見白鸚鵡。紅鸚鵡。白鸚鵡大如小鶻。羽毛有粉。如蝴蝶翅。紅鸚鵡其色正紅。尾如

⁽¹²⁶⁾ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 266. Feng, *Zhufan zhi*, p. 114.

⁽¹²⁷⁾ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 368. Feng, *Zhufan zhi*, p. 113.

		鳥鳶之尾，然皆不能言。徒有其表爾。欽州富有鸛哥，頗慧易教。土人不復雅好。唯福建人在欽者，時或教之歌詩，乃真成聞音。此禽南州羣飛如野鳥，舉網掩羣，皆以為詐，物之不幸如此！
<i>Binglang</i> 檳榔 ("Areca nuts"⁽¹²⁸⁾)	檳榔，產諸番國及海南四州，交趾亦有之。木如棕櫚，結子葉間如柳條，顆顆叢綴其上。春取之，為軟檳榔，俗號檳榔鮮，極可口。夏秋採而乾之，為米檳榔，漬之以鹽，為鹽檳榔。小而尖者，為雞心檳榔；大而扁者，為大腹子，食之可以下氣。三佛齊取其汁為酒，商舶同販泉、廣，稅務歲收數萬緡。性海南最多。鮮檳榔、鹽檳榔皆出海南，雞心、大腹子多出麻逸。	檳榔生海南黎峒，亦產交趾。木如棕櫚，結子葉間如柳條，顆顆叢綴其上。春取之為軟檳榔，極可口；夏秋採而乾之為米檳榔，漬之以鹽為鹽檳榔；小而尖者為雞心檳榔；大而扁者為大腹子。悉下氣藥也。海南販之，瓊管收其征，歲計居什之伍。廣州稅務收檳榔稅，歲數萬緡。推是，則諸處所收，與人之所取，不可勝計矣。
<i>Yezimu</i> 椰子木 ("Cocunut"⁽¹²⁹⁾)	椰子木身葉悉類棕櫚，檳榔之屬。子生葉間，一穗數丈，大如五升器。果之大者，惟此與波羅蜜耳。初採，皮甚青嫩；已而變黃，久則枯乾。皮中子殼可為器；子中瓤白如玉，味美如牛乳。瓤中酒，新	椰木，身葉悉類棕櫚，檳榔之屬。子生葉間，一穗數枚，枚大如五升器。果之大者，惟此與波羅蜜耳。初採，皮甚青嫩，已而變黃，久則枯乾。皮中子殼可為器，子中瓤白如玉，味美如牛乳。瓤中酒新者

⁽¹²⁸⁾ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 292. Feng, *Zhufan zhi*, p. 92.

⁽¹²⁹⁾ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 295. Feng, *Zhufan zhi*, p. 93.

	者極清芳。久則渾濁不堪飲。南毗諸國取其樹花汁，用蜜糖和之為酒。	極清芳，久則渾濁不堪飲。
<i>Jibei</i> 吉 貝 ("Cotton" ¹²⁸)	吉貝，樹類小桑。莖類芙蓉。葉長半寸許，宛如鵬翼，有子數十。南人取其莖葉，以鐵箸碾去其子，即以手握莖就紡，不煩績績。以之為布，最堅厚者謂之兜羅綿。次曰番布，次曰木棉。又次曰吉布。或染以雜色，異紋炳然，幅有闊至五、六尺者。	吉貝木如低小桑。枝莖類芙蓉，花之心葉皆細茸。葉長半寸許，宛如柳綿。有黑子數十。南人取其莖葉，以鐵筴碾去其子，即以手握莖就紡，不煩績績。以之為布，最為堅善。唐史以為古貝。又以為草屬。顧古，吉字說，草，木物異，不知別有草生之古貝，非木生之吉貝耶？將微木似草，字畫以疑傳疑耶？雷，化，廉州及南海黎峒富有，以代綿紵。雷，化，廉州有織匹，幅長潤而潔白細密者，名曰慢吉貝；換幅蠹疎而色暗者，名曰蠹（粗）吉貝。有絕細而輕軟潔白，服之且耐久者。海南所織，則多品矣：幅極潤，不成織匹，聯二幅可為卧單，名曰黎單；間以五采，異紋炳然，聯四幅可以為幕者，名曰黎飾；五色鮮明，可以蓋文書几案者，名曰鞍搭；其長者，黎人用以纏腰。南詔所織尤精好。白色者，朝霞也。國王服白氍，王妻服朝霞。唐史

¹²⁸ Feng, *Zhuifan zhi*, p. 96. Yang, *Lingwai Dadao*, p. 228.

		所謂白旣古貝、朝霞古貝是也。
<i>Chenxiang</i> 沉香 ("Gharu wood") or <i>Chengshuixiang</i> 沉水香 (as titled in Zhou¹¹¹)	沉香所出非一。真臘為上，占城次之。三佛齊、蘭婆等為下。俗分諸國為上下岸。以真臘、占城為上岸，大食、三佛齊、蘭婆為下岸。香之大概生結者為上，熟脫者次之；堅黑者為上，黃者次之。然諸沉之形多異，而名亦不一。有如犀角者，謂之西角沉；如燕口者，謂之燕口沉；如附子者，謂之附子沉；如梭者，謂之梭沉；文壁而理致者，謂之橫隔沉。大抵以所產氣味為高下，不以形體為優劣。世謂澄泥亦產，非也。一說：其香生結成，以刀修出者為生結沉；自然脫落者，為熟沉。產於下岸者，謂之番沉。氣噀味辣而烈，能治冷氣，故亦謂之薰沉。海南亦產沉香，其氣清而長，謂之蓬萊沉。	沉香來自諸蕃國者，真臘為上，占城次之。真臘種類固多，以登流眉所產香，氣味馨郁，勝於諸蕃。若三佛齊等國所產，則為下岸香矣。以婆羅蜜香為差勝。下岸香味皆猛烈，不甚貴重。沉水者，但可入藥餌。交趾與占城隣境，凡交趾沉香至欽，皆占城也。海南黎母山峒中，亦名土沉香，少大塊，有如藕葉角，如附子，如芝蘭。如茅竹葉者，皆佳。至輕薄如紙者，入水亦沉。萬安軍在島正東，種朝陽之氣，香尤醞藉清遠。如蓮花、梅英之類，焚一鉢許，氣鬪滿室，翻之四面悉香。至煤爐，氣不焦，此海南香之辨也。海南白旣得，省民以一牛於黎峒博香一擔，歸白差擇，得沉水十不一二。頃時香價與白金等，故客不販，而宦遊者亦不能多買。中州但用廣州舶上蕃香耳。唯登流眉者，可相類。山谷《香方》率用海南沉香，蓋識之耳。若夫千百年之枯株中，如石如杵，如拳如

¹¹¹ Feng, *Zhufan zhi*, p. 81. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 241.

		形。如奇禽。蛇。如雲 氣人物。焚之一鉢。 香滿半里。不在此類 矣。
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Regarding commercial contacts between Song China and foreign countries, Zhao's work certainly plays a remarkable role among Chinese sources. However, we should not underestimate Zhou's *LWDD*, not only because of its significant contribution on *Zhufan zhi* creation (as previously highlighted), but also because in some instances he was the first to provide ethnographic and geographical data never mentioned before in Chinese sources. Besides, as Zhou deals with many aspects regarding Guangxi province, the *LWDD*'s content is more extensive and thorough as compared to the other work.

The next chapter will provide the English translation of Zhou's sections regarding foreign countries, with some annotations that emphasize the similarities between Zhou and the Arab sources.

The Lingwai Daida and its geographical chapters

2.1. The twenty-four geographical sections and their features

In this chapter I will translate and analyze the descriptions of the two geographical chapters in the *LWDD*, in order to illustrate Zhou's concept of the world. The following table shows the twenty-four sections (with English titles) contained in these two chapters.

Table 2.1. Foreign countries' sections.

Volume	Chapter	Sections
2.	"Foreign countries I": <i>Waiguomen</i> (<i>shang</i>)外國門 (上)	10 sections: 1. Annanguo 安南國: Northern Vietnam; 2. Haiwai Liman 海外黎蠻: Oversea barbaric tribes called Li; 3. Haiwai Zhufanguo 海外諸蕃國: Oversea various foreign countries; 4. Zhangchengguo 占城國: Champa, Central Vietnam; 5. Zhenlaguo 真臘國: Southern Cambodia; 6. Puganguo 蒲甘國: Burma; 7. Sanfoqiguo 三佛齊國: South-western Sumatra; 8. Shepoguo 閩婆國: Java; 9. Gulinguo 故臨國: Kulam, South-

		ern India; 10. Zhunianguo 注犏國: Eastern India.
3.	"Foreign countries 2": <i>Waiguomen</i> (xia)外國門 (下)	14 sections: 11. Daqinguo 大秦國: Bizantine empire; 12. Dashi Zhuguo 大食諸國: Arab-Islamic empire; 13. Mulanpiguo 木蘭皮國: Mauretania, North-western Africa 14. Xitian Zhuguo 西天諸國: Pakistan and various countries of North western India; 15. Xitian Nannihualuoguo 西天南華囉羅國: Huchala territory in Indian peninsula Guzerat; 16. Dongnan Haishang Zhuzaguo 東南海上諸雜國: various countries on the south-eastern sea; 17. Kunlun Cengqiguo 崑崙層期國: Madagascar, Zanzibar and eastern coast of Africa; 18. Bosiguo 波斯國: Pasai or Bassei; 19. Danman 蜃蠻: the barbaric tribe of the Dan; 20. Sanfotuo 三佛駄: Sanfuotuo territory in Vietnam; 21. Yaoren 徭人: the barbaric tribe of the Yao; 22. Xinanyi 西南夷: the barbaric tribe of the south-western territories (in Guizhou), called Yi. 23. Tongdao Waiyi 通道外夷: the land route for the foreign countries; 24. Hanghai Waiyi 航海外夷: the maritime route for the foreign counties.

As shown in table 2.1., he first describes Indochina, starting from Annan (Vietnam), Pagan (Burma) and Zhenla (Cambodia), and then focuses on the islands of Sumatra and Java (the kingdom of Sanfoqi and Shepo). He sails across the Indian Ocean to the kingdom of Gulin (the southern coast of India) and Zhunian (the east coast of India). He describes what today are Pakistan, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and the Arabian Peninsula in the sections Daqin and Dashi, and North Africa and the Mediterranean Sea in the Mulanpi section. In the later sections Zhou returns eastward, describing the northern and western territories of the Indian Peninsula, then moves towards the Southeastern sea and introduces several other territories. With the toponym Kunlun Cengqi in section 45, he is probably indicating some territories on the east coast of Africa, and the toponym Bosi, in section 46, can be identified with a territory between Sumatra and southern Burma. Sections 47 through 50 focus on different tribes living near Guangxi or beyond Guanxi, in the territory of Vietnam. The last two sections (51 and 52) deal with different land and sea routes to reach foreign territories from the Song empire.

As this brief description implies, in some cases it is still very difficult to precisely identify the toponyms that Zhou uses. In fact, the identification of many of these countries is still under discussion.

The order of the countries contained in these two chapters is based on their cultural and geographical proximity to China. As the sections' sequence implies, these two chapters are quite different in their content. The first includes ten countries that are very close to the Chinese empire, both geographically and culturally. Each section explains the diplomatic and commercial relationships between the countries, and then describes local customs, weather, and goods. The second chapter describes fourteen countries that are further away and in less frequent contact with China's empire; the material collected here is less substantial and accurate. I can assume that in his two geographical chapters Zhou follows an imaginary line: from the nearest country to the furthest one. This "geographical line" is more evident in the first chapter, but it disappears in the second, in which Zhou describes many lesser known countries and often gives misleading information.

In my estimation, Zhou created a new kind of distinct section to discuss foreign countries in pre-modern Chinese maritime literature.

Its peculiarity is twofold: first, Zhou's descriptions mirror an innovative concept of the *ecumene*. Second, because of the expanded maritime contact of that period, Zhou doubtless needed to manage a larger and more complex and varied data system than those collected by his predecessors. Therefore, he created a new format in order to describe the new kinds of information he had to process.

In the microstructure of these twenty-four sections, three different parts can be distinguished. First, Zhou explains how to reach the country, then he describes the local customs (with attention to their social, religious, political, and commercial aspects), and finally he introduces local goods and the most important products.

In the following paragraphs, I will translate these twenty-four sections, also providing the parallel Chinese text.

2.1.1. Section 29. *Annanguo. The Country of Annan*

Annan is the first foreign country that Zhou describes in the first chapter on Foreign Countries. It stands for the territory of today Vietnam. Among the twenty-four sections, it is the longest and possibly the most accurate. Since Annan is very close geographically and culturally to the Song empire, and many earlier Chinese sources dealt with it before Zhou, he was able to provide several facts about this country, including its history, historiography, anthropology and geography. He also extensively reports on the many diplomatic missions by Annan's envoys to the Song court. Although in some cases the information seems inaccurate and misleading¹, the variety and the large amount of the data demonstrate that geographical proximity is directly proportional to accuracy of description and quantity of information. The closer the country was geographically and culturally to the Song Empire, the better able Zhou was to provide high-value information. As the following description will show, the Chinese empire, throughout the dynastic history, had political interests and expansionist ambitions against this country. It was considered weak militarily and was required to pay periodic tribute to the Chinese court, as one of its vassal countries.

¹ I compared the historical events reported by Zhou with the work of K. W. Taylor, *A History of Vietnamese*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013, pp. 51-99 and table p. 649.

The country of Jiaozhi was originally, during the Qin dynasty, the prefecture of Xiang.² Later, during the Western Han dynasty and during the Tang dynasty, it became independent,³ as I already talked about it in the first section (of my book), titled *Baiyue guli*.⁴ The country of Annam is divided into four districts (*fu*), thirteen prefectures (*zhou* 州) and three villages (*zha*). The four districts are called: Dahu, Datong, Qinghua and Fuliang; the thirteen prefectures are: Yong'an, Yongtai, Wanchun, Fengdao, Taiping, Qinghua, Yi'an, Zhefeng, Chelu, Anfeng, Suzhou, Maozhou and Liangzhou; the three villages are: Hetting, Dapan and Xin'an.

Generally speaking, Qinghua Zhefeng, Yi'an and Yong'an all face the sea, but Yong'an borders with Qinzhou, Chalu with Zhancheng, Suzhou and Maozhou with Yongguan. These countries to the east and to the west always have the Great Sea. To the east there is the Xiao river,⁵ you can arrive by sea to Qinlan. The overland route is to the west, through the territory belonging to the Baiyi, a barbarian people.⁶ To the south it must defend itself against the Zhancheng country, and to the north it must defend itself against the Yongguan country. Sailing south-west for one day from Qinzhou, you reach the prefecture of Yong'an, from Yushan, precisely in the village of Dapan, and by crossing Yongtai and Wanchun, you then reach the capital, which takes about five days. From the village of Yongping, travelling south on the river Zuo in the prefecture of Yong (zhou), you cross the border into Jilang county, and if you take the two tributaries called Wupi and Taohua, to Nanding river, also known as Fuliang, normally in four days you reach the country's capital, which is the homeland of Commander Guokui 郭瑰.⁷ Continuing southeast from the village of Taiping towards the south-east on the Danteluo river (today the Ping'er river 平河), you enter the Liang prefecture, and in six days you reach the capital. It is as if from the You river of the village of Wenrun you can enter in this country (the Annam country) and go around it. When they enter the capital of the country, the Jiao people are accustomed to saying "enter the cave (*ru dong* 入洞)", but my people (Chinese)

² The term *jun* 軍 during the Song dynasty stood for prefecture, intended as a territorial and administrative unit.

³ In the last years of the Qin dynasty, precisely in 204, following a popular uprising, general Zhao Tuo founded the reign of Nanyue and divided its territory (corresponding to North Vietnam) into two prefectures: Jiaozhi or Xiangjun and Jiuqin. Zhou refers to the fact that, between the two Chinese dynasties, the territory of Jiaozhi had become autonomous.

⁴ In English «The old places (intended as meeting points) of the Yue courts», Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 1.

⁵ Identified with the Beilun River, which currently divides Guangxi province from Vietnam.

⁶ This ancient term, *Baiyi*, refers to the ethnicity of Southeast Asia, called in Chinese *Tai-lao*, residing between northeast Laos, northwest Vietnam and southern Yunnan. See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 61 note 5.

⁷ In other versions a slightly different character is found for the second word, *du* 達. The name would then be Guoda 郭達. This was the name of the Chinese commander in charge at the southern borders of the Song Empire.

say, “go to the capital (*shang jing* 上京)”. What I know about this territory ends here, since my notes date back to many months ago, and there may be differences respect to the current situation.

At the beginning of the reign, there were some disorders. Dingkou 丁部 (or Dingbu),⁸ with his son, Lian 琰,⁹ led a mob and defeated a revolt. He was recognized by the mob as their leader, and he fulfilled his personal destiny in three years, when his son Lian became military commander *jiedushi*.¹⁰ In the sixth year of the *Kaibao* era,¹¹ Lian (Dinh Bo Linh) sent a dispatch to bring local products as tributes to the Imperial Court (of the Northern Song).¹² Lian was appointed to several offices: he became the *Tejin*¹³ *Jianfao*¹⁴ *Taishi* (Grand Master)¹⁵ and the inspector (*guancha* 觀察)¹⁶ for the military supplies of the Chongjing fleet, as well as the protector of the country of Annan and imperial censor, as well as the Supreme Pillar of the State (*Shangzhu-guo*)¹⁷ and the Duke of Jiyinjun;¹⁸ even today he is remembered for his extremely honest and obedient service. In the eighth year of the *Kaibao* era (975), he was recognized (by the Song dynasty) as prince of the prefecture (*junwang* 郡王) of Jianzhi.¹⁹

⁸ In the *Songshi* after the name Dingdouting 丁部頂 there is the character *zhe* 若. According to Yang, *Dingdouting* should be Dingbuling 丁部頂. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 64 note 16.

⁹ Probably it was Dinh Bo Linh who founded the Linh dynasty in 967 and quelled the rebellion of the warlords (945–967).

¹⁰ The title *jiedushi* (military commissioner) was a military title of great historical importance during the Tang dynasty.

From the tenth century onwards, the Khue family governed the territory of Annan almost entirely autonomously, sending regular tributes to the Chinese empire. Hucker, *Dictionary of official*, p. 144, entry 777.

¹¹ The *Kaibao* era corresponds to the years from 968 to 976, hence the sixth year is 973.

¹² See Arthur Cotterel, *A history of South East Asia*, Marshall Cavendish, Singapore, 2014, p. 84.

¹³ In English “especially advanced lords”, a prestige title for officials in the Sui and Song dynasties. See Hucker, *Dictionary of official*, p. 490, entry 6335.

¹⁴ It often occurs in a verbal meaning such as inspect, verify. Developed during the North and South dynasties, from the ordinary verbal sense into a prefix to a title used when an official holding one regular post was assigned on an irregular, temporary basis to carry out the functions of another post. By the Song dynasty, use of the term with titles seems predominantly to have signified honorary status. See Hucker, *Dictionary of official*, p. 146, entry 804.

¹⁵ *Taishi*, in this sentence, represents the real office assigned to Lian, namely that of Grand Master.

¹⁶ *Guancha* during the Song stood for a kind of inspector, *huys* 節度使.

¹⁷ It was one of the highest and most prestigious honorary positions for Chinese officials, originating from the ancient State of Qu. Hucker, *Dictionary of official*, p. 407, entry 4990.

¹⁸ In Chinese it should be *Kaiguo Gong*, Duke founder of the country. See Hucker, *Dictionary of official*, p. 290, entry 3388.

¹⁹ One of the focal points of Dinh Bo Linh's strategic policy was to establish and continue a peaceful relationship with the powerful China.

When Lian died (979),²⁰ Li Huan (Le Hoan) proclaimed himself governor illegally.²¹ In the country of Taipingxing, Huan organized a repression (a betrayal, seen from the eyes of the Chinese) to protect the territory of Jiaozhi (from the ambitions of the Chinese), and the defeated Song court abandoned its initial intentions and retreated.²² When Huan died (1005) his son Zhizhong settled on the throne.²³ In the third year of the *Dazhong Xiangfu* era (at the end of the year 1009),²⁴ Zhizhong died. His son was only 10 years old, and Li Gongyun took the last name Li, killed him, declared himself a direct descendant, and sent dispatches (to the Song court) to ask for instructions. He was officially assigned with the surname Li.²⁵ When Gongyun died, his son

²⁰ Zhou does not report the fratricide between Dinh Bo Linh's eldest son and the minor, whom he himself designated as official successor, which occurred in 979, before his father's death.

²¹ Dinh Bo Linh and his son were killed by an attendant. Le Huan was commander of the Ten Armies and a wise strategist, and after the assassination of Dinh Bo Linh and his son, he decided to ascend to the throne to avoid the return of the Song. He probably was an intimate friend of one of Dinh Bo Linh's wives, Duong Van Nga. He established the Le dynasty in 980, after a general of Jiaozhi, called Pham Cu Lang, before Queen Duong Van Nga, refused to fight for the young surviving heir (6 years old) and asked that Le Huan be crowned. He married the mother of the young prince and undertook a tough military campaign against both the Chinese Song and the southern rebels. For the latter he recruited his men of Jiaozhi, useful both for fighting and for road and canal construction in a region otherwise in the hands of barbarian rebels. Taylor, *History of Vietnamese*, pp. 53-54.

²² Li Huan was able to organize an effective repression against the Song, who refused to recognize his authority and decided to attack the territories of Annam. Starting from the ancient capital Dai (the present Hanoi) both through the military fleet and by land, the Song army succeeded in making the army of Le Huan move back southwards, to the capital Hoa Lu. Le Hoan, thanks to its military experience, was able to foresee this tactic and decided to prepare a trap for the Chinese army: in the Bach Dong river (North Vietnam) he had a series of poles prepared to prevent the passage of his adversaries. The Chinese army, because of the lack of support from the fleet, suffered another defeat. Le Hoan also took advantage of the previous experience of the leader Ngô Quyền. Thanks to their skill in 981, Le Huan was able to continue his reign.

²³ Li Huan had 11 natural sons and an adopted one. The first three remained at the royal court with their father, while the rest of them were sent to strategic positions. Zhizhong, known as Le Long Dinh, was a sadistic and dangerous despot who died after just four years, in 1009. It is also important to remember that Le Long Dinh, before he succeeded in ascending to the throne, after the death of his father Le Huan, had to fight against all his brothers, killing many of them. See Cotterel, *History for South East Asia*, p. 85. Taylor, *History of Vietnamese*, p. 58.

²⁴ The era *Dazhong Xiangfu* corresponds to the years from 1008 to 1016. The third year was 1010. Taylor, *History of Vietnamese*, p. 60. Two days after the death of Le Long Dinh, Ly Cong Uan was acclaimed king of Annam thanks with popular consent already largely prepared by the learned monks, educators of Ly Cong Uan.

²⁵ Ly Cong Uan (in Chinese Li Gongyun) was educated by one of the most eminent Buddhist patriarchs of the time, in the valley of the Red River, from Hanoi to the northeast, and very little is known about his childhood. During the reign of Le Huan he was part of the entourage of Le Viet, the third son of Le Huan. After the defeat of his protégé, thanks to the loyalty shown, Le Long Dinh assigned him to the imperial guards, of which he became com-

Dezheng²⁶ took his place, and after having defeated the uprisings (he had to fight against the rebellions of his brothers), he proclaimed himself as legitimate successor. In the sixth year Tiansheng (1028), he was appointed with the highest title of administrative commander in a border region²⁷ and with the title of prince (*junwang* 郡王) of Jiaozhi. At the beginning of the Baoyuan era, he was recognized as the king of Nanping.²⁸ On Dezheng's death, his son Rizun succeeded him (1054), proclaiming himself as the third emperor of the Li dynasty of the Dayue kingdom.²⁹ When Rizun died, his

mandar. When the cruel despot died, in the absence of other successors (Le Long Dinh had a young son, but he was not deemed worthy and able to govern), several officers, monks and court nobles had no doubt in choosing and supporting Ly Cong Uan's coronation. Ly Cong Uan therefore founded a new dynasty (called Ly) and began the golden age of Vietnamese history. The first thing he did was to send delegates to the Song court to inform them of the fall of the Dinh dynasty, no longer able to govern, and to request the approval of the Chinese empire. The support of the Song dynasty was considered, from the beginning, a priority of the Ly government. Ly Cong Uan was recognized as the vassal of China and the Ly dynasty always maintained peaceful relations with its Chinese neighbors. During his reign, he moved the capital to Dai La (renamed Thang Long, the ascending dragon) in present-day Hanoi. He worried about the economic strengthening of the region, the founding of the Military Academy to select people able to fulfill the duties public, the issue of a new system of laws and the expansion to the south, Champa. He also changed the name of the country to Dai Viet, in Chinese Dayue 大越. He died in 1028 after almost 30 years of reign, from 1010 to 1028, and bequeathed to his son and his nephew a country at the peak of its strength, also sustained by its Buddhist religion. Taylor, *History of Vietnamese*, pp. 60-65.

²⁶ Dezheng, in Vietnamese Li Phat Ma, in Chinese Li Tai Tong 李太宗, was the most vigorous and charismatic king of the Ly dynasty. He lived outside the imperial court, as he was sent by his father outside the walls of the imperial palace to better learn human behavior. He is remembered as one of the strongest, most intelligent and interesting kings in Vietnamese history, for the dynamism and precision with which he faced the various crises of his reign. Following the Chinese tradition, he gave six different names to the various stages of his reign. Taylor, p. 66. From a young age he began to fight in the border regions. He ascended the throne in 1028, succeeding his father. At the beginning of his reign he had to fight against two younger brothers and an uncle for succession to the throne. In the early years he took advantage of the councils of ministers inherited from his father's court, then reformed the governmental system, equating the royal family with government decrees, in the broad framework of an efficient bureaucratic system. Also, thanks to this, at his death in 1054 there were no internal struggles for succession. In 1044 Dezheng or Li Thai Tong invaded Champa and conquered it.

²⁷ The term *dahu* stands for protector general, an assignment to preside over subjugated foreign peoples in the border provinces, as an imperial delegate with vice regal powers. Hucker, *Dictionary of Officials*, p. 539, entry 7237.

²⁸ The title of king of the "Pacific Southern Kingdom" was actually granted by Shenzong to Rizun (Ly Thanh Tong) in 1067.

²⁹ Rizun corresponds to Ly Thanh Tong or Ly Nhat Ton, a wise and well-liked third emperor of the Ly dynasty, appointed official successor at the age of 5, and sent to study in the "eastern palace", just like his father Ly Phat Ma. Rizun reigned from 1054 to 1072. According to Chinese sources (also according to what is described by Zhou), Rizun or Ly Nhat Ton claimed the right to govern in the territory of Annam, without respecting the previous provisions of its Chinese neighbors. He also repeatedly sent Vietnamese soldiers across the Song

son Qiande took his place and called himself the enlightened king.³⁰ At the beginning of the reign of Qiande, power was in the hands of a minister and court counselor; General Li Changjie³¹ organized a trap (seen as a betrayal in the eyes of the Chinese),³² and Xu Boxiang, who was the official with the highest degree of imperial exams (*jushi*) in the prefecture of Bai in Guangxi, helped him, but he did not become an official of the prefecture.³³ (Li Changjie) brought (the Vietnamese troops) to the rebel territories and was able to conquer three prefectures: Yong, Qin and Lian. The Chinese court

borders to attack Chinese territories. This attitude, more aggressive than that of the two previous emperors of Annan, added to other contingent factors, led to the Sino-Vietnamese war of the seventies of the eleventh century. Ly Nhut Ton (Rizun) irritated the Chinese court by making changes, which apparently seemed trivial, but which seriously questioned the recognition of Chinese authority. Among his reforms, we find primarily the use of the Dai Viet toponym, in Chinese Dayue, purged of the term Co (in Vietnamese "big"). The Dai Co Viet toponym had first been used by Dinh Bo Linh in the 960s as a bilingual form between Chinese and Vietnamese. He also forced his troops to tattoo on their persons the term *tiencizibing*, literally "heavenly soldier" or "soldier of the son of heaven". Commonly the term 'son of Heaven' was attributable only to the emperor, exclusively Chinese. See the following paragraphs of the same section, in which Zhou describes this habit. Taylor, pp. 72 and following. One of the main concerns of Ly Nhut Ton was to give birth to an heir for his kingdom. This happened only after many years from the beginning of his rule and multiple peregrinations to the various Buddhist temples of the Jaozhi region. His son, Ly Can Duc (Qiande), was born in 1066 from a young mother, named Yi Lan, unaware of his future prominent role in Vietnamese history.

³⁰ Qiande, son of Rizun, was the fourth emperor of the Ly dynasty, from 1072 to his death in 1127. He succeeded his father at the tender age of 7, supported and advised by his mother, Yi Lan, and by the court counselor, Li Daocheng 李道成, in Vietnamese Ly Dao Thanh, a former advisor to his father Ly Nhut Ton. It was the most enduring kingdom in Vietnamese history (55 years). Ly Can Duc, from the first years of his reign, decided to depose the mother empress and to crown his real mother, Yi Lan. He also sent the wise counselor Li Daocheng (Ly Dao Thanh) away, to the benefit of military general Ly Thuong Kiet. In 1074, due to the crisis with the Chinese on the northern borders, the counselor was recalled to court to collaborate with the military general. This strategic cooperation, as will be seen below, led to the Vietnamese victory.

³¹ Li Changjie or Li Shangji (as in the Chinese text), in Vietnamese Ly Thuong Kiet, was a great Vietnamese leader serving in Qiande during the Sino-Vietnamese war of 1075-1076. He is considered a national hero and the author of the first "Vietnamese Declaration of Independence", composed to encourage soldiers to continue fighting against the Chinese invaders, already allied with Champa and the Khmer. Most likely he was not the real author, since, although a skilled military strategist, he was not a scholar or a man of letters. For more details on the Ly-Song war see Taylor, *History of Vietnam*, pp. 80 and following.

³² Like some of his predecessors, Li Changjie exploited the morphology of North Vietnam and in 1076 ordered spikes to be placed in the Nhu Nguyệt riverbed to block the advance of the Chinese. In this way more than a thousand Chinese soldiers died. All this happened after the Vietnamese captured and purged the city of Yongzhou in 1075, following a 40-day siege.

³³ Xu Boxiang was a Chinese contact (informant) of the Song dynasty, inside the Vietnamese imperial court, who on being unmasked killed himself. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 65 note 26.

sent a request to Guo Kui, asking him to yield the country of Annam.³⁴ It was a surrender request. Due to serious human losses,³⁵ Kui agreed to retreat his troops. All these facts happened in the eighth year of the *xining* era (1075-1076). When Qiande died, in the country of Zhancheng, there was a "son born after the death of his father" (*yifuzi* 遺腹子), called Tianzuo, who agreed to ascend the throne.³⁶ During the 26th year of the *Zhaoxing* era (1156) they offered tributes (to the Song court). On the 30th year of the sexagenary cycle of Qiandao, the Chinese court asked the Guangxi commander-in-chief to go to Jiaozhi to buy domesticated elephants. Tianzuo decided to offer them as a tribute, without having to pay for them.³⁷ Tianzuo died before the tribute arrived at the Chinese court. His successor Longge did not warn (the Chinese court) and issued the tributes in the name of Tianzuo himself, conferring on himself the title of king of Annam.³⁸ When he was appointed as the king, he had a memorial prepared so that the name of his father Tianzuo should be remembered throughout the country. The (Chinese) court appointed Liao Qu with the office of Guangxi judicial commissioner³⁹ and ordered that he be sent to Guangxi as ambassador. Mourning was respected up to Qinzhou, and again Longge was recognized as king of Annam. This country had already taken advantage of its power starting from the third emperor Li Rizun (reign 1054-1072). Against what was already established (by the Chinese), he called his ancestor (with the appellation) *Taizai Shengwu*, literally the Divine and the Magnificent protector, he proclaimed himself King of the Duyue reign, falsifying the name of the year in *Tiankuang*, and continued giving himself 18

³⁴ Officially, the historical data report that the Vietnamese emperor Rizun proposed a ceasefire to the Song troops. They also accepted by virtue of the enormous human losses suffered in the two years of war. Guokui was the commander of the Song troops on the southern border, already mentioned at the beginning of this section. Taylor, *History of Vietnam*, p. 85.

³⁵ Zhou, actually, uses the term *dexi* 大疫, epidemic.

³⁶ Tianzuo was the sixth emperor, Ly Thien To, who ascended the throne in 1138, until 1175. Zhou does not name the fifth emperor, Ly Thun Tong or Ly Duong Hoan, who reigned from 1127 to 1138. He was adopted by his father Ly Can Duc, a few years before he died. Tianzuo (Ly Thien To) was the second son of Ly Duong Hoan, chosen to be heir as the son of a concubine of higher noble rank. What Zhou describes most likely refers to the fifth emperor, as he was not a direct son in the dynastic lineage. But the subsequent events obviously concern the reign of the next emperor, from 1138 to 1175. See Taylor, *History of Vietnamese*, pp. 93-98.

³⁷ In 1156 the Vietnamese court offered abundant tributes to the Song court. In addition to the ordinary tributes, there were also 8 horses and 5 elephants. See David C. Kang, *East Asia before the West: Five centuries of Trade and Tribute*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2012, p. 62. This piece is repeated twice in the same section. See below.

³⁸ Longge, Ly Long Trai (or posthumous name Ly Cao Tong) is the seventh emperor of the Ly dynasty in Vietnam, and reigned for 35 years, from 1175 to 1210. At the time of his coronation he was very young and for many years the kingdom was ruled by the regent To Hien Thanh.

³⁹ A variant or abbreviation of *Tudian xingou gongshi* 提點刑獄公事, judicial commissioner. Hucker, *Dictionary of Officials*, p. 497 entry 6473 and p. 495 entry 6445.

honorary names.⁴⁰ Qiande (who reigned from 1072 to 1127) (in the same way) came to the throne illegally. The Chinese court sent the official Guo Kui as a pacifier (mediator), and Zhao Xie assisted him.⁴¹ When they arrived on the Nanding River, Qiande begged them to retreat, and they accepted this.⁴² They have developed a system of laws, and although it appears very crude, both up and down (in the different social statuses), they live in peace. Every wife is called (is treated as a) queen,⁴³ and every child is called (is treated as a) prince. Each member of the same clan is called king, each head of each clan can have the right to succession, the other clans are called to support their successors (extra). Their officials have both internal and external tasks: the internal responsibilities include the administration of the country, and the chief of officials is called *Finguo Taiwei*, the highest official in charge of the country's military affairs,⁴⁴ or even First Minister; the external affairs consist of leading military troops, whose commander is called *Shumishi*,⁴⁵ or *Jinwu Taiwei*,⁴⁶ supreme officer in charge of military affairs, who leads all the troops. These names and positions are interchangeable (between them). There is (also) the judge for the protectorate of Annan (*dudufu*), who always deals with foreign affairs. If one wants to pursue a career in the army (troops), he sometimes proceeds by call, sometimes by talent selection, and sometimes by exams. There are 8 armies, including Yulong and Wusheng, all of which have the same influence, and each has 200 men. On the forehead they have tattooed a horizontal writing that says "Celestial army (or emperor's soldier)" (*tianzhibing*).⁴⁷ There are also Xionglue, Yongjian and nine other troops, useful for external delegations. Among their court buildings, the *Shuqing* palace and the *Tianyuan* hall are well known, whose construction is entirely an unauthorized imitation of [Chinese palaces]. There is also another palace, called the "Annan Protectorate chamber" (*dudufu*). The country of Annan has the most rigorous system of examinations. Normally one enters by taking exams, first as an officer, and it is said that one can rise to the rank of

⁴⁰ For more details, see Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 60 note 31. And Taylor, *History of Vietnamese*, pp. 72 and following.

⁴¹ As already mentioned, Guo Kui was the Song commander at the southern border. Zhao Xie was his assistant. Taylor, *History of Vietnamese*, p. 85.

⁴² Zhou refers to the surrender proposed by Ly Can Duc in the Sino-Vietnamese war for the borders of the two kingdoms, which had now come to a standstill, after countless human casualties on both sides.

⁴³ Here Zhou, perhaps ironically, refers to the fact that in the Vietnamese dynasties, women always played a prominent role. Each emperor chose a large number of wives to join in the government or simply to facilitate succession to the throne. Rizin or Ly Nhat Ton, named as many as eight queens. Taylor, *History of Vietnamese*, p. 73.

⁴⁴ Hacker, *Dictionary of Officials*, p. 485, entry 6260.

⁴⁵ A traditional title during the Tang and the Song dynasties, it was used to indicate the Prime Minister.

⁴⁶ Ancient imperial office indicating the official assigned to the security of the capital and the management of the imperial guards.

⁴⁷ This custom was initiated by Rizin, Ly Nhat Ton, who reigned from 1054 to 1072, as the first affront to Chinese authority.

writing statements for the court; then through another examination, one rises to the rank of Protector of Justice, then to that of chief of prefecture. Normally when one becomes an officer, he doesn't receive a salary, but is paid with a piece of land. In this way, everyone can cultivate his own portion and obtain the means necessary for subsistence. The soldiers once a month, in turn, in their free time, cultivate the land to make themselves self-sufficient. On the seventh day of the first lunar month, each soldier receives a salary of 300 and a piece of cotton. For every soldier once a month there are 10 bales of wheat. The first day of the first lunar month (New Year) they eat abundant wheat (cereals) and salted fish to entertain the troops. As within its borders (of the country of Annam) the land is very rich in grain, they use it as a favorite New Year's meal. On the fourth day of the first lunar month, the king hosts the various officials at a banquet. On the fifth day of the seventh lunar month there is a great celebration, in which all the people take part, the officials customarily give presents to the king, as if it were his birthday,⁴⁸ and the king on the next day organizes a big thanksgiving banquet.

A large bell is placed in front of the doors of the buildings so that the people can express their complaints.⁴⁹ The hands and feet of those who commit theft are amputated, as are those of them who try to flee from the country. The rioters and conspirators against the country are buried, with only their heads uncovered, and next to them a bamboo rod is planted to beat their heads. They are beaten to discourage them in future from entertaining any thought of rebellion. When people from *tanhai* 探海⁵⁰ of Qinzhou bring official documents to the prefecture of Yong'an, as they try to avoid spreading the news among the common people, they use some (specific) constructions as supply stations and quickly send (envoys) again across the border to keep the secret. This country customarily offers tribute (to the Chinese empire). When in ancient times they came to China from both Yongzhou and Qinzhou, they first sent a dispatch to negotiate, then transmitted the message to the administrator (official) and transferred it to the imperial court. If his arrival (of the ambassador) was allowed, a special envoy was sent to the imperial capital, otherwise not. In the old system, Annam's ambassador was stationed at Gaoli.⁵¹ In the year of Jianyan (the first year of the reign of Ganzong, 1127-1128) the Chinese capital was moved south of the Yangzi river (beginning at the Southern Song). When the emperor Li Tianzuo (kingdom from 1138 to 1175, Vietnamese name Ly Thien To) requested paying a tribute to the Chinese

⁴⁸ This event dates back to the reign of Ly Phat Ma, Dezhong (who reigned from 1028 to 1054), which followed the example of Li Huan, who in 985 began the tradition of celebrating imperial birthdays with large banquets. Taylor, *History of Vietnamese*, p. 65.

⁴⁹ This event took place during the reign of Ly Phat Ma, Dezhong, (1028-1054), precisely after 1049, in the last years of his reign, as a tool to help the people. Taylor, *History of Vietnamese*, p. 71.

⁵⁰ No precise definitions of this term have been found, most probably it is an official position, but the only one that looks like it is *tanhualang* 探花郎, used to indicate the third candidate of the imperial exams. Hacker, *Dictionary of Officials*, p. 486, entry 6275.

⁵¹ The *Gaoli* toponym refers to ancient Korea. Zhou mentions it again in section 31.

empire, the court appreciated his honesty and responded with a precious imperial edict. In the 26th year of the Zhaoxing era (1156) again (Annan) requested paying its tribute and the Chinese court allowed it. At that point they sent an envoy that entered from Qinzhou. On the issue of embassies, Annan could rely on the (famous) political adviser Li Yi;³² whose deputy was Annan's military assistant officer,³³ Guo Ying. In addition to five normal elephants, they chose other more precious gifts to donate to the Chinese court. The governor of the Taiping prefecture of Annan, Liguo, was selected as ambassador. Every local product that was chosen as a gift (tribute) was really special, even the written report for the emperor was completely golden. More than 1200 *liang*³⁴ of gold tools were donated in tribute, equivalent to the decorations of the jewels of half of the residents. Even natural pearls were offered in tribute, the largest ones weighing 3 *ke*,³⁵ as big as an aubergine, the second weighed 6 *ke*, as big as the core of a *boluo* plant,³⁶ others also weighed up to 24 *ke*, as big as a peach pit. There were also pearls that weighed 17 *ke*, as big as the core of a plum, or even 50 *ke*, as big as a Chinese date, normally to contain 100 *ke* (of pearls) they use a golden bottle. The tributes also included 1000 *jin* of aloe wood, 50 kingfisher feathers, 850 pieces of dark yellow satin (*dun* 緞) of panlong-type,³⁷ 6 imperial horses, with saddles and bridles, 8 normal horses (not of high breed), 5 domesticated elephants. The second embassy consisted of 50 men from government offices. The ambassador boasted much about everything that they brought as tribute. After making an official request for offering tribute, the court escorted the embassy. In the ninth year of the Qiandao era,³⁸ the Chinese court asked the commander in chief of Guangxi to go to Jiaozhi country to buy domesticated elephants, Tianzuo (the emperor of Annan from 1138 to 1175) decided to offer them as tribute, without being paid. The elephants were offered with a great, majestic ceremony, and the ambassador of Annan who took care of them was Li Bangzheng; his deputy was Ruan Wenxian. In addition, 10 elephants were used to reach the emperor's throne, and the ambassador was the

³² It could perhaps be the famous master of Qiande (Ly Can Duc, who reigned from 1072 to 1127), the first scholar to have passed the Vietnamese imperial examinations, to be appointed military minister in 1076.

³³ *Wu yilang* 武翼郎 stands for Gentlemen Militant Assistance. Hucker, *Dictionary of Officials*, p. 571, entry 7777.

³⁴ Unit of weight measurement: so: 1 *liang* is equivalent to 50 grams.

³⁵ Unit of measurement for small round objects.

³⁶ A plant of the moracea. See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 69 note 45.

³⁷ *Panlong* 盤龍, specific dress reserved only for the emperor.

³⁸ This anecdote is repeated twice in the same section. A few paragraphs earlier read: «On the 30th year of the Qiandao Sixty-ninth cycle, the Chinese court asked the Guangxi commander-in-chief to go to Jiaozhi to buy domesticated elephants, and Tianzuo (Vietnamese emperor) decided to offer them as a tribute, without making them pay». The ninth year of Qiandao corresponds to 1173, specifically in the second phase of the reign of the southern Song emperor, Song Xiaozong.

Grand Master of the defense troops, Jun Zisi.⁵⁹ They entered (the Song empire) from the village of Yongping on the Zuo River in the prefecture of Yongzhou. For the passage of the elephants, every prefecture and county had to endure great expense for managing the banquets and the servants' and animals' lodgings, so they spread their soldiers thin, no longer sufficient to protect them from foreigners. Once in Jingjiang district, people who received them saw the splendor of the soldiers' armor and the solemnity with which they advanced and retreated the ranks.

The ambassador, sighing, said: «Here, I see the great, shining (Chinese) dynasty's». After they arrived at the main gate outside the imperial palace, he dismounted and respectfully entered the court. When Fan Shihu (Fan Chengda) was commander in chief, in relation to the envoys he showed both strength and severity, and reserved a majestic treatment on them, enriching his banquets with gifts, and outclassed even the ceremony (for the embassy) of the twenty-sixth year of Shaoxing (1156). The envoys didn't dare to disagree. To enter the palace, the commander made a gift to the emperor as a sign of respect. Li Bangzhong, while he was in the loggia of the envoys, wrote a poem in which there was a sentence that said: «the excellence of these places gave the country its name». When they reached the emperor's reception pavilion, they received a gift for their Kingdom (Annan) from the emperor himself. Then the ambassador, satisfied, turned away. Passing through Jingjiang district, he again extended his thanks to the court and asked to return home through Qinzhou, and his request was accepted. Once in Qinzhou, he stayed there for two months. In this country he was received by ships with (the flag and) the imperial coat of arms and then came back home. In this embassy, the tributes, in addition to elephants, also included gold and silver plates, rhinoceros and elephant tusks, aloë incense and *jian* incense.⁶⁰ When counting, everything did not reach 20, 30 thousand *min*,⁶¹ it seemed that the splendor of the tributes offered during the Shaoxing era had not been reached; the Annan country emptied its warehouses to collect so many products. The court bestowed (on this embassy) the award of magnificence and it was remembered for such exceptional treatment (of kindness).

The Jiaozhi embassy included the ambassadors and another hundred persons. Regardless of what prefectures and counties they came from, they could always receive rice with official coupons to fill up their provisions. They also got money; ten pieces of *wen* per capita per day. The remaining money was taken back home (to Annan). During the journey throughout all the prefectures and the counties there were 800 people, including assistants. But the assistants of the supervisor of the many products (offered as tribute) were very few. Most of the participants wanted to reach the Chinese capital (only) for their commercial (and personal) matters. The elephants usually were able to

⁵⁹ *Zhongwei Taifu* 中衛大夫; *nifu* stands for the Grand Master of the royal court. Hucker, *Dictionary of Officials*, p. 194, entry 1627. *Zhongwei* it is used for the defense forces of the imperial palace.

⁶⁰ See sections 127 and 130 of *LWDD*, in which Zhou deals with these two products.

⁶¹ Unit of measurement calculated in coin strings.

stay afloat in fording rivers, but the assistants (the mahout, that is to say the elephant trainers) demanded money to buy ships to be able to transport them; but in the end they didn't buy any ships and kept the money for themselves. The Chinese officials showed great cordiality; but the envoys were arrogant, only when politeness was lacking did they again obey orders. Later the Chinese empire recognized the state of Annam and as a favor gave it the name. Afterwards, the ambassador,⁶² thanking the Chinese empire, often continued to travel to Qinzhou and request to pay (deliver) tribute, but no one allowed it. The inhabitants of this country do not wear clothes, they have black teeth, they gather up their hair in a thin bun, they walk barefoot, there are no rich and poor, they are all the same. Their chief usually adopts that style too, but he wears golden clasps in his ears, a yellow jacket (above) and a purple skirt (underneath or below). The others normally wear a black jacket and a particular collar (called a *jupan* 紫 袖) over it. It consists of four parts, like a sleeveless shirt, called 4 *dian*; below it they wear a black skirt. Sometimes they wear metal earrings on their ears, sometimes they wear leather sandals, and in their hands, they always have a fan made of crane feathers. On their heads they wear a spiral braided hat. They have tattoos such as an inscription on a bronze drum.⁶³ Their soldiers have "Emperor's Soldier" (*tiangzhibing*) tattooed on their foreheads.⁶⁴

Their wives have fair skin, very different from the men. They wear the black skirt decorated like the men's.⁶⁵ With a balm they shape their hair as if lacquered, and they tie it with a gauze scarf, making a small round bun on top, from forehead to crown, and they make a thin fold as if it were sewn, stretching it up. On their bodies they wear black tunics with a gathered collar (*dapan* 大 袖), to which they add a small tunic with a collar (*xiaopan* 小 袖). They also wear shoes and socks to walk along the streets, and in this there are no big differences from (Chinese) people, but their clothes stand out. When they arrived at the Chinese court, to hand over their documents to the emperor, they wore purple tunics, they were very formal with the official ceremonial tablet in their hands. For the arrival of the ambassador, civil and military officials all wore purple tunics, red shoes and belts made by rhino ivory, and they had no fishes. After offering the elephants as a tribute, Li Bangzheng came again as an ambassador to Qinzhou and added a very large goldfish to the tributes. It was their custom to be transported in sedan chairs made in the shape of a cloth bag, and the ambassador during the journey to Qinzhou customarily sat and remained inside this sedan chair, protected from rain and sun.

⁶² The Chinese version can have two different characters: *shi* 使 "ambassador, to make, to send" or *ci* 賜 "to give, gift".

⁶³ The Chinese version can have two different characters with the same pronunciation: *kuon* 款 or *kuon* 款.

⁶⁴ Peculiarity already mentioned in the previous paragraphs.

⁶⁵ The Chinese version can have two different characters: *gai* 蓋 "to cover" or *jin* 盡 "to use up".

2.1.2. Section 30, *Haiwai Liman*. The overseas barbarian tribes called *Li*

The second section of the chapter "Foreign Countries I" deals with the barbaric tribes of Man, in particular the minority called *Li*, living in Hainan province. Zhou provides several accurate details, regarding not only their customs, but also the officials and governors who worked and lived in Hainan province throughout history. Although he does not follow chronological order, his data are truthful and demonstrate the extent of the contacts between the Chinese empire and the territories beyond its borders. This section can be divided into two parts: the first focuses on the geographical, political and administrative aspects, including the history of Chinese-barbarian relationships; the second one deals with the main social customs of these barbarian peoples, and Zhou provides information on the welcoming rites of guests, the management of mourning, marriage, weapons and local products.

In the province of Hainan there is a mountain called *Lima*,⁶⁶ inside which the *Sheng Li* (name of an ethnic minority) barbarians live, who, since they are very far from the counties and districts, do not pay taxes and fees; outside (it is inhabited by) the *Shu Li* barbarians, grouped into provinces, pay tributes and taxes, and organize their slaves into four armies.⁶⁷ The *Sheng Li* barbarians are extraordinarily fearless and courageous, and it is impossible to trick them, because basically they do not care about people. The (group of) *Shu Li* barbarians are for the most part made up of people who commit adultery, coming from the provinces of Hunan, Hubei, Guangdong, Guangxi and Fujian, disloyal and arrogant people, unbelievers and thieves. Although they pay their due taxes (tributes), they deceitfully invaded the provinces of the *Sheng Li* barbarians, and invited looters to move into their territory and reside there. Meanwhile, officials pass through the counties and villages and customarily sleep in the dormitories of others'. In the county there is Queen *Erniang* 二娘, who is the chief of the barbarians, and whose husband has never been named. (Her) house is rich, benevolent towards its people. She is able to control the masses, and the court has appointed her the title of *Tiren*

⁶⁶ Zhou dedicates a distinctive section to this mountain, in the first chapter, *Geography*, section number 10, titled *Limaoshan* 黎母山. In it he states that the province of Hainan is divided into four prefectures, including the Mount *Lima*, which was inhabited by the barbarian people *Shu Li* and *Sheng Li*. See, Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 22.

⁶⁷ *Qiong* 琼, *Dan* 儋, *Wan* 万, *Ya* 崖, see Tu Youxiang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 36 note 1.

宜人 (delightful person).⁶⁸ Qiong Guan 琼管 is the center of power of the Li barbarians,⁶⁹ who are under the government of Queen Yiren and show her total obedience. If *Erniang* died, other women would continue to perform her services. In the past, in the Chongning era of Emperor Huizong (from 1102-1106), when Wang Zudao administered the Guangxi, he had organized the barbarians into 907 counties, with a population of 64 thousand people, laying more than 1200 meters of roads. He is considered one of the best ministers of the Han and Tang era, and he was able to organize the border territories as a completely safe place, under the control of the imperial court. He was also able to manage many officials, giving them great rewards. In the first year of the Chunxi era (1174-1189), the barbarian Sheng counties located at the Five-Fingers Mountains (*Wuzhishan* 五指山) were headed by Wang Zhongqi. They conquered and subjugated 80 neighboring counties and 1820 people. (A delegation of) 81 men, coming from the various counties under the control of Wang Zhongwen, went to Qiong Guan and in the Xian Ying temple signed the 'blood pact',⁷⁰ by which the two factions changed their plans to their mutual advantage. Qiong Guan welcomed the troops and sent them back to their home counties.

Among the customs of the Li barbarians there is also that of testing their guests. When a guest arrives, they do not immediately go to welcome him, but they subject him to solemn checks without allowing him to move,⁷¹ then they send a servant to organize a banquet. During the banquet the guest has to remain seated until the arrival of the host, who does not join in conversation. After, during the banquet, the guest is invited to eat disgusting foods, and if he unhesitatingly endures eating them the atmosphere clears up and the banquet continues with beef and wine. Otherwise they send him away. When family and old friends get together, there are drums rolls, songs and dances, and after three glasses (toasts) (of wine) everyone is invited to prepare their bows, arrow sand knives, with which they can kill for revenge and sex, the so-called "bend and break" (in Chinese *ao* 拗 or 拗). If revenge concerns relatives, one can take them as prisoners, and demand oxen, wine and steel ob-

⁶⁸ Queen Erniang was probably married to a man from Wu. Since her family served the Chinese court for many years in the border territories, she received a sort of mandate of heaven. Thanks to her service between 1131 and 1162, during the reign of Shaoxing of the Southern Song, she was granted the title of *Yiren*. In those years, she was able to sinicize the barbarian groups of Sheng Li and Shu Li. She was a great queen for her ability to gain the respect of her people. Even the office of Qiong Guan customarily waited for her approval before sending orders to the tribes. See, Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 72 nota 3.

⁶⁹ In the Jesuit Aleni's work, and earlier on Ricci's world map, the Qiong Zhou 瓊州 toponym indicates the island of Hainan. See Giulio Aleni, Paolo De Troia, *Geografia del paese stranieri alla Cina. Zhifang wafu*. Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, Brescia, 2009, p. 53.

⁷⁰ Yang's version has the character *zhuo* 砮, "to cut". The *Siku Quanshu*'s version instead has *yan* 研, "to grind". The phrase *yan* (or *zhuo*) *shi sha xie* 研 (or 砮) 石戢戢 indicates a sort of blood pact, to mark the definitive end of a battle or war.

⁷¹ The *Siku Quanshu* version has the character *ji* 戢, that changes the meaning of the phrase.

jects as penalties. This is called "saving someone from death with a pecuniary payment". For marriage, an arrow is broken as a symbol of the vow of trust. Traveling merchants usually live in their homes, and their parents boast to their neighbors of their unchaste Li daughters. When a relative dies, an ox is killed in sacrifice, and they usually do not cry and do not eat rice but only raw ox meat. For the funeral, they usually carry the deceased in a procession, and the first person in the line throws a cock on the ground, without hitting it, serving to indicate the right place for the burial. Their rooms of their homes are arranged in a grid pattern. In this land there are many famous products such as incense, betel palm, coconut, small horses, kingfisher feathers, beeswax, sandalwood and kapok fibers (cotton). The four armies travel for commerce and, according to their annual estimates, the merchants buy many oxen in exchange for their incense. The Li people wear in their hair a kind of thin stick, they walk barefoot and naked, they cover their waist with pieces of kapok cotton,⁷² and on the head and on the ears, they sport silver, copper or tin hairpins. They wear their hair in a bun, using colored silk. Sometimes they carry bamboo cones, and sometimes they add a fake rooster tail, but everyone uses combs and styles their hair with a double silver hairpin comb. There are also those who wear a short skirt with braided figures. In the Xining era,⁷³ Wang Zudao suppressed a barbarian revolt in their districts and assigned their leader an appointment as an official (whom he did not have before). Today his successors, thanks to the efforts of their ancestor (the chief of the Barbarians), wear brocade dresses and tunics with silver belts. The (barbaric) men of the Yao tribe⁷⁴ carry their bow in their hands, hang the quiver, wear a helmet and even a knife as ornaments. The blade of the knife is two *chi* long,⁷⁵ and is a very long ornament. They take a white horn the length of a rooster's tail as a target to decorate their helmet. Their wives pull their hair into high hairstyles and they tattoo their faces. They wear copper earrings, which hang down to their shoulders. Women's clothes are all made by kapok fibers, in five bright colors. They do not wear clothing for the upper part of the body (jackets or shirts), but they wear multi-layered skirts. Let's see how skirts are made: several separate pieces are sewn together, then the skirt must be worn to their feet, and it is gathered at the waist. They usually take group baths in the river. Half of the barbarian people of the tribes (called) Li can speak Chinese. In a huge crowd of tens of hundreds, they change their clothes to enter into the imperial province for the village fairs, and you could not distinguish

⁷² The kapok is a kind of plant fiber, also called Java cotton or Ceiba in Spanish-speaking countries. It is obtained from the tropical tree *Ceiba pentandra*. A somewhat smaller variety is found throughout southern Asia and the East Indies. Kapok is a name used in English-speaking countries for both the tree and the cotton-like fluff obtained from its seed pods. The tree is cultivated for its seed fiber, particularly in south-east Asia.

⁷³ The *Siku Quanshu* cites the Xining era, it seems to be a correction by the Qing copyists. The *Xining* 熙寧 era of emperor Shenzong of the Northern Song dynasty, from 1068 to 1077. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 74 note 14.

⁷⁴ Yang uses 黎, but he states that the *Siku Quanshu* version uses the character 瑶 瑶.

⁷⁵ A third of a meter, about 34 cm.

them from other people. In the evening, they sometimes indulge in loud boasting, then one after another they gather and return to their villages. This is what is known so far of the Li barbarians.

2.1.3. Section 31. *Haiwai Zhufanguo*. The overseas various foreign countries

In section number 31, titled *Haiwai Zhufanguo* ("The overseas various foreign countries"), Zhou describes the maritime borders of several foreign countries and mentions six out of seven seas. Here he doesn't cite the Southeastern sea (*Dongnan hai*), to which he dedicates section number 44, *Dongnan hai shang Zhuzaguo* ("Various countries on the Southeastern sea"). Although Zhou doesn't draw any geographical map in the appendix to his work to reflect his descriptions of the seven seas in these two chapters, (and in particular in section number 31), the reader can form an idea of his image of the world. The seven seas could be the key point⁷⁶, because they are important elements for identifying the twenty-four countries.

The map below shows the position of Zhou's seven seas, according to the information contained in his work. For this reconstruction I have used a common map of the Indian Ocean, on which the numbers indicate the seven seas, as listed below⁷⁷:

⁷⁶ The geographical concept of "the Seven Seas" deserves more detailed research in the future. See Yajima Hikoichi, "Maritime activities of the Arab Gulf People and the Indian Ocean World in the eleventh and twelfth centuries", in *Ajia Afurika gengo bunka kenkyū* アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究 (*Journal of Asian and African Studies*), Tōkyō: Tōkyō Gaiakōkō Daigaku Ajia-Afurika Gengo Bunka Kenkyūsho, n. 14, 1977, pp. 195-208. Arabic accounts also divided the Indian Ocean into seven seas. And it has been suggested that the united socio-economic area that encompasses the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea can be considered as one entity: the West Indian Ocean world, a view supported by Muslim geographical works. See Agius Dionisius Albertus, *Classical Ships of Islam from Mesopotamia to the Indian Ocean*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2007, p. 185. Suhanna Shafiq in 2011 has conducted a historical study on medieval Arabo-Persian-Indian seafaring in the Indian Ocean, focussing on the Arabic account written by Buzurg Ibn Shariyār al Ramhormuzi in the Eleventh century, *Kitāb 'Ajl'ib al-Hind* (*The Book of the Marvels of India or Wonders of India*), in which the author divided the Indian Ocean into seven seas and collected narratives from Muslim sailors based in Siraf, Oman, Basra and elsewhere. See Suhanna Shafiq, "The Maritime Culture in the *Kitāb 'Ajl'ib al-Hind* (The Book of the Marvels of India) by Buzurg Ibn Shariyār (d. 399-1009)", a dissertation at the University of Exeter for Master's degree in Philosophy in Arabic and Islamic Studies, 2011. In particular, on page 40 the author provides a map with the seven seas mentioned by Buzurg Ibn Shariyār.

⁷⁷ Park in her work created a map of Zhou's five seas, though she did not include *Xinnanhai* and *Dongnanhai*. These two seas are significant for showing how Zhou was influenced by

- 1) Dong Dashi hai 東大食海, Eastern Arabic sea;
- 2) Xi Dashi hai 西大食海, Western Arabic sea;
- 3) Xilan hai 細蘭海, Ceylon sea;
- 4) Nan dayang hai 南大洋海, Southern Ocean;
- 5) Dong dayang hai 東大洋海, Eastern Ocean;
- 6) Xinan hai 西南海, Southwestern sea;
- 7) Dongnan hai 東南海, Southeastern sea.



Figure 2.1. Zhou's seven seas.

In addition, in section 31 he provides the reader with the concept of "Far West" and mentions more toponyms than in any of the other sections, as shown in the tables below (the toponyms of the six seas are in bold type). They are all located in a large territory limited from the Southern Chinese sea to the Eastern Arabic sea.

Table 2.2. Toponyms mentioned in Section 31.

Section title and number	Toponyms
31 <i>Haiwai Zhufan guo</i> 海外諸蕃 國	Sanfoqi 三佛齊, Shepo 閩婆, Zhancheng 占城, Zhenla 真 臘, Wali zhuguo 宜里諸國, Daqin 大秦, Xitian zhuguo 西 天竺諸國, Malibaguo 麻里拔國, Dashi zhuguo 大食諸國, Mulanpiguo 木蘭皮國, Nan dayanghai 南大洋海, Dong dayanghai 東大洋海, Nürenguo 女人國, Gaoli 高麗, Baiji 百濟, Xinanzhai 西南海, Jiaozhi 交趾, Fuluo'an 佛羅安, Dali 大理, Heishui 黑水, Tufan 吐蕃, Xilan hai 細蘭海, Xilanguo 細蘭國, Gulinguo 故臨國, Wangshecheng 王舍 城, Tianzhuguo 天竺國, Dong Dashi hai 東大食海, Xi Da- shi hai 西大食海.

The following text is my translation of the Section 31⁷⁸:

These foreign countries all border a sea and each other. Each of them has a particular product, and all can trade and exchange products and information with each other. For the southern countries Sanfoqi is the main harbor. The main southeastern country is Shepo. Of the southwestern countries, where the territory seems endless, there is first Zhancheng and Zhenla, the center of the various countries of Wali. Then further away we find Daqin country, which is the heart of the various Indian cities; even further away is the country of Maliba, considered the center of the Arab empire; among the foreign countries there is also Mulanpi, which is the focal point for the countries of the Far West. The Great Southern Ocean is situated to the south of Sanfoqi. In this sea there are more than tens of thousands of inhabited islands. You cannot go beyond the southern limit. East of Shepo there is the Great Eastern

⁷⁸ Angela Schottenhammer has also provided a partial English translation of this section. See Angela Schottenhammer, "The Song dynasty (960-1279) - A revolutionary Era Turn?", in *China Across the Centuries*, papers from a lecture series in Budapest, edited by Gábor Kóna, Department of East Asian Studies, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 2017, pp. 133-17, 156.

Ocean. The country of women (*Nürenguo*)⁷⁹ is located where the water level is gradually lower. Even further to the east is the point (*weili*) where all the waters converge and the human world disappears.⁸⁰ Changing direction, a little to the north-east are Gaoli and Baiji. The countries of the Southwestern Sea are so numerous that they cannot be counted, though you can roughly analyze all of them. Jiaozhi country borders them. Directly south of Jiaozhi are Zhancheng, Zhenla and Fuluosun. Northwest of Jiaozhi are Dali (the capital of Yunnan), the Heishui River and Tubo (Tibet). To the west we find another portion of the ocean, a sea called Xilan. In the middle of the sea of Xilan there is a "continent", called the country of Xilan. Crossing it, to the west, there are other countries. To the south we find Gulin, to the north of Xilan we find Daqin, the city of Wangshe and the Tianzhu kingdom. Further west there is a sea called the Eastern Arab Sea. Crossing it, to the west, there are the various countries of the Arab Empire. It really has a vast territory divided into many states, so many that nobody knows them all well. Further west is another sea, called the Western Arab Sea. Crossing it, to the west, there are the various countries of Mulanpi, more than a thousand. I have not heard anything about what exists even further to the west, where the sun sets.

2.1.4. Section 32. *Zhanchengguo*. The country of Zhancheng. Champa, Central Vietnam

Section 32 describes the country of Zhancheng, known as Champa. It was founded in 192 in the central territory of today's Vietnam. The toponym probably comes from the Sanskrit word *Zhanbo*⁸¹.

Zhancheng during the Han dynasty was known as Linyi.⁸² At its entrance (on the border) there is a memorial column in honor of Ma Yuan.⁸³ During

⁷⁹ Paul Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1959, vol. II, pp. 671 and the following. Marco Polo writes that the Country of Women is located 500 miles north of Socotra and 500 miles south of the Gulf of Oman. It is inhabited by Christians, baptized by the Archbishop of Socotra. Zhou provides a more detailed description of this country in section 44. See the next paragraph.

⁸⁰ The *Weili* is considered a geographical nadir. Zhao Rukuo, quoting Zhou, also mentions it when he describes the country of Java (Shepo) and the position of the country of women. East of Shepo there is the point where the great ocean flows out through a great hole called the *Weili*. In Chinese: «凡國之所源». See Hirth and Rockhill, *Chun Ju-Kuan*, p. 75. Roderich Ptak, "Quanzhou: at the Northern Edge of a Southeast Asian "Mediterranean"?", *The Emporium of the World, Maritime Quanzhou, 1000-1400*, edited by Angela Schottenhammer, Brill, Leiden, 2001, p. 395-428; 408.

⁸¹ Yang, *Lingwai Daidi*, p. 78 note 1. Tu, *Lingwai Daidi*, p. 38 note 1.

⁸² This is the same toponym used by Xuan Zang, in his description of the Buddhist country of *Sannudazha* 三瞿咤吒. He first mentions the country of Mohe Zhanbo, then uses the name Linyi. See Xuan Zang 玄奘, in Xianlin 季羨林, et al., *Da Tang Xiyi jiaozhu* 大唐西域记校注 (*shang* and *xia* 上 and 下), volume II, p. 803.

the Tang, the kingdom was known as Yuanwangguo; the place inhabited by the king was called Zhancheng, so this toponym was also used to name his country. The products of this land are aromatic plants, rhinoceros and elephants.⁴² The land is all white (covered with silicon-white sand), and there are arable fields, but they are very rare. You see no goats (sheep), pigs or vegetables, and people survive by collecting aromatic herbs. The country has no markets, its space is very large but there are few people. They often buy slaves of both sexes and their ships carry human beings as if they were any other common cargo. To the north it borders with the country of Jiaozhi (northern Vietnam), and to the south with Zhenla (Cambodia). Zhancheng was subdued by the governor of Jiaozhi and is warring against Zhenla. In the *Guini* year of the *Qiondao* era,⁴³ a Min man⁴⁴ arrived at the Office of Civil Appointments⁴⁵ and was selected as supervisor of the Jiyang army⁴⁶ and as maritime official. He arrived in Zhancheng and saw that this country fought against the country of Zhenla by riding elephants. There was no chance of either victory or defeat, so he told the king that he could win by using battle horses and taught him to exploit infantry and archers with their weapons. After the victory, the king of Zhancheng joyfully took his ships to Jiyang, as a sign of a rich gift (for that official). Later he bought ten horses to be used in battle. The following year, there were several apprentices, Jiyang's army, since it had no horses, moved to Qiongguan, but the soldiers were not received, and, disappointed and angry, they turned back, and never set foot there anymore. In ancient times there were many prisoners on the ships of these countries, taken from various lootings and raids. The dependencies of this country are the country of Bintonglong 賓同龍 and the country of Bintuoling 賓陶陵.⁴⁷ Mulian⁴⁸ belongs to Bintuoling, which was then known al-

⁴² Ma Yuan was the name of the man that conquered the northern territories of Vietnam in 42 d. C.

⁴³ Zhao Rugua mentions the same products. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chou, Fu-Kuei*, p. 50 note 6.

⁴⁴ The ninth year of the *Qiondao* era (1165-1173). In the *Songshi* the author, instead, indicates the seventh year of the same era.

⁴⁵ A man coming from the Fujian province.

⁴⁶ The expression *shiban* 西班, during the Song was used to refer to military appointments. The verb *daocuan* 到選 was an abbreviation indicating the arrival at the office of Civil Appointments (*Lishi*), where the candidates were appointed.

⁴⁷ Jiyang was one of the two counties in the southern part of the island of Hainan, Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 80, note 9.

⁴⁸ These two toponyms may indicate the same country, as in Wang Dayuan's works. Hirth stated that, in Wang's travel work, it can be identified with Phanrang, in today's Vietnam. See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 80 note 10 and Tu, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 39 note 3. Wang Dayuan 汪大淵, *Su Jing* 蘇頌, *Dongyi Zhilue jiaozhu* 島夷志略校注, Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2011, p. 63.

⁴⁹ *Mulian* was one of the main disciples of Buddha. He was known as Maudgalyayana. See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 80 note 11.

so as the city of Wangshe.⁹¹ In the second year of the Jianlong era (960-963), this country (Zhancheng) paid tribute to the Chinese empire by bringing local products, and in the eighth month of the third year it again sent tributes. On the twelfth month of the first year of the Yuanyou era (1086-1093) of the emperor Zhezong other tributes were paid. An imperial edict states that they gave as many as 2600 pieces of coins, and this important gift made Zhancheng gained admiration from the Chinese empire.

2.1.5. Section 33. *Zhenlaquo. The country of Zhenla, Southern Cambodia*

Section 33 is titled Zhenla and focuses on the territories between today's Cambodia, southern Vietnam, southern Laos and Thailand. The first reference to the Zhenla toponym dates from the Sui dynasty. Earlier sources, before the beginning of the Tang dynasty, to indicate these territories, mention the toponym Funan 扶南. However, later sources, from the Ming dynasty use the toponym Jianbuzhai 東埔寨, indicating today's Cambodia⁹².

The country of Zhenla is far from Zhancheng and borders on many other foreign countries. On its side there are the countries of Wali,⁹³ Xipeng.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Wangshe was the toponym that indicated the main city of the Indian country of Mo-jietuo 摩揭陀, in Sanskrit *Magadha*. It seems that in this city, Maudgalyayana was converted to Buddhism. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 81 note 12. See also the hypothesis proposed by Su Jiqing, who states that the term *Mafian* was the phonetic transcription of the word (in Champa language) *Melha Linga*, indicating the Shiva religion. See, Su, *Daoyi Zhilue*, pp. 65-66. Zhou uses the toponym *Wangshe cheng* also in section number 42, *Xituan Zhuguo* (Various countries of northwest India).

⁹² See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 82 note 1 and Tu, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 40 note 1. For a more detailed study on the history of this country see the Yuan dynasty work, written by Zhou Daguan 周达观, *Zhenla fengtu ji* 真腊风土记. Xia Nai 夏鼐, *Zhenla fengtu ji jiaozhu* 真腊风土记校注, included in the collection *Zhongwai Jiaotong shiji congkan* 中外交通史籍丛刊, Zhonghua shuju, volume IV, pp. 1-205.

⁹³ The identification of this toponym is still under discussion. The scholars Hirth and Rockhill, in their annotated translation of Zhao Rukuo's work, state that it indicated the territory of Laos. Zhang Xinglang affirms it was a phonetic transcription of the Malay term used to indicate the people *Melayu*, coming from the Fujian province. The *Gudai Naohai diming Huishi* mentions Zhou's section 34 (the country of Pagan), in which Zhou states that the country of Wali lies at a 60-day journey from Pagan (today Burma), so it can be identified with some place between today's Cambodia and Thailand. Lu Junling, in the annotated version of his *Piya zhi*, mentions the strip of land between Southern Burma and Thailand, using the toponym *Danlao* 丹老. In the *Zhongguo Guli* 中国古籍, section *Jianbuzhai* (東埔寨), the Wali country is identified with Mrit, the ancient toponym of Mergui, on the southeast coast of Burma. See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 82 note 2, and Chen Jiarong, et al., *Huishi*, II, p. 666.

Saibo,⁹⁷ Malan,⁹⁸ Dengliumei,⁹⁷ and Dilata,⁹⁸ and among these Zhenla is the main country. To the north it is warring against the country of Zhancheng. The main local products are its famous spices (perfumes), and the country of Dengliumei produces the *jueqi* perfume,⁹⁹ the spices produced in other countries are all inferior to these. The (Hindu) monks of this country have great abilities to solve all sorts of problems (they are always very useful and efficient). Monks in yellow robes have their own families; those with red garments instead live in the temples, respecting strict rules of prayer.¹⁰⁰ The monks use wooden leaves as dresses.¹⁰¹ In this country, if you look at the sky, you often see dense gray clouds. Tradition has it that in ancient times Nüwa did not arrive there, and that this is why the sky appears so.¹⁰² During the second year of the Xuanhe era of the Emperor Haizong of the Song dynasty, Zhenla dispatched envoys and offered tributes to the Chinese emperor.

2.1.6. Section 34. *Puganguo. The country of Pagan, Burma*

In Section 34 Zhou describes the country of Pagan. This toponym comes from the name of the dynasty that, from 1044 to 1287, conquered and reigned over the territories that today comprise Burma. The country of Pagan grew up to the river Irrawaddy, in particular in the valley where Chindwin river (in Chinese Qindunjiang 亲敦江) enters it.

⁹⁴ It may indicate the Thai district of Supan 素攀, northwest of Bangkok. The *Huishi* proposes that it could be the transcription of the river Semum, in northern Cambodia. Yang, p. 83 note 3. Chen Jiarong, et al., *Huishi*, I, p. 335.

⁹⁵ Saibo is placed in the Thai territory near Lophury or Nakhon Pathom, according to the Chen Jiarong, et al., *Huishi*, I, p. 127.

⁹⁶ According to the *Huishi*, this toponym is a different transcription of the words *Malaywen* 麻罗问 and *Milefo* 弥勒佛, in the Malay peninsula. Chen Jiarong, et al., *Huishi*, II, p. 739.

⁹⁷ Pelliot states it is Logor, and Feng Chengjun affirms that it could be identified with *Danmaling*. In the *Huishi*, under the entry *Danliumei*, the territory of Thon Bury in Thailand is quoted. Chen Jiarong, et al., *Huishi*, I, p. 213 (*Danliumei*); II, p. 796 (*Dengliumei*). Fan Chengda also mentions the toponym *Dingliumei* 丁流眉. Zhao Rukuo dedicates a separate (brief) section to it. See Feng, *Zhuifan zhi*, p. 7.

⁹⁸ According to the *Huishi*, Dilata is identified with Trat, on the southeast coast of Thailand. It may also refer to the territory of Kelantan on the Malay peninsula. Chen Jiarong, et al., *Huishi*, II, p. 705.

⁹⁹ For a better identification of this perfume see section 127, titled *Shenshuiyao* 沈水香. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 241.

¹⁰⁰ Zhou refers to the difference between the Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism. Tu, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 40 note 3.

¹⁰¹ Zhou uses the term *daoshi* 道士 to indicate the Daoist monks. But the country of Zhenla was mainly Hindu, and only a minority were disciples of Buddha.

¹⁰² Nüwa was the mother goddess of Chinese mythology.

The country of Pagan is a 5-day journey from the country of Dali¹⁰¹ and a 60-day journey from the country of Wali.¹⁰² Its borders are limited by the Salween and Irrawaddy rivers,¹⁰³ but the various Indian countries cannot be reached.¹⁰⁴ The king of Pagan and the officials all wear golden crowns, like rhinoceros' horns. They have horses that they ride bareback. The palace of the king is built with tin bricks, and the ornaments inside the rooms are in gold and silver. There are many temples (or monasteries), all of whose monks wear yellow dress.¹⁰⁵ The king holds audiences from the early morning, and the officials hand him flowers as gifts, while the monks, using the Sanskrit language, pray for his life (wishing him long life). The flowers are placed on the head of the king, and those left over are brought to the temples and offered to the Buddha.¹⁰⁶ In the second month of the fifth year (1103) of the Chongning era of Emperor Huizong, Pagan sent tributes to the Song Empire.

2.1.7. Section 35. *Sanfoqiguo. The country of Sanfoqi. Southwest Sumatra*

Section 35 focuses on the country of Sanfoqi, on Sumatra, a key point of the trading network in Southeast Asia from the ninth century. In the Tang references, the toponym Shilifoshi 室利佛逝 was used, instead of Sanfoqi, indicating the same territory¹⁰⁷. There are three different hypotheses that try to explain the passage from the name Shilifoshi to Sanfoqi. The first states that they were the same country with two different names, the first coming from Sanskrit, and the second from the language of Java. The second theory considers these two toponyms as two different countries, the first having its capital in Jugang 巨港,

¹⁰¹ The country of Dali is in the southwest territory of Yunnan province.

¹⁰² For the various hypotheses for identifying this toponym see the previous paragraph, Zhenlaguo.

¹⁰³ Earlier scholars stated that the toponym Heishui yuni 黑水瀾泥 stands for a single river. See Chen Jiarong, et al., *Huashu*, II, p. 953. But Zhou in other sections mentions separately the toponyms Heishui and Yuni (sections 31 and 51), so they should be considered two different rivers. The first is the lower course (called Salween) of the river Nu. The second is the bigger and more important Irrawaddy river, which flows from north to south through the Burma. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 85 note 4.

¹⁰⁴ Zhou uses the toponym Xitian Zhuguo. See the paragraph about the Section 42.

¹⁰⁵ As in the above section, Zhou again distinguishes Hinayana Buddhism from Mahayana Buddhism.

¹⁰⁶ Zhao Rukuo copies this portion verbatim.

¹⁰⁷ Yi Jing in the *Da Tang Xiyu Qufu Guoseng Zhuan* uses the toponym Shilifoshi. Yi Jing 義淨, Wang Bangwei 王邦維, *Da Tang Xiyu Qufu guoseng zhuan jiaozhu* 大唐西域求法高僧傳校注, Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing, 2004, p. 45.

and the second in Zhanbei 占卑. According to this theory, at the end of the ninth century, Sanfoqi defeated Shilifoshi. The third hypothesis affirms that the country of Sanfoqi was the name of a in Malay peninsula kingdom that extended itself to Sumatra and defeated Shilifoshi¹¹⁰. In any case, in the eleventh century Sanfoqi stood out as the main harbor of Sumatra, thanks to its strategic position and its powerful fleet in the Indian Ocean. Zhou describes it as follows.

The kingdom of Sanfoqi is located on the southern sea (Nanhai), it is an important reference port for all the various foreign merchants that move along the maritime routes.¹¹¹ To the east it borders with the country of Shepo (Java), and to the west with the Arab countries (Dashi) and Gulin. All these countries without exception pass through Sanfoqi to arrive in China. This country has no local products.¹¹² Its people fight with great skill; before battle warriors smear a pomade on their bodies which ensures that no sword can hurt them. Both in land and sea battles they always attack bravely and in an invincible way, and no neighboring country is able to overcome them. When foreign ships cross the borders of Sanfoqi, they must not enter it, otherwise an army is sent immediately to kill everyone. For this reason, the country has abundant rhinos, elephants, pearls, aromatic and medicinal herbs. They build rafts to navigate and live there.¹¹³ Among its dependencies there is the country of Fuluon,¹¹⁴ whose king was chosen by Sanfoqi. The land (of Fuluon) produces perfume of a fresh, intense fragrance that stands out among the (perfumes made by) of the various other countries on the low coast. There is a sacred God,¹¹⁵ to which on every new year the king customarily burns incense. At the foundation of the new dynasty (probably the Northern Song), in the ninth month of the first year of the Jianlong era, the king of Sanfoqi, Xilidaxialun (Sri vijaya),¹¹⁶ sent tributes to the Chinese empire. On the fifth month

¹¹⁰ Yang Wuquan summarizes all these hypotheses. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 87 note 1. The theory proposed by Su Jiqing also deserves attention. He affirms that the toponym Sanfoqi, used by Wang Dayuan in the *Dongyi Zhilüe*, was the transcription of the Arabic toponym Sambura, indicating Java, in Chinese *Zhaowa* 爪哇. Su, *Dongyi Zhilüe*, p. 84.

¹¹¹ Here Zhou refers to the maritime routes of Southeast Asia, in particular along the Malacca strait.

¹¹² Zhao Rukun in the section titled Sanfoqi states that it has many local products. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chao Ju-kua*, p. 61. Feng, *Zhoufu zhi*, p. 8.

¹¹³ Zhou writes *fusu* 縛縛, "bind poles".

¹¹⁴ Feng Chengjun in his annotated version of *Zhoufu zhi* supports the identification earlier proposed by Gerini: Fuluon is Beruang, along the west coast of the Malay peninsula. Feng, *Zhoufu zhi*, p. 13 note 1. There are also other ideas, see Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 87 note 2.

¹¹⁵ Zhou uses the term *Fo*, which stands for Buddha. But Sanfoqi, in the eleventh century, was already a Muslim country.

¹¹⁶ According to the *Songshi*, this term stands for *Xilidaxialun*, the last two characters have been modified. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 88 note 4. For a detailed treatment on Srivijaya

of the second year he sent tributes again. The third month and the twelfth of the third year once again. The seventh month of the second year of the Yuanfeng era of the Emperor Shenzong (1079), the kingdom of Zhanbei dispatched envoys with tributes.¹¹⁷ The twelfth intercalary month of the third year of the Yuanyou era of the emperor Zhezong it sent tributes again, as well as the fifth year.¹¹⁸ The country of Sanfoqi is admirable and unique.

2.1.8. Section 36. *Shepoguo. The country of Shepo. Java*

Throughout history, the Shepo toponym, in Chinese sources, has been identified with different territories: the islands of Java or Sumatra, or a territory in the Malay peninsula. In this case, according to the descriptions provided by Zhou, the best hypothesis seems to identify Shepo with a territory with Java, in close contact with the country of Sanfoqi and the other countries of the Indonesian archipelago¹¹⁹.

The country of Shepo is also known as Pujialong.¹²⁰ It is in the lower part of the Southeastern Sea,¹²¹ and so is called "low coast".¹²² Ships leave from Guangzhou toward Shepo between the eleventh and twelfth month.¹²³ The wind in favor leads them through the dark dawns, and they are able to arrive in Shepo during the first lunar month. The king of Shepo gathers his hair in a bun on the back of his head. The people have short hair, and they use flowers decorated silk to wrap their bodies. They also use coconuts and syrup from the 栟 桃 tree to make a type of 'alcoholic' drink. The cane sugar is red and white, and its taste is sweet and fresh (excellent). They use a mix of silver, brass and tin to make their own coins, 60 of which make two *liang* (50 grams) of gold. Local products are pepper, sandalwood, lilac,¹²⁴ cardamon (*baidanku*), nutmeg (*rondankou*), and aloe wood (*cheuxiang*). The people of Shepo like warring, if the king and the best officials died, all those who ac-

(as transliterated by Wolters) see O. W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1967, pp. 220 and following.

¹¹⁷ Zhou mentions this toponym, Zhanbei, also in section 31, the country of Xilan. See the previous paragraph.

¹¹⁸ Probably here Zhou has made a mistake. It's month, instead of year, Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 88, nota 6.

¹¹⁹ For a more detailed work on this topic see Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 89 note 1; Tu, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 43 note 1.

¹²⁰ Feng Chengjun states that it indicates the Pekalongan territory on the northern coast of Java. Feng, *Zhouliu zhi*, p. 17.

¹²¹ Zhou states «zai hai dongnan 在海東南», which could also be translated as «in the southeast portion of the seas», without saying which sea.

¹²² In this passage «shi xia 勢下», it is not clear what Zhou means. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 90 note 3.

¹²³ Depending on the monsoon.

¹²⁴ Scientific name is *Syzygium aromaticum*.

accompanied them in life¹²⁵ would very willingly follow them in death, even jumping into the fire to be burned alive or throwing themselves into the water to drown. They would do that with no regrets.

2.1.9. Section 37. *Gulinguo. The country of Gulin. Kulam, Southern India*

Section 37 deals with the country of Gulin, today Kollam or Quilon, in the state of Kerala, along the west coast of southern India. In the Arabic sources it corresponds to Kollam, an important harbor in the southwest coast of India, a key place along the maritime Silk Road. Since it had a crucial position in the middle of the Indian Ocean, both the merchants coming from the west and those coming from the east of the *ecumene* often arrived in Gulin and rested there before continuing on their journey¹²⁶.

The country of Gulin is close to the Arab empire. From Guangzhou in 40 days of navigation you can reach Lanli¹²⁷ and spend the winter there. The following year (the ships) resume sailing and arrive in Gulin in about a month. The inhabitants have black skin, wear white clothes, and have beards and long hair, which they gather in a bun. They wear red leather shoes, like those worn by Luohan.¹²⁸ When fighting against enemies, they are skilled in the use of bows and arrows. They use colored silk to gather their hair in a bun. The king wears clothes all over his body, both at home and abroad. He uses the same kind of cloth to make bags, and sometimes travels by elephant. The inhabitants believe in the Buddha. In this country there are many merchants and navigators from the Arab empire, many of whom live there per-

¹²⁵ Literally Zhou says: «Those people who sit to the left and to the right side of the kings».

¹²⁶ In the Arabic work, titled *Ahbār as-Sin wa l-Hind* (*Accounts of China and India*), compiled during the 9th century by different authors (including Abu Zayd al-Husayn b. Sīraf, who came from Sīraf, a harbor of the Persian Gulf), the author mentions the harbor of Kulam, saying that it was the place where the Chinese merchants changed ships before continuing westward. Jean Sauvaget, *Ahbār as-Sin wa l-Hind: relation de la Chine et de l'Inde, rédigée en 851*, Belle-Lettres, Paris, 1948, pp. 7-8 (section 13). Ibo Batuta in the fourteenth century also mentions the harbour of Quilon, describing it as one of the main harbours in the Indian territory. Here he first saw the big Chinese ships. Claudia Maria Tresso, *Ibo Batuta, I viaggi*, Einaudi, Torino, 2008, p. 627. Zhao Rukuo also mentions this toponym among the dependencies of the country of Nanpi, on the southwest coast of India. He does not describe it in detail. Hirth and Rockhill, *Zhufan zhi*, p. 88.

¹²⁷ The identification of this toponym is still under discussion. It can be placed in the northern point of Sumatra and was an important seaport for all ships sailing eastward along the Indian ocean. See Hirth and Rockhill, *Zhufan zhi*, p. 73 note 1. Zhou mentions this toponym again in section 40, when he deals with the Arab countries.

¹²⁸ *Luohan* is the abbreviation for *Ahluohan*, the Chinese term that indicates Arhat, one who has achieved nirvana or spiritual enlightenment.

manently. When they wash their bodies, they spread the *yujin* tuber on their bodies.¹²⁹ They wish to resemble the golden image of the Buddha. Envoys from the country of Jianbi¹³⁰ and the Arab Empire go to this country to sell and trade respectively elephants, cattle and horses with local products. Cows are respected as a divinity by the king, and those who kill them pay with their own lives. Those Chinese merchants and navigators that want to sail to the Arab empire have to stop in Gulin in order to transfer to a smaller ship and then can continue on their travel. Although by following the south wind they are able to get there in only one month, they need two years for a round trip.

2.1.10. Section 38. *Zhunianguo*. The country of Zhunian. Southern India

Section 38 describes the country of Zhunian, on the southern coast of Africa. It is identified with the country under the control of the Chola dynasty (a Tamil dynasty), founded in southeast India in the first century. From the tenth century it ruled a significantly larger area and stretched from the islands of the Maldives in the south to as far north India and the far east up to Indonesia (in 1025 the Chola dynasty attacked the empire of Srivijaya on Sumatra). Under this dynasty the Tamils became one of the foremost trading people of maritime Asia. The Chola dynasty went on to decline at the beginning of the thirteenth century with the rise of the Pandyan dynasty¹³¹.

Zhunian is a country located in the southern part of India, *Xitian*.¹³² If you want to reach it, you can start from Gulin (Quilon on the southwest coast of India), where you need to change ship. Some people say that it is also possible to get there from Pagan (Burma). The royal crown (royal family, that is to say the Chola dynasty) of this country has a treasure of many precious stones and pearls. It is repeatedly warring against the various countries of *Xitian*, India. It has about sixty thousand fighting elephants, all from 7 to 8 *jin* tall. When they have to fight, on the back of those elephants they set up a sort of cabin in order to protect the warrior. To strike from afar they use arrows, to strike from close up they use spears. The victorious warriors and elephants are honored with banners to signal their merits and are covered with gold brocaded drapes. Every day the elephants are brought before the king. The

¹²⁹ See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 91 note 3, the Chinese *yujin* 鬱金 corresponds to the root-tuber of aromatic turmeric. The Chinese term used by Zhou literally means dense gold. The colour of turmeric is indeed bright yellow, like brilliant gold.

¹³⁰ Jianbi indicates the territory near the basin of the Kampar river basin on Sumatra.

¹³¹ Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, p. 250-1. Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, University of Malaya Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1961, p. 199 and 298.

¹³² See the paragraph below on the Section 42, *Xitian zhuguo*.

king and his officials all gather the hair in a bun and wear white clothes. They use gold and silver pieces as money. The country produces (and exports) "rings", various types of cat's eyes,¹³³ natural pearls, elephant ivory, amber of various colors, and silk and fabrics of various colors. There are about ten thousand women servants, about three thousands of whom come to court every day to serve.¹³⁴ The inhabitants give little value to (their) lives. When there are people who do not want to surrender, in one day, in groups of ten people, they face each other in the presence of the king, fight using daggers and die without regret. Between fathers and sons and between brothers, they do not use the same utensils to cook and to eat. But there is a strong sense of justice. During the eighth year of the *Dazhongxiangfu* era (1015) of the emperor Zhenzong, the country of Zhunian sent tributes to the Song empire, especially real pearls and other products. The interpreter, translating the envoy's speech, said: «We hope to gain the respect of such a distant, civilized country». In the sixth month of the tenth year of the Xining era (1077) of the emperor Zhenzong, the Zhunian country again sent tributes and some local products. A eunuch (or an official of the royal palace) was sent to welcome them.

2.1.11. *Section 39. Daqinguo. The country of Daqin. The Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire*

Section 39 is the first of chapter two, on the Foreign Countries, that Zhou describes. It is titled "The Country of Daqin", a name that is very difficult to translate in a single word¹³⁵. It can be referred to the large territory of Western Asia. In particular, some aspects recall features of the Eastern Roman Empire, namely the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire after the fall of the Western Roman Empire in the fifth century.

Zhao Rukuo also describes this country in his work a few years after Zhou, and the first part of his chapter is taken nearly verbatim from

¹³³ This was a well-known product in ancient times among merchants, sailors and geographers. It is a particularly precious stone. The Jesuit Giulio Aleni also mentioned it in his work compiled in 1627, *Zhifang Waiji*, see De Troia, *Geografia* p. 77. The Maghreb travelers Ibn Battuta also quoted it in 1356, see Tresao, *Ibn Battuta*, p. 587. Ma Huan in 1433 also mentioned it. See John Vivian Gottlieb Mills, *Ting-yui Sheng Lun. The Overall Survey of the Ocean's shores*, Cambridge, 1970, p. 155. Zhang Xinglang, *Huibian*, IV, p. 2189.

¹³⁴ About the role of these women servants there are different references. Although Zhou used the term *jini* 妓女, in English "prostitute", scholars prefer translating it as women servants. See Zhao Rukuo, section *Zhunianguo*, Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, pp. 93 and following. And Duarte Barbosa, Henry E. J. Stanley, *A description of the coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the sixteenth century*, Hakluyt society, London, 1866, p. 111. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 93.

¹³⁵ Netolitzky translated it as Baghdad. See the German version, Netolitzky, *Das Ling-wai Tai-su*, p. 43 and 230-231.

Zhou's account. All other portions are taken from the older Chinese historians (such as Du Huan or *Hou Hanshu*)¹³⁶. Hirth and Rockhill translate the toponym Daqin as Baghdad and state that the king of Daqin, whom Zhao and Zhou refer to, corresponds to the Nestorian patriarch of Baghdad¹³⁷. Zhao in his description mentions two toponyms of two different cities: Li Jin 犁靳 and Andu 安都, respectively the first was the ancient Daqin Empire (formed on *Hou Hanshu*)¹³⁸ and the second referred to the patriarch of Antioch¹³⁹. Zhou, instead, does not mention any urban toponym.

Zhou's description is a kaleidoscope of bits of information regarding the territories of Western Asia in general, not just those controlled by the patriarch of Baghdad. Since the Eastern Roman empire was a powerful economic, cultural and military force throughout its existence up to the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and preserved a multi-ethnic and multi-religious character during most of its history, I would prefer to translate this section and refer to it as the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire and not just as Baghdad.

As the following description will show, the country of Daqin has many characteristics of an ecclesiastical state: first of all, the veneration of the king and the holy water. These aspects, as already cited by Hirth and Rockhill, first and mainly resemble some features of the Greek Orthodox Church and of Nestorianism¹⁴⁰, which by the tenth century had a number of dioceses stretching from across the caliphate territories to India and China¹⁴¹.

On the other side there was Constantinople or Byzantium, the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, about which I consider three aspects.

First, at that time, it could seem a sort of ecclesiastical city, in which the so-called Great Schism between the Eastern and the West-

¹³⁶ Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 102.

¹³⁷ Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 104.

¹³⁸ Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1974, j. 88, p. 2918.

¹³⁹ It was a title appointed to the spiritual chief of the Eastern Christian communities.

¹⁴⁰ Wilhelm Baum, Dietmar W. Winkler, *The Church of the East*, Routledge Curzon, 2003, pp. 204. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 105. The Church of the East declared its independence from Rome and Constantinople in the fifth century and was officially recognized from the Sasanian empire. During the sixth century the synthesis between the Nestorianism and the Church of the East was completed and they began to branch out beyond the Sasanian empire. In the seventh century, after the conquer of Muslim Arabs the Church of the East was restricted within the caliphate, but it increased its missionary efforts further afield.

¹⁴¹ The Nestorian Stele (781) was the most important evidence of the Nestorianism's spreading in the Far East.

ern traditions of the Christian Church occurred in 1054. Furthermore, it was a remarkable city with a large territory, a multitude of ethnic groups and a variety of religions¹⁴². To understand the complexity of the Eastern Roman Empire and its capital also a second aspect needs to be considered: the influence of the Persian dynasty of the Sasanian Empire. This dynasty, which in the fifth century welcomed the Church of the East and allowed its great expansion up to 651 (when the Muslim rose to the power and Sasanian's lands were merged into the Arab Islamic empire), also contributed greatly to the evolution of the Eastern Roman Empire¹⁴³. The third aspect was the rise to power of the Seljuq dynasty (1037-1194), which took control in the eleventh century and founded their capital in Nicaea, after having conquered most of Anatolia and defeated the Eastern Roman Empire, which in that period was governed by the Komnenian dynasty (1081-1185)¹⁴⁴. Under the Seljuq control, the main religion was Islam, which the Turkmen people had embraced¹⁴⁵.

The description provided by Zhou merges features from the above different traditions: the title *Sudan* (Sultan) used to address to the king of Dashi countries (Arab-Muslim territories), the tributes sent from

¹⁴² For an overview of the history of Byzantium see Alexander P. Kazhdan, *Byzanzio e la sua civiltà*, translated by Giovanna Arcetri, Bari, Laterza, 1995. And G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, New Brunswick, N.J., 1969, p. 320 and following.

¹⁴³ For a detailed study on the deeper relationship between Byzantines and Sasanians, see A. Shapur Shabazi, "Byzantine-Iranian relations," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, IV/6, pp. 588-599, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/byzantine-iranian-relations> (accessed on 30 December 2012), with extensive bibliography. And Christensen, Iran Sass. E. Chrysos, "Some Aspects of Roman-Persian Legal Relations," in *Klaronomie* 8, 1976, pp. 1-52. R. Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic World*, Leiden, 1972.

¹⁴⁴ The twelfth and thirteenth centuries were the period during which the Byzantine Empire was politically and militarily weak. Following a brilliant period in the late tenth and the early eleventh century, disintegration set in. Although Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) strengthened the empire, his achievements and those of his successors were not enduring and were followed by a collapse of the Byzantine state. Also for the Muslim world the same period was in a state of political fragmentation: Turkish rivals were squandering their resources in internal wars in Syria, Fatimid Egypt was trying to maintain its hold in Palestine. See Nadia Maria El-Cheikh, "Byzantium through the Islamic Prism from the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Century", in *The Crusades for the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, edited by Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, Dunbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection Washington, D.C. 2001, 53-69, p. 55. And P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180*, Cambridge, 1993, 112-13.

¹⁴⁵ C. Cahen, "The Turkish Invasion. The Selchukids," in K. M. Setton and M. W. Baldwin, eds., *A History of the Crusades I: The First Hundred Years*, Philadelphia, 1955, pp. 135-76. For an overview of Seljuk's history see T. T. Rice, *The Seljuks in Asia Minor*, London and New York, 1961.

Dashi countries to Daqin, the fact the Dashi countries had to use their armies to help Daqin in case of rebellion¹⁴⁶, the fact that the population of Daqin didn't drink wine, and the presence of the holy water¹⁴⁷, were all evidence of the Muslim customs, probably derived from the Seljuq dynasty. The presence of the Tianzhu territory as a Daqin dependency is linked to the founding of the Indian Christian diocese by the missionaries of the Church of the East¹⁴⁸. The title conferred on the king of Daqin, *Maluofu*, seems to be the transcription of the Sanskrit word, *Mar Aba* ("Venerable Father") which was used to address the Nestorian patriarch¹⁴⁹. All these aspects might have concerned the territories under the power of the Eastern Roman Empire, whose capital was Constantinople, which was first influenced by the Persian traditions of the Sasanian dynasty and Nestorianism, and later went through several changes with the advent of Muslims and Turks.

The misleading pastiche of information that Zhou provides could have been given by several of his informants, who in some instances had no personal experience about what they were saying. Hence their reliability is suspect.

In attempting to better identify the toponym Daqin and what territories it indicated in Zhou's account, we should not overlook citing the *Gudai nanhai diming huishi*, according to which the toponym Daqin indicates all the territories in the Western Sea¹⁵⁰. Later it was used to

¹⁴⁶ Under the control of the Seljuk dynasty, the territory was divided among numerous emirs as feudal lords, who had to send tribute to the Sultan and to fit out troops. See also the collection of nine papers in A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yildiz, *The Seljuks of Anatolia: court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, Library of Middle East History, 38, New York, Tauris, 2013. And Koray Özacar, "The Anatolian Seljuk City. An Analysis on Early Turkish Urban Models in Anatolia", in *Central Asiatic Journal*, edited by Giovanni Stary, 54, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2010, pp. 273-290.

¹⁴⁷ This holy water can stand for the water from the Zamzam well, placed to the side of the Ka'aba in the Mecca city. Zhou describes this city in the section number 40, but he does not mention this well. According to the Arab historians, the Zamzam well has been in use for around 4000 years. The well marks the site of a spring where Ismail, Abraham's son, quenched his thirst, thanks to God (Allah)'s mercy. There is any reference for a particular holy water in the Christian territory of India. Zhao Rukuo also mentions this water in the section focused on Tianzhu country. See Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 113 nota 2.

¹⁴⁸ In this case, the toponym Tianzhu indicates the Christian territory of India of St. Thomas Church, called *India Magna* in the Christian sources, converted to the Christianity by the missionaries of the Church of the East. See Wilhelm Baum, Dietmar W. Winkler, *The Church of the East: A Concise History*, Routledge, 2003, p. 52. And Eric Frykenberg, *Christianity in India: from Beginnings to the Present*, Oxford University Press, 2008.

¹⁴⁹ Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 105.

¹⁵⁰ Chen Jiarong, et al., *Huishi*, I, p. 137.

refer to the Roman Empire, in particular the Eastern Roman Empire, including the Mediterranean coast lands of Syria, Egypt and what is now Turkey¹⁵¹. The *Cihai lishidili fence* states that the toponym Daqin was used in earliest Chinese sources as a synonym of Lijin 犁靳 or Haixi 海西, indicating the Roman Empire¹⁵².

The modern scholar Yang Wuquan suggests a new hypothesis. He affirms that the Daqin countries as described by Zhou could be identifiable with the territory under the control of the Ghaznavide dynasty (962-1186), in today's northeastern Afghanistan. It was a Muslim dynasty of Turkic origin. At its greatest extent it ruled large parts of Iran, Afghanistan, much of Transoxiana (today Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, southern Kyrgyzstan, and southwest Kazakhstan), and northwest India, including part of today's Pakistan. After the defeat of the battle of Dandanqan in 1040 against the Seljuk dynasty, they lost most of their territories and had to retreat to its Indian dependency¹⁵³. It seems that two of the main aspects contained in Zhou's account are present also in the history of the Ghaznavids, since they were Muslims and expanded their control as far as India.

Although the issue of the precise identification of Daqin territories as mirrored by Zhou is still under discussion, I think that the next section, Dashi, will help us to better understand what Zhou meant by Daqin and what kind of relationship there was between these two countries¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵¹ For a more detailed study on the origin of the toponym *Daqin* see G. Bertuccioli and F. Masini, *Italia e Cina, L'Asino D'Oro*, 2014, pp. 6 and followings. Bertuccioli, "Come i Romani vedevano i cinesi e come i cinesi vedevano i romani nell'antichità", in *Fowezia e l'Oriente*, edited by Lionelli Lanciotti, Leo S. Obichki Editore, Firenze, 1987, pp. 59-72. Bertuccioli states that the Italian toponym Cina comes from Qin, the name of the first dynasty on ancient China. The word reached the West through the mediation of center Asia population, along the earliest route of the Silk road. In the same way Chinese people called the Roman Empire with the toponym Daqin, that is to say "the great China", to honor its greatness. Likely the toponym Daqin indicated only the Eastern Roman empire.

¹⁵² Fu Zhengrong 复征农, et al., *Cihai*, p. 449.

¹⁵³ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 96. For a detailed work on Ghaznavid dynasty see Ali Anoushahr, *The Ghazi Sultans and the Frontier of Islam*, Routledge, 2009. And Edmund Bosworth, *Ghaznavids, Encyclopædia Iranica*, X/6, pp. 578-583, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ghaznavids> (accessed on 30 December 2001).

¹⁵⁴ The historiography of Muslim-Byzantine relations suffers from major gaps. This is not the right place where one might discuss this topic. Please see the following references that dealt with the subject: A.A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, French edition by H. Gregoire and M. Canard, Brussels, 1950, 2 vols; for the bibliography of Marius Canard, see M. Lefort, "Notes et documents: Index de l'œuvre historique de Marius Canard," *Arabica* 22.2 (1975):

Now let's see how Zhou describes the territories called Daqin.

The country of Daqin is the main country of the various countries of Xitian (India).¹⁵⁵ It is the place where all the foreign merchants of the Arab countries gather together.¹⁵⁶ Its king is called Maluofu.¹⁵⁷ He wears a silk hat (turban) with golden characters, sits on a throne made of a sort of silk and wool compound. There are inhabitants outside and inside the city wall.¹⁵⁸ The imperial residence is built with lime tiles, with many flags and curtains. All around (the walls) there are seven gates,¹⁵⁹ and for each of them 30 guards are assigned to defend them. There are other countries that come to pay tribute, and they venerate the king by standing one step lower than the imperial

180–211, and F. Daftary, "Marius Canard (1888–1982): A Bio-Bibliographical Notice," *Arabica* 33 (1986): 251–62. In particular, Marius Canard, "Les relations politiques et sociales entre Byzance et les Arabes," *DOP* 18 (1964): 35–56; "Quelques à côté dans l'histoire des relations entre Byzance et les Arabes," in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, vol. I (Rome, 1956), 98–119; Michael Bonner, *Arab-Byzantine Relations in Early Islamic Times*, Ashgate, 2004. In addition, J.F. Haldon and H. Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries: Military Organization and Society in the Borderlands," *Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'Etudes Byzantines, Académie Serbe des Sciences et des Arts* 19 (1980): 79–116; and C.E. Bosworth, "Byzantium and the Syrian Frontier in the Early Abbasid Period," in *Fifth International Conference on Bilad al-Sham: Bilad al-Sham during the Abbasid Period*, ed. A. Bakhit and R. Schick (Amman, 1991), 2:54–62. See Abou-Sade, Al-Amin Abdel-Hameed, *Byzantium and Islam (9th – 10th centuries): a historical evaluation of the role of religion in Byzantine-Muslim relations*, Ph.D thesis at University of Birmingham, Centre for Byzantine & Oroman and Modern Greek Studies School of Historical Studies, June 2000, for a general survey of the religious aspects and themes of Byzantine-Muslim relations, and Daniel J. Sahas, "The Oriental Character of the Byzantine-Islamic Relations: one essence-various expressions", in *Byzantium and the Arab World. Encounter of Civilizations*, edited by Ap. Kralidis and A. Gloutzioukostas, Thessaloniki, 2013: 381–404.

¹⁵⁵ This toponym, Xitian Zhuguo, is mentioned also in the previous section, number 38, titled *Zhunan*. Besides, Zhou dedicates to it the Section 42.

¹⁵⁶ In this sentence Zhou uses three toponyms which refer to the three main empires of the ancient times: the country of Daqin, the countries of Indian peninsula, called Xitian, and those of the Arabs, Dashi.

¹⁵⁷ See Hirft and Rockhill, *Chau Jo-Kua*, p. 105, note 2. And Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 97 note 2.

¹⁵⁸ Zhou uses the expression *chengmu jumin* twice in his work: in section number 39 and 74, titled *Fangyan*, in English "Dialects". According to the *Hanyu Daocidian*, the character *cheng* indicates the twofold walls city: the internal part (*cheng*) and the external one (*mu*). See Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風, et al., *Hanyu daocidian* 漢語大詞典, Shanghai Cishu Chubanshe, Shanghai, three volumes, 1986–1989, p. 1096. The expression *chengmu jumin* in the Section 74 stands for all the inhabitants who lived inside the Song empire's borders. Zhou in this case refers to the people in the southern borders of the Song territory: including Han people coming from the north side of the empire (after the fall of the Northern Song dynasty in 1127) and Zhuang people, the ethnic minority from Guangxi. For a more detailed treatment of this section see Victoria Almonte, "La concezione delle varietà linguistiche (*fangyan*) nel *LWDD* di Zhou Qufei (1178): alcune riflessioni", in *Atti del XVI Convegno AISC 2017*, edited by Elisa Giunipero and Chiara Piccinini, Cafoscara, 2019, 11–18.

¹⁵⁹ Like the city of Baghdad, Hirft and Rockhill, *Chau Jo-Kua*, p. 106 nota 4.

platform. They first wish longevity to the king and then go away. Under his room there is a tunnel half a kilometer long, which makes it possible to reach the place of worship (a church), although the king does not go there often, only to recite the Holy Scriptures and to venerate God (fo). On the seventh day he goes to the church (*libatang*) through the tunnel to worship his God, followed by 50 servants (men). Few people have seen their king's face. When he goes out, he usually rides a horse, covered by threefold green parasols.¹⁰⁰ The head of his horse is (also) totally covered and decorated with jade and gold jewels. In the past, the king of the Dashi countries, called the Sultan (*Sulan* 素丹), sent envoys to pay tribute (to the country of Daqin). If there was a rebellion in the country, the sultan of the countries of Dashi must command his own army to go and quell the revolt. They eat everything, especially rice, bread and meat. They don't drink wine. They use gold and silver utensils, and a spoon to drink and eat. After eating, they wash their hands with water in gold containers. Local products are colored glass (*liuli*), coral, metals, flowered brocades, simple silk (not decorated), red cornel (*hongmanao* 红马脑), and natural pearls. The country of Tianzhu is one of its dependencies.¹⁰¹ This country has holy water, which can stop a storm and even seems able to defeat the waves. By filling a colored glass bottle (with this kind of holy water) and shaking it, a storm can be stopped.

2.1.12. Section 40. *Dashi zhuguo. Arabic-Islamic Empire.*

Section 40 describes the large Arab-Islamic empire, comprising six subsections, each of them focused on one country under Muslim control.

Undoubtedly the Dashi toponym is a transliteration from the Persian word "Tāzīk", which was originally applied to Iranians in con-

¹⁰⁰ Hirth and Rockhill provide a long note about the possible correspondence between this kind of umbrella or parasol with threefold eaves and the sacred gown or cloak worn by the Nestorian patriarch as official dress. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 107 note 7. They state that the tunnel under the king's hall and the green colour of his parasol may have something to do with the green cloak and the love for architectural enterprise of the patriarch Elias III, elected in 1176, two years before the completion of Zhou's work. There is very few information about Elias III Abu Halim. He was born in Maipergat, today Silvan in Eastern Turkey and died in 1190 in Baghdad. Before he was elected as patriarch, he was metropolitan of Nisibi, that pertains to the diocesan bishop of a metropolis. According to me, you should consider that the 1178 is the year in which Zhou completed his work, when he was in Yongjin, far from the seaports of southern China. He collected his information before that year, when he worked in Guangxi and had the opportunity to collect hearsay information. It's not so likely that in just over a year the notice of Elias III's election has reached Zhou.

¹⁰¹ Zhao Rukuo copied this sentence in the section titled Tianzhu: «天竺国素大秦国，所立国主悉由大秦选择». Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 110.

trast to the Turks, but later came to mean “Arabs” in general¹⁶². It appears in the Tang period as a reference first to the Umayyads (*Baiyi dashi* 白衣大食) and then to the Abbasids (*Heiyi dashi* 黑衣大食). However, many “Dashis” people during the Tang and probably even the Song periods, ethnically speaking, still referred to Iranians rather than to Arabs. It is impossible to make a clear-cut distinction from the Chinese sources¹⁶³. The earliest Chinese source in which it occurs is an account written by the Buddhist monk and traveler Yi Jing (635-713), who in the seventh century used the toponym *Duoshiguo* 多氏國, to indicate the Arab Islamic empire¹⁶⁴. In the *Old Book of the Tang* and in the *New Book of the Tang* the word *Dashi* occurs many times in reference to Arab (or Persian) merchants who formed the first settlements in the coastal cities, such as Guangzhou, Yangzhou (further north on the East China coast) and Quanzhou¹⁶⁵. The account compiled by Du Huan in the eighth century also reports some information about this empire¹⁶⁶. It seems interesting that in the same period, in a letter written in Latin by the Nestorian patriarch Jesuabab (650-660), delivered to the Persian Metropolitan Simeon, the same word, *Tay*, occurs in reference to Arabs¹⁶⁷.

Before proceeding to the translation of Section 40, it is worthwhile underlining what kind of relationship there was between China and the

¹⁶² Armenian, Turkish and Mongolian languages have a similar word *Tazi*, *Tadjik* or *Tazik* for indicating an ethnic group. Emil Bretschneider, “On the knowledge possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs and Arabian Colonies, and other western countries, mentioned in Chinese books”, London, Trübner & Co., 1871, p. 6. See also *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 10, Leiden, Brill, 2000, pp. 62-63.

¹⁶³ Bretschneider, “On the knowledge”, p. 6. Song Xian, *Zhongguo Alabo wenhua jiaoliu shi hua*, p. 29. And Angela Schottenhammer, “China’s rise and retreat as a maritime power”, 189-211, in Robert Antony, Angela Schottenhammer, *New Discoveries on China’s Role in East Asian Maritime History*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2017, p. 193. See also Cihai, p. 449, under entry *Dashi*. And Chen Jianming, et al., *Huishi*, 1, p. 136.

¹⁶⁴ See Yi Jing, *Nimhai Jigui neifa*, pp. 91-92, and *Dongang Xiyu Qifu*, p. 11.

¹⁶⁵ Liu Xu, *Jin Tangshu* 舊唐書, Beijing, Zhonghua Shuju, 1997, j. 198, p. 286. Ouyang Xiu and Song Qi, *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, Beijing Zhonghua Shuju, 1974, j. 221, p. 6262.

¹⁶⁶ Du Huan, that I mentioned in the introduction of the present work, introduced the country *Dashi*, inhabited by Arab people, who followed a new religion, the Islamic one. He talked about the Nile river and the northern coast of Africa. He was surprised by the Egyptian medical science and the combination of Greek, Roman and Babylonian culture. He was able to distinguish the Persian people from the Arab and realized how much the Persians had influenced the Arab culture. Zhang Yichun, *Jingxing ji jianchu*, p. 45. See also: Song Xian, *Zhongguo Alabo wenhua jiaoliu shi hua*, 11.

¹⁶⁷ Bretschneider, “On the knowledge”, p. 6.

Arab and Persian peoples during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The imperial Song government paid more attention to the Chinese role in the international trade network between East and West. And this period was marked by a comprehensive promotion of maritime trade¹⁶⁸. Although southern islands such as Java (Shepo) and Sumatra (Sanfoqi) gained more importance in trade on the Indian Ocean¹⁶⁹, Chinese harbors still remained reference points for foreign merchants. Foreign ships were often welcomed by officials of new *shibosi* 市舶司, the offices for supervising maritime trade. The variety and abundance of Chinese goods and the efficiency of the mercantile services (offered by the *shibosi*) were able to attract merchants and travelers from foreign countries, even those further afield. In such a context, the number of Arab merchants increased too, promoting the formation of Muslim communities in Southeast China. The Islamic communities already established in Southeast Asia and in the area of the Indian Ocean played a remarkable role in developing Chinese communities and enhancing the mercantile network between Java, Sumatra, Malaysia, Ceylon and Song Dynasty China¹⁷⁰. Luxury goods, lesser commodities and knowledge flowed back and forth between the ports of the Middle East, those of South Asia and those of the East Asian mainland: Jiaozhi, (north Vietnam) Guangzhou, Quanzhou (in Fujian) and Yang-

¹⁶⁸ It was particularly the extension of trade and commerce, which sometimes has been considered a "commercial revolution", that nourished the thesis of "China's transition to modernity", proposed by the Japanese sinologist Naitō Kōnan 内藤湖南 (1866-1934) and the so-called Kyōto-School of sinology. They considered the Song dynasty the end of the "Chinese middle ages" and the beginning of "modernity". See Schottenhammer, "The Song dynasty (960-1279) - A revolutionary Era Turn?", p. 133.

¹⁶⁹ Wolters provides a detailed study on the important role in medieval Asian trade played by south-eastern Sumatran empire Srivijaya. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, p. 235 and following. Angela Schottenhammer also has investigated the role of the Malay Archipelago and Srivijaya in the transfer of products from Iran and Arabia to China. See Angela Schottenhammer, "Transfer of *Xiangshui* from Iran and Arabia to China - a reinvestigation of Entries in the *Yongchang zhiu* (863)", in *Aspects of the maritime Silk Road: from the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea*, edited by Ralph Kautz, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2010, 117-149: 122. And Claude Guillot, "La Perse et le Monde malais: Echanges commerciaux et intellectuels", in *Archipel*, 68, 2004, 159-192.

¹⁷⁰ Regarding the role of Islamic communities in the merchant network in South East Asia see Hugh R. Clark, "Muslims and Hindus in the Culture and Morphology of Quanzhou from the Tenth to the Thirteenth century", *Journal of World History* 6, no. 1 (1995), 49-75; Chaffee "Diasporic Identities in the Historical Development of the Maritime Muslim Communities of Song - Yuan China", in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49, no. 4 2006, 395-420; Chaffee, *The Muslim merchants*, 62 and 76-123.

zhou (on the Yangzi river)¹⁷¹. Merchants and travelers were aware of the main geographical ideas being spread in their countries and became representatives of them, thanks to both their personal travel experiences and their cultural background. They served the particular function of acting as cultural middlemen between their fellow merchants and local authorities¹⁷². The most important point for this kind of research is that most of those merchants, who travelled along the Indian Ocean from West to East, were Muslims¹⁷³. Whether these merchants had settled in Southeast Asian harbors or were trading from distant ports in Arabia, they were deeply involved in circulating Arab culture and knowledge¹⁷⁴.

Let's see Zhou's description of the Arab countries (and culture).

The term Dashi is the general name that comprises several countries. There are more than 100 countries, which are part of this empire, but we are familiar with only a few of them.

1) There is the country of Malibaguo.¹⁷⁵ From Guangzhou starting during mid-winter, in a ship with a north wind, Lanli is reached in about 40 days.

¹⁷¹ The burgeoning of maritime trade during the Song dynasty is detailed in Paul Wheatley, "Geographical Notes on some commodities involved in Song Maritime Trade", in *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 32, 2, 1961. More recently Angela Schottenhammer, "Guangzhou as China's Gate to the Indian Ocean: The importance of Iranian and Arab Merchant Networks for Long Distance Maritime Trade during the Tang-Song Transition (c. 750-c.1050)", in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 76, 2016: pp. 155-172. André Wink, *Al-Hind. The making of the Indo-Islamic World. Vol. 1, Early Medieval India and the Expansion of Islam 7th to 11th centuries*, Leiden, New York, Köln, Brill, 1996, on the dispersion of the Muslim merchants into the Indian Ocean.

¹⁷² As argued by Philip Curtin in his influential *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*. Philip Curtin, *Cross Cultural Trade in World History*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984.

¹⁷³ See the interesting paper of Geoff Wade, "The Li and Pu "Sumames" in East Asia-Middle East Maritime Silkroad Interactions during the 10th-12th centuries", in *Aspects of the Maritime Silk Road. From the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea*, edited by Ralph Kuntz, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2010, 181-193. And Raphael Israeli, "Medieval Muslim Travelers to China", in *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 20:2, 2000, 313-321.

¹⁷⁴ The work of John W. Chaffee is crucial for the research of the prominent role of Muslim merchants in China. Chaffee, *The Muslim Merchants*. And Matthew Adam Cobb, *The Indian Ocean Trade in Antiquity: Political, Cultural and Economic Impacts*, Routledge, London, 2018.

¹⁷⁵ Netolitsky identified this toponym with the reign of Mervat in the Arabic Peninsula, maybe following the hypothesis proposed by Hirth and Rockhill. See Netolitsky, *Das Lingwai Tai-ta*, p. 44 and 232. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 121. In the Russian translation, the author preferred not to identify it. See Ubyanov, *Ling Wai Dai Dao*, p.146 and note 334. As you may suppose, the precise identification of this country is still difficult. Zhao Ruokao did not focus on a separate report on this country, but mentioned it in the section on Dashi, when he described the dependencies of this country. Additionally, he used the toponym Maluono

Here you can buy especially sapan wood, pewter (tin alloyed with other metals) and rattan. After staying here through the end of winter, you can start sailing again, with a north-east wind, and, if the wind is favorable (that is to say, it should correspond to the end winter monsoons), you can arrive in 60 days (at Malibaguo). This country produces frankincense, ambergris,¹⁷⁸ natu-

麻里抹, in which the third character is little different from that used by Zhou, 抹. Hirth and Rockhill state that the last character is certainly an error, it should be 抹, as in Zhou. According to them, the country referred to is Mirbat on the Hadramaut coast of Arabia and it should be the same as the one described by Zhou. See Hirth and Rockhill, *Chou Ju-kua*, p. 25, 116 and 121. Feng Chengjun, *Zhouji zhi*, pp. 33-34. Ancient Merbat was known as Robot, near modern Takha, halfway between Cape Rissat and today's Merbat (in southern Oman). See the geographical account by James Theodore Bent, *Expedition to Hadramut*, London 1895, pp. 115-116, 124-125.

Zhao Rukun, in the Baida and Jizini sections, used the toponym Malaoba as a point of departure to indicate the distance from one country to another. In his annotations, Feng Chengjun argued that this toponym can be identified with the Indian coast of Malabar. This second toponym used by Zhao is once again little different from that used by Zhou; the second character is 巴 instead of 抹. It seems possible to identify Zhou's country of Maliba with the coast of western India, in Arabic "Malaibar" or "Munaibar". Gerald R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese, being a translation of Kitāb al-furūdīfī usūl al-bahr wa'l-qawā'id of Ahmad b. Mājīd al-Najdī*, London, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1971, p. 450. Unfortunately, we don't have enough information to better identify the Maliba toponym. If we consider the timing provided by Zhou to reach this country, the identification appears even more complicated. Zhou affirms that it takes only 60 days to sail with a favorable wind from Lanli (on the island of Sumatra) to Maliba, and 80 days of land travel from Maliba to Meja (Mecca city). These two bits of information suggest two possible routes: 1) if Maliba is identified with the port(s) in today's Oman territory, the questions arise, as they did in the twelfth century, if it was possible to sail from northern Sumatra toward west to the Oman coast, through the Indian Ocean, without mentioning any halfway point, and it was likely that Mecca was as far (80 days by land) from Oman's port; 2) if Maliba corresponds to the west coast of India (Malabar), although it seems likely that it took only 60 days to sail from Lanli to the Indian coast (with favorable winds), but the question arises, since it was possible to travel only by land from the country of Maliba to Mecca, without counting the well-known sea routes, at least in the first leg of the journey. At that time seafaring in the Western part of the Indian Ocean - between the Arab centers of commerce in the Red Sea region and the South-Iranian ports to the coastline of South-Asian subcontinent - was prominent. The connections between the Near West and China is a 'sandwich' of evidence: one half consists of the trade routes to India, and the second half of those from India via Southeast Asia to the South Chinese harbours. See Max Doeg, "Maritime Routes in the Indian Ocean in Early Times According to Chinese Buddhist Texts", in *Aspects of the Maritime Silk Road: from the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea*, edited by Ralph Kauz, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2010, pp. 153-158. Therefore, it is rather unlikely that Zhou did not know of the sea route from India to the Arabian Peninsula.

¹⁷⁸ The Chinese term is *longxian*, which literally means dragon's saliva, probably because the Chinese believed that the Western Arab Sea was inhabited by this mythological animal. Actually, ambergris is a solid substance produced in the digestive system of sperm whales, commonly used as a perfume in ancient times. Zhou focused on this product also in the chapter entitled "Treasures", in Section 145, where he described *longxian* as neither fragrant nor smelly. See below the translation of section 145:

ral pearls, colored glass, rhino horns, elephant ivory, coral, fragrant rosewood, myrrh (*mojiao*),¹⁷⁷ resin *dracontis*, *asafetida* (*awet*),¹⁷⁸ liquid storax or benzoin (*suheyou*), gall nuts (*moshizi*),¹⁷⁹ rosewater and other goods. All other Arab

«There are many dragons in the Western Arab sea. They lay their heads on a stone and fall asleep. Their exhaled saliva floats and accumulates on the surface of the water, where it can harden. People of the sea (mermans and mermaids) collect it, considering as a great jewel. Its color first is fresh white, after a short period becomes purple, and later even black. You can see it in the city of Panyu (ancient name for Guangzhou), when (merchants) bring it. It is neither fragrant nor smelly. It looks like pumice and is very light. People say that ambergris has a wonderful aroma, or they also say that ambergris smells of raw fish, or that it can exude a strong aroma. None of this (information) is true. Ambergris, added to incense, will neither improve nor worsen it. But it is possible to smoke it (to make smoking). Mixing with incense use pure ambergris. When people burn (smoke) one *zhu* (ancient unit of weight), a wisp of emerald smoke rises into the air, densens and does not disperse. The guests (overseas merchants) can cut a stream of smoke with scissors. This is the reason why one can say: "the heart of a dragon's breath in the form of towers and terraces».

For the Chinese text, see Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 266. For the Russian translation see p. Ulyanov, *Ling Wai Dai Da*, p. 227. The last sentence is a quotation from the ancient work of Sima Qian, *Shiji* 史記 (*Historical records*), chapter *Tianguan* 天官書, "A treatise on celestial phenomena (or Astronomy)". This product is mentioned also by Aleni, the 17th-century Jesuit, in his geographical work, *Zhifang Waiji*, in the section titled "Libya, North Africa". Aleni compared the substance from a fox's stomach (living in this territory) with *longxian*, saying that the former was as precious as ambergris and could be useful to heal earache. See De Troia, *Géographie*, p. 135. But it must also be considered that in the chapter on the Turks (*De'erge* 度爾格), Aleni deals with the custom of burning incense: «People used to burn small stones because they believed that the aroma could ward off evil (and diseases)». Those stones make me to think of the use of ambergris (like a small stone) which is added to incense, of which Zhou writes. The interesting aspect is that Aleni was describing the territories of Arabian Peninsula. This should lead scholars to reconsider the question of the identifying the Maliba toponym. There are analogies between Zhou's description and Aleni's few comments.

¹⁷⁷ It is a gum resin of shrubs and trees, often thorny, of the family of Burseraceae. It was mixed with wine for wounds from metal blades and falls from horses, miscarriages and pains during and after childhood, apparently as analgesic. See Angela Schottenhammer, "Transfer of *Xiangyao* from Iran and Arabia to China: a reinvestigation of Entries in the *Youyang zazu* (863)", in *Aspects of the maritime Silk Road: from the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea*, edited by Ralph Kauz, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2010, 117-149; 128.

¹⁷⁸ Laufer provides extant information about this gum-resin. See Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica, Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in the Ancient Iran*, Chicago: University of Illinois, 1919, p. 361. See also Angela Schottenhammer, "Transfer of *Xiangyao*", p. 135.

¹⁷⁹ Hirth and Rockhill translated it as 'oak galls'. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chou Ju-kau*, p. 215. Gall nuts from oak trees are globular excrescences caused by the gall wasp puncturing the twigs, leaves and buds and depositing its ova in several species of oak to be found in Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria and Persia. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 367. They are mentioned as one of the products of Bosi, Persia country, already in the *Weishu*. See also Angela Schottenhammer, "Transfer of *Xiangyao*", p. 141. Other Chinese sources about aromatic and medicinal drugs mention this product: the *Pinchi lun* 埤埤論 or *Leigong pinchi lun* 雷公埤埤論, in the fifth century uses the term 墨石子; the *Suishu*, in the Section 83 titled *Bosi zhuan* 波斯傳, uses the term *wushizi* 无石子. Duan Chengshi in his work writes that the *wushizi* 无石子 comes

countries trade so far. The king, the officials and the people all pray and venerate Heaven (they are Muslims). Each official uses golden brocades tied together like turbans, and white robes with golden characters like dresses, or brocades of various styles, and on their feet they wear red leather shoes. They live in palaces of 5 floors, eat bread (cake), meat and cheese. Poor people eat only fish and vegetables. This land has little rice, but it produces fruits of a sweet, non-sour taste. They make wine with grapes, as well as a tisane called *siaujin*,¹⁰⁰ using boiled sugar with fragrant spices. They make a wine called *meisidahuajiu* with honey and fragrant spices,¹⁰¹ usually warming it to enhance its flavor. They have gold and metal coins. Huge ships and wealthy merchants gather there. The eleventh month of the third year of the Yuanyou era of the Zhezong emperor (1088), the *Mahuoba* country¹⁰² of the Arab empire sent dispatches with tributes to our king,¹⁰³ this is the country of Maliba? 2) There is the country of Majia.¹⁰⁴ Continuing westwards from the country of Maliba, this country (Majia) can be reached in just over 80 days by land. This is the place where the God *Maxiawu* (Muhammad) was born.¹⁰⁵ The core of their holy place is shaped like a square,¹⁰⁶ with walls made of precious five-colored jade (*al-hajar al-aswad*). For every anniversary of the death of its founder, each King of the various countries of the Arab empire sends envoys bringing precious products and gold and silver to give away for charity. They cover the great square stone with precious brocades and silks.¹⁰⁷ Every year people (the pilgrims from the various countries) arrive there for their religious rituals, even the high-ranking officials of other countries. There is no limit to the distance to be traveled; everyone comes to cele-

from Bost country and in Persian was called *mozi* 摩祿. Duan Chengshi 段成式, *Du Cong* 杜鰲, *Youxiang zazhi* 酉阳杂俎, *Lishi Biji mingzhu congshu* 历代笔记名著丛书, Qishu shushe 齐鲁书社, Jinan, chapter 18, p. 128. See also Tu, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 58. Zhou mentions it also in the subsection of Wailiguo.

¹⁰⁰ Hirth and Rockhill, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 115, (*sia jin* 思酥酒).

¹⁰¹ Zhao Ruokao also mentions it. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chiu Ju-tan*, p. 116.

¹⁰² Here Zhou uses a different toponym, *Mahuoba* instead of *Maliba*. According to the Chinese scholar Tu Youxiang, they could identify the same territory, including the cities of Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo. Tu, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 120, note 5.

¹⁰³ This diplomatic mission is also mentioned in the *Songshi*, *History of the Song*. But the country that sent dispatches remains unclear. See *Song Shi*, *Juan* 490, *Liezhuan* 249, p. 14118.

¹⁰⁴ It stands for Mecca city. In the *Tangshu* we find the toponym *Modina* 摩地那, standing for Medina, not for Mecca. Liu Yu in his work *Xihouji* 西使记 in 1263 uses the term *Tianfang* 天房, Wang Dnyuan in 1349 uses *Tiantang* 天堂 and Ma Huan, in the XV century, prefers *Tianfang* 天方.

¹⁰⁵ In the *Tangshu* the transcription is quite different, *Mohemo* 摩河末, Ma Huan when describes the city of Mecca, uses the term *Mahama* 马哈嘛. Aleni mentions *Mahama* 马哈默. De Troia, *Geografia*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁶ Here Zhou is probably referring to the Ka'aba: the most sacred site in Islam.

¹⁰⁷ This stands for the *kiswar*, the precious black cloth that covers the Ka'aba.

brate their religion.¹⁸⁸ Behind this square stone (the Ka'aba), there is the tomb of the founder.¹⁸⁹ Night and day there is always an immense light. One is not allowed to enter it, and often the people who pass by it must close the eyes.¹⁹⁰ It seems that people on the verge of death are sprinkled with earth taken from the tomb of the sacred founder, who can intercede to keep them from dying.

3) There is the country of Baida,¹⁹¹ the capital, the main city of all the countries that are included in the Arab Empire. The king of this country is the direct descendant of the God *Muṣṭawī* (Muhammad). Although the various countries of the Arab Empire used to invade each other with their armies, no one dares to violate these borders (those of the most grandiose city, Baghdad), and so this country is very prosperous. When the king shows himself in public, a black cover is used to cover his carriage,¹⁹² with gold handles, on top of which there is a jade lion, which carries on its shoulders a large golden moon, bright as stars, which can be seen even from far away. The main streets of the city are full of people everywhere and are strewn with precious stones and lush treasures.¹⁹³ Wherever you go you can taste bread, meat and fresh

¹⁸⁸ He refers to the Hajj, the pilgrimage until Mecca that every Muslim has to do once in his life at least.

¹⁸⁹ Here Zhou probably refers to the tomb of Ismael, Abram's son, considered as the founder of the Arab race. It is placed at Mecca. See Reuven Firestone, *Journeys in holy lands: the evolution of the Abraham-Ismael legends in Islamic exegesis*, Albany, N.Y., State University of New York, 1990, on the Islamic legends in relation to those found in Jewish, Christian and pre-Islamic Arabian communities.

¹⁹⁰ The strong and bright light is a feature of Mohammed's tomb, placed in Medina, not in Mecca city. However, the account of Ibn Battuta, the Maghreb-traveler of fourteenth century, could help us. As the below translation will show, his description resembles that provided by Zhou. He says that: «On the Ka'aba no bird can lay, unless it is sick, in this case either dies or heals immediately. Its sides are covered by a silver plate, whose whiteness stands out on its blackness. Looking at it, the eyes are dazzled by such precious splendor». See Tressio, *i Viaggi*, p. 153-4.

¹⁹¹ It stands for Baghdad in modern Iraq. It was founded from the caliph Abū Gha'far al-Mansūr during the Abbasid dynasty in eighth century, on Tigris river. It was a very multi-ethnic and multi-religious city, where Muslim, Christian from the Church of the East and from Nestorianism lived without problems. In 1055 it was conquered by Seljuk dynasty that defeated the Abbasid one. However, it remains the core of the Arab-Islamic empire, hence Zhou states it was the capital among Dashi countries. See A.A. Duri, "Baghdād.", in *El 2*. And G. Le Strange, "Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate. A Topographical Summary, with a Notice of the Contemporary Arabic and Persian Authorities", in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1899, pp. 847-893.

¹⁹² Hirth and Rockhill, *Chou An-kou*, p. 135. It resembles to the kind of umbrella or parasol with threefold eaves used to cover the king of Daqin country. Section number 39.

¹⁹³ The description provided by Zhou corresponds with those of Arab travelers and geographers during the same century. For instance, the account of Mesopotamia and Baghdad provided by Ibn Serepius in the tenth century. See Guy Le Strange, "Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdad, written about the year 900 a. d. by Ibn Serepius", in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, Londra, pp. 1-75. Idrīsī in the twelfth century also describes Baghdad as a rich and strong city, divided into two parts by a canal, crossed by many bridges, very useful for the numerous merchants living and working in the city. See Amédée Jaubert, *Géographie d'Edrisi*, two volumes, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1836, II, (sixth section, forth climate), p. 156. The

cheese.¹⁹⁴ Fish, rice and vegetables are difficult to find. They produce gold and silver, high-quality stained-glass objects (*niashua luli*), high-grade yuemo white fabrics,¹⁹⁵ liquid storax or benzoin (*subeyou*).¹⁹⁶ All the inhabitants of this country wear a white turban. The so-called colored glass (*ruan luli*) is produced precisely in this country.

4) There is the country of Jicini,¹⁹⁷ surrounded entirely by high mountains. The mountains were dug to make tunnels for the city, which has an area of

term "climate" stands for latitude and indicates one of the categorization criteria used by Idriṣī. He divided his world map into seven climates, according to their distances from the equator, and each climate was divided into ten sections longitudinally. In the Islamic cartography tradition, latitude was also known as *iqfāw*, from the Greek word *κλίμα* (*klima*) that means "inclination", and entered Arabic through the translation of Ptolemy. Gerald R. Tibbetts, "The Balkhi School of Geographers", II, book 1, chapter 5, in Woodward and Harley, *History of Cartography, Islamic Tradition*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1987, 108-136, p. 114.

¹⁹⁴ The Chinese term, actually, is *salun* 酥酪, maybe it would be better to translate as "butter".

¹⁹⁵ This type of cloth was manufactured in Baghdad, Ghazni and Asia Minor. See Wheatley, "Geographical Notes", p. 61.

¹⁹⁶ Zhou mentions this product also in the subsections of Maliba and Jicini.

¹⁹⁷ It can refer to Ghazni city, to modern-day northeastern Afghanistan. From 962 to 1040 it was the capital of the Ghaznavide dynasty. Then, after the defeat of the Seljuks, it retreated to northern India. During the twelfth century Ghazni was controlled by the Seljuk dynasty and for a brief period from the Ghuride dynasty. Zhou in his description adds that the country of Jizini is 120 days away from the country of Maliba. Feng, *Zhuoan zhi*, p. 46. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chow Ju-kua*, p. 138-139. Ghazni was well-known to Arab and Persian travelers and geographers already in earlier periods and it is rather likely that Zhou, in the twelfth century, became aware of its existence from his informants. Estakfī (858-939), a jurist from Qom in north-western Iran, in the tenth century described Ghazni as one the richest cities of the Ghaznavide Empire, worthy of the name of the port of India. Ibn Hawqal, a geographer and traveler who wrote the *Kutub sūrat al-arḍ* in 988 and probably visited the territory to the north of Pakistan some years earlier, mentioned Ghazni as the main trading point for the products imported to India and, according to his account, an important city for Hindu merchants. Francesco Gabrieli, "Ibn Hawqal e gli arabi di Sicilia", in *L'Islam nella storia*, Bari, Dedalo, 1966, pp. 57-67. Anas B. Khalidov, "IBN HAWQAL, ABU'L-QASEM MOHAMMAD ibn Aḥmad Naṣībī, traveler and geographer of the 10th century", in *Iranian Encyclopaedia*, 1997, vol. VIII, Fasc. 1, pp. 27-28. Al Biruni, the important Persian geographer and scholar, lived at Ghaznavide court and died in 1050 at Ghazni. C. Edmund Bosworth, David Pingree, George Saliba, Georges C. Anawati, François de Blois, Bruce B. Lawrence, "BĪRŪNĪ, ABŪ RAYHĀN", in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 1989, vol. IV, Fasc. 3, pp. 274-287. Idriṣī, in his geographical work, in 1154 mentioned Ghazni, using the Ghaznein ٱلٱلٱلٱل toponym and described it as a powerful city, with an opulent market, a great mosque and abundant water. This point recalls the river (which surrounded the city) which Zhou referred to in his description. According to Idriṣī's work, Ghazni was just 4 days away from Merv city, which I will treat further on. Jambert, *Idriṣī*, I, section 8, p. 467. Yāqūt, in the eve of the Mongolian invasion (1221) described Ghazni still as an important city. Charles Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse et des contrées adjacentes: extrait du Muḥjam al-biḥār de Yāqūt*, Imprimerie impériale, Paris, 1861, p. 406. Ibn Battuta in 1332 or 1333 used the Ghazna toponym, in talking about Maḥmūd ibn Selbuktigin, who expanded the borders of the Ghaznavide dynasty up to India. He wrote then that the city was in ruins

200 *li* per side, and is surrounded by a large course of water. This country has more than 100 places of worship (churches or mosques), and there is one that is larger than 10 *li* per side. The inhabitants once every seven days go to their place of worship to carry out religious rites, which are called *chumie*.¹⁹⁸ This country produces gold and silver, *yumenao* fabric, golden silk brocades, camel wool in 5 colors, inlaid glass (*nianhua liuli*), liquid storax or benzoin (*sie-ke-you*),¹⁹⁹ *wumingzi*,²⁰⁰ and bezoar stone (*mozuo*).²⁰¹ People eat bread, meat and cheese, but fish and rice are scarce. Most of the people are strong and healthy, living in 4-7-floor towers. Many of them raise camels and horses. These lands are extremely cold: from autumn to spring the snow never disappears, this the reason which is why you should approach it gradually from its northwest side.²⁰²

5) There is the country of Meilugudun.²⁰³ It is surrounded by a seven-fold wall,²⁰⁴ From remote antiquity, they used tiers of big black shiny stones, and

and that during the winter it was usually abandoned by its inhabitants because of the freezing temperatures. Treppo, *I Viaggi*, p. 431; Charles Defrémery and Benjamin Raphael Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Battuta*, (with Arabic text), Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1853-1859, III, p. 87. Zhou two centuries earlier also mentioned the extremely cold weather.

¹⁹⁸ It was the Arabic word for "assembly, meeting", *jum'ah*. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 139 note 2. In some versions the character is *chu* 筵, instead of 筵. The pronunciation is the same.

¹⁹⁹ Already mentioned in Malibagua and Baidagua. It is a kind of resin, extracted by *Liquidambar orientalis*, an aromatic and medicinal drug. De Troia, *Geographia*, pp. 135-78. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 120.

²⁰⁰ Hydrated iron oxide known as limonite. According to the *Dongxi Yangkao* 东西洋考, it is found in the Arab countries as stone and after heating it was chewed like a sweet. Wheatley, "Geographical Notes on Some Commodities", p. 75. And Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 140 note 3.

²⁰¹ It is the bezoar stone, which Zhou Qufei also describes in the Meilugudun sub-section. The object is actually not a stone but a mass of undigested matter that has gathered in the gastrointestinal tract. Its usage was very common in Turkey and remains so in modern-day Iran and Afghanistan, where animals able to form bezoars, like sheep and deer, are fairly common. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 525. See also Edward H. Schafer, *The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South*, University of California Press, 1985, p. 216. Schafer talked about a kind of bezoar extracted from the bellies of some serpents in Nam Viet. The best bezoar stone was from the stomach of a wild goat in the Persian province. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 140 note 3.

²⁰² In the annotated version edited by Tu there is *jin* 浸, "to soak, to immerse", in the version edited by Yang there is the character *jin* 浸, "gradually".

²⁰³ The identification of this toponym is still under discussion. In a previous paper I suggested a new hypothesis: this toponym may indicate Merv, a city whose borders fell within those of modern-day Turkmenistan. In the twelfth century it was an important oasis in Central Asia on the historical Silk road, and Chinese and Arabic sources mention it several times. See Victoria Almonte, "Identifying the country of Meilugudun and the Significant value of Zhou Qufei's *Lingwai Daida*", in *Ming Qing Yanjiu*, 21, 2017, 1-43.

²⁰⁴ Merv's walls, as archeological excavation shows us today, were built in different periods and with a variety of fortifications. Georgina Hermann, "The Medieval City of Merv and the Buildings of the Merv Oasis", <https://maxvanberchem.org> [accessed 13 September 2017].

each wall is distant from the other by a thousand paces. There are more than three hundred foreign pagodas (minarets),²⁰⁵ among which one is eighty-zhang high and has three hundred and sixty rooms.²⁰⁶ All the people wear turbans covering the neck. When it is cold, they also use colored woolen materials. Their food consists of meat and bread. Gold and silver are used for coins.²⁰⁷ The substance called *jiaoxiao*,²⁰⁸ rose-water,²⁰⁹ gardenia flowers,²¹⁰ bezoar stones (*mozuo*), and borax²¹¹ are all products of this country.

V. A. Zavyalov "The Fortifications of the City of Gynur Kala, Merv", in Cribb, J. and G. Hermann (eds.), *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 313–29. T. Williams "The City of Sultan Kala, Merv, Turkmenistan: Communities, Neighborhoods and Urban Planning from the Eighth to the Thirteenth Century", in Bennison, A. K. & A. Gascoigne (eds.), *Cities in the Pre-Modern Islamic World: The Urban Impact of Religion, State and Society*, London: Routledge, 2007, pp. 42–62.

²⁰⁵ Merv territory was a marvel of towns and villages, each of which had its own mosque and market. Possibly Zhou used that number to indicate merely a large amount.

²⁰⁶ This description has led me to argue that Zhou is confused between the Naw Bahar temple (the Zoroastrian temple situated near the city of Balkh, not far from Merv) and the domed house of Abu Muslim, who founded the Abbasid dynasty in the eighth century, located in Merv. This was a palace with a domed chamber in the center, surrounded by four *iwans* (typical Islamic architectural structure) opening to various courts, with many rooms for residents (women, servants, and so on). Please see T. Williams, *Ancient Merv: Queen of Cities*, World Heritage 24, UNESCO, 2002, pp. 4–15. Mike Corbishley and Luise Cooke, *Ancient Cities of Merv: Handbook for Teachers*, London: University College of London 2003, p. 17.

²⁰⁷ Using silver and gold to make coins shows the level of wealth and civilization of the people and demonstrates the importance and productiveness of Merv's markets, which achieved levels never reached by other cities in Khurasan. De Goeje, *Vind Regnumum*, auctore Al Istakhrī, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, E. J. E., Leida, 1870–77 1: 260–61.

²⁰⁸ Hirth and Rockhill translate it as "sea silk", also known as byssus. The Chinese scholar Yang Wuquan describes *jiaoxiao* as a kind of high-quality muslin or chiffon.

²⁰⁹ It was typical precious product from the province of Fars, in modern-day Iran. Zhou does not describe it, Zhao, instead, does say it is from the Dashi countries and that the flower from which it is made is not identical with the Chinese rose. Hirth and Rockhill, *China As-Kia*, pp. 203–04. For a full discussion on the topic (in particular the production of rose-water in Persian territories and its export around the world during the tenth through twelfth centuries), see Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Frank Cass and Co. Ltd, 1966, p. 293.

²¹⁰ There were different kinds of gardenia. Section 133 focuses on *fan-shi* <https://ctext.org/liji/qu-bi-lv> 蕃梔子, "Foreign gardenia". See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 249. Also, in the earlier work *Touyang zazu*, Duan Chengshi described *shizihua*, traditionally from western regions (Xiyu) and called *zhanhubua* 瞿卜花. Duan Chengshi 段成式, *Du Cong* 杜翊, *Touyang Zazu*, p. 125.

²¹¹ Also known as *tinal* in Sanskrit, it was imported to Italy by Marco Polo. Borax is a boron compound that occurs in evaporated deposits left by the repeated evaporation of seasonal lakes. Today, the most important deposits are found in Turkey. But borax was first discovered in Tibet and was carried via the Silk Road to the Arabian Peninsula in the eighth century. Arabs used it to produce a particularly durable kind of glass. Borax traces have been found in Arab products from the eighth century and afterwards, and from the 10th century on this component also occurred in Chinese lacquers. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 503. Consult also <http://www.azom.com/article.aspx?ArticleID=2588> [accessed 31 August 2017] and see Needham, *Science and Civilisation*, 3 pp. 662 and following.

6) There is the country of Wusili.²¹² This place is rich in mountains. In autumn the dew drops, at dawn it solidifies like frozen sugar, and is collected to be eaten. It is fresh and cool, rich in nutrition and sugary; this is just a sweet dew (a nectar).²¹³ On the mountains there is a kind of plant that grows spontaneously, the first year producing wheat,²¹⁴ the second year producing galls nuts (*moshizi*).²¹⁵ The land produces asbestos cloth and coral.²¹⁶

2.1.13. Section 41. *Mulanpiguó. The country of Mulanpi.*

Section 41 describes the country of Mulanpi. This is the westernmost territory mentioned by Zhou. The toponym Mulanpi could be identified with the Arabic name of the Berber Muslim dynasty *Al-Murābiṭūn* or in English Almoravid, which from the eleventh century established an empire over western Maghreb and Al Andalus (Muslim Spain)²¹⁷. I would suggest a new identification for this toponym,

²¹² It indicates the city of Mosul in northern Iraq. It was one of the main points of reference along the route from Baghdad to Aleppo. In 1096 it was conquered by the Seljuk dynasty and after 1127 it reached its acme in the Islamic power. H. Honigsmann, "Mosul", *First Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden, Brill, 1913-36, vol. 3, pp. 609-611. And Ibn al-Athir, *Tarikh al-dawla al-Atabakiya Mūlak al-musul*, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, vol. 11.2, Paris, 1871, pp. 1-394.

²¹³ A quite similar description of this particular dew is provided by Giulio Aleni in the section focused on Turk people. De Troia, *Geografia*, p. 69, Chinese text XVI. In Chinese: «有树如象栗夜露降其上即凝为蜜晨取食之极甘美». The description provided by Zhou is the following: «秋露既降，日出固之，凝如糖霜，采而食之，清凉甘腴，此真甘露也». As the bold characters show, they use the same words to describe it. Aleni is describing the oak tree, whose dew during the night solidifies like honey and in the morning can be picked and eaten. It is very sweet and refreshing.

²¹⁴ Zhao Rukuo, that copied quite verbatim this section, used the character 栗, "chestnut", as in the *Yongyong Zazu*. As you can argue, the difference between the two characters, 栗 and 栗, is very little. For the reference of the *Yongyong Zazu*, see Duan Chengshi, Du Cong, *Yongyong zazu*, p. 213.

²¹⁵ Zhou also has mentioned it in the subsection *Malibuguo*. See note above.

²¹⁶ Hirth and Rockhill, *Chou Ju-lua*, p. 140, *Huohuanbu* 火浣布 was the fabric in asbestos fibers, from Greek asbestos. Earlier Chinese sources also mentioned this particular product: *Lizi* 列子, chapter *Tangwen* 汤问, during the period of Springs and Autumns writes «火浣之布，浣之必投于火»; the *Hou Hanshu* 后汉书, chapter *Xiyushuo* 西域传, section *Daqiguo* 大秦国, describes it as «作黄金涂，火浣布……凡外国诸珍异皆出焉». See Needham, *Science and Civilization*, III, chapter 25, pp. 655-662.

²¹⁷ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 107 note 1. Feng Chengjun in his *Xiyu diming* (*Dictionary of toponyms of Western Territory*) under the entry *Murabit* also states that this toponym refers to the Almoravid dynasty. Feng, *Xiyu diming*, p. 67. See also Tu, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 59 and Hirth and Rockhill, *Chou Ju-lua*, p. 142; Chen Jiarong et al., *Huishi*, II, p. 1002, under the entry *Murabit*. Zhang Xinglang, instead, affirms that this toponym stands for all the countries stretched over the northern Africa, known in Arabic as *Maghreb*. Zhang, *Huibian*, II, p. 589.

which may refer to the Almohad dynasty, in Arabic *al-Muwahhidun* الموحدون, a Moroccan Berber Muslim movement founded to overthrow the previous Almoravid dynasty. Then by 1159 they extended their power over all Maghreb²¹⁸. The rebellion of an exponent of the Almohad family, added to the violence of the Crusades, undermined the stability of the Almoravid dynasty²¹⁹. The Almohad dynasty in 1147 conquered Marrakech, definitively defeating the Almoravids. These two dynasties had very similar features: both were Berber Muslim dynasties, conquered a very large territory during the eleventh and twelfth century, and, last but not least, their Arabic names have a very similar sound. Given their similarities, Zhou perhaps confused the historical data and his description may refer to both the Almoravid and the Almohad dynasties²²⁰. Idrisi's description of these territories also deserves more careful treatment. When he deals with the Berber countries, he mentions the territory called *Dar al Morabetin*, the house of the Morabetin²²¹. The sound of this toponym is very similar to that used by Zhou. Besides, Idrisi describes the ostrich and its precious fat²²². As the description below will show, Zhou mentions a strange tall animal, called *huyang* (goat or sheep) with a fan-like tail. Then he describes the process for extracting the fat from its stomach. Ostriches were very common in those territories of north Africa, their fat was very precious and popular, and they are tall and indeed have a large fan-like tail. The only discrepancy is the use of the term *yang*, which in Chinese means goat or sheep. Since sheep and rams were very common animals throughout the Almohad and the Almoravid territory²²³, it's reasonable to expect that Zhou mistook the ostrich for a kind of sheep. And further, ostriches were a very rare animal for the Song Chinese and Zhou probably never heard of them.

²¹⁸ For a more detailed study about the history of Maghreb territories and people see F. Tamburini, M. Vernassa, *I Paesi del grande Maghreb. Storia, istituzioni e geo-politica di una identità regionale*, Pisa, Plus, 2010.

²¹⁹ Julia Ann Clancy-Smith, *North Africa, Islam and the Mediterranean World: From the Almoravids to the Algerian War*, in *History & Society in the Islamic World*, London, Portland, Or.; Frank Cass, 2001, p. 59.

²²⁰ Earlier Chinese sources don't mention north-western coast of Africa.

²²¹ Jaubert, *Idrisi*, vol. I, p. 218.

²²² Jaubert, *Idrisi*, vol. I, p. 218.

²²³ Idrisi largely describes these animals. Jaubert, *Idrisi*, vol. I, p. 201. He talks about a rams' island. Or in Jaubert, *Idrisi*, vol. I, p. 206, here Idrisi affirms that the Berber territories were rich of rams and cows.

But I think there is another relevant correspondence: Idrīsī describes an island of rams situated in the Mediterranean Sea. It is a quite large island, ever covered by darkness²²⁴. This island resembles the place described by Zhou, where the sun shines for only three hours, after which darkness descends for most of the day. According to Yang Wuquan, this territory could be identified with the northern coast of the Baltic sea²²⁵.

To the west of the Arab-Muslim Empire there is the Great Sea. To the west of this sea, there are so many countries that it is impossible to count them, and only the great warships of the Arab-Muslim Empire can reach the country of Mulanpi (and not the others west of it). Starting with ships from the Arab – Muslim Empire, westward from the city of Tuopandi,²²⁶ sailing for 100 days, then you reach it (Mulanpi). Each ship carries 1000 men, there is also a stock of wine and food, and even a portable loom. When you talk about big ships, you need to talk about Mulan's ships, which are the biggest ships of all, aren't they?²²⁷ Mulanpi products differ considerably (from products of other coun-

²²⁴ Jaubert, *Idrīsī*, vol. 1, 206.

²²⁵ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 108 note 6. The Arabs knew the sea routes toward the northern coast of Europe. Ahmad ibn Fadlan, in the tenth century, wrote a journey work. In 921 he was sent by the Abbasid caliph as ambassador in Bulgar people territories. He visited and described the territories of the region around the Volga river. See Richard N. Frye, "Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia: A Tenth-Century Traveler from Baghdad to the Volga River", edited by Bernadette Andrea, in *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, Vol. 41, No. 2, 201-202. Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA), 2003. And James E. McKeithen, "The Risalah of Ibn Fadlan: An Annotated Translation with Introduction", Ph. D thesis, Indiana University, 1979.

²²⁶ Zhou refers to Damyū (دمياط) or Damietta, to north of Cairo, in Egypt, near the Nile's mouth. The Chinese characters *pan* and *di* in Cantonese had a different pronunciation: respectively [pənɿ] and [dɛiɿ]. According to Pulleyblank's study on late middle Chinese, *no* was read as [tɕa], *pan* as [pʰuan] and *di* [tiɿ]. It was an important seaport. Feng states that in the twelfth century Damietta port was very important as the city of Alessandria. During the eleventh and twelfth century it became the place of many battles against the Crusaders. Feng, *Xiyu Jiding*, p. 23. Zhou gives us three pieces of information about this city: it belongs to the Dashi empire (Arab-Islamic empire), it is the nearest to the Mulanpi country, it is distant one hundred days sailing west with the large Arab ships.

²²⁷ Needham highlights that both the Arab and Chinese think that the other had bigger ships, but Chinese junks, in fact, were the largest and widest ship on the ancient times. Needham, *Science and Civilization*, IV vol, p. 475. There are many references for the term *wulan-zhou* in earlier Chinese works. That term indicated elegant ship, not very big. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 217 and 218 note 3. Yang explains that the two words, Mulanpi and *wulan-zhou*, have no common origin. Zhou in the section 104, titled *Mulan-zhou*, described this kind of ship, saying they were the biggest one in the past. See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, pp. 216-217, Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau An-kua*, pp. 33-34. The question of the Arab and Chinese ships deserves a more detailed treatment. In Section 107, titled 舵 (Helm" or "Wood"), Zhou deals with some different types of wood to build ship. The second kind is called *wulanmu* 乌梨木

tries). Its grains of wheat are two inches long, its melons reach 6 *chi*,²²⁸ its rice and wheat are stored in cellars²²⁹ and even after 10 years they are still good to eat. They raise lambs, very tall bearded goats, with a (long) fan-like tail. In the spring, they usually open their stomachs to obtain the lard, (which is extracted) in abundance, about 10 *jīn*, then they sew (their stomachs) up again and (the goats) continue to live. If their fat were not removed, they would swell up and die.²³⁰ According to a tradition (of this country), after having traveled for 200 days by land,²³¹ the daily sunlight will be (only) 3

("Indian ebony or Ceylon persimmon") and was used to build the big ships that sail into the ocean, called *fanbo* 蕃船. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 219-220. Also quoted by Fan Chengda, see Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, p. 128.

²²⁸ The description of these products and animals (wheat, melon and the big goats) led some scholars to state that Zhou was describing some people of Latin America. Needham, *Science and Civilization*, IV volume, *Nautical history*, pp. 475-6. Needham mentions the hypothesis of the Chinese botanic Li Hui-lin. He was born in China in 1911 and in 1942 got his Ph.D at Harvard University. He claims that 100 sailing days from Damietta toward west until the country of Mulampi were too much since the Mediterranean Sea was very small and the Arab ship were very advanced. According to Li's theory, the Arab ships were able to cross the Atlantic Ocean until the coast of Latin America. Besides, he highlights the correspondence of wheat as described by Zhou with the American corn and of the melon with the *cucurbita pepo*, a kind of big pumpkin. Also, the big goats, mentioned by Zhou, could correspond to the alpacas with long neck, bred in Perú and Bolivia. But Li's theory implies that the Arab had a more advanced nautical knowledge than that they really had. There is any reference that can testify that kind of know how during the twelfth century already belonged to the Arab, as stated by Needham. Liu Gang, in 2009, resumes Li's theory and writes his book: *1418: Guo di mi ma*, 1418: 古地图密码. Liu Gang 刘钢, *1418 Guo di mi ma: Zhongguo faxian shijie de mi ma* 1418: 古地图密码: 中国发现世界的谜团玄机. Guangxi Shifan Daxue, 2009. In this book, Liu claims that through Zheng He expeditions and thanks to old maps and geographical works (as Zhou's one), Chinese discovered the new continent earlier than Colombo. The main map, according to Liu's hypothesis, is *Tianxia Zhufan Shiyongtu* 天下诸番识贡图, dated 1763, copied from the earlier version dated 1418, by Mo Yitong 莫易全. Liu Gang, *1418*, p. 5. This assumption has been resumed also by the English navigator Gavin Menzies, who in 2001 published a (narrative) work titled *1421: the Year China discovered the world*. He affirms that during the Ming dynasty, Chinese reached the coast of northern America, but the evidences were cancelled in order to avoid the decline of the empire. Gavin Menzies, *1421: the Year China discovered the world*, London: Transworld digital, 2012. See also the prominent objections to Menzies's theory, listed by Wyatt. Wyatt, *The Blacks of Premodern China*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010, p. 82.

²²⁹ For the first time Zhou mentions this kind of storage in cellar (*jiao* 窖). According to me, it resembles the description provided by Aleni in 1623, when he talks about some territory in northern Africa (*Yafailijia*), west of Egypt. He says that this territory is very rich and can be called earth's cellar. De Troia, *Geografia*, p. 142.

²³⁰ This process resembles the production of *momoshi*, the stone extracted by goats' stomach. Zhou mentions the *momoshi* when deals with the countries of Dashi. Aleni also cites this process when describes Libya, in northern Africa. De Troia, *Geografia*, p. 135. Hirth and Rockhill note that there is a long Chinese tradition about big goats with large stomach. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chou Ju-lin*, p. 143.

²³¹ Probably towards north-west. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 108.

hours long.²³² In autumn the west wind arrives and suddenly starts to blow,²³³ and men and beasts must immediately run to drink water, for only in this way will they be able to survive. If they delay just a little, they die of thirst.

2.2.14. Section 42. *Xitian zhuguo. Pakistan and various countries of northwest India.*

Section 42 describes several countries called Xitian, situated between today's Pakistan and northwest India. This section is quite different from the previous ones, because here Zhou doesn't mention local and imported products and doesn't describe people's customs, but only focuses on the geographical borders of the territory. Among the hundred countries called Xitian, Zhou mentions the three main ones: Wangshe, Tianzhu and Zhong Yindu.

Wangshe is the sacred city of Buddhism, that is to say the place where its founder Siddharta Gautama (563-485 AD) began his work. It is a very ancient city, mentioned also by Xuan Zang²³⁴. Today it is situated in northeast India, in the state of Bihar. Zhou mentions this city also in Sections 31 and 32. In the first instance, he describes the various oversea foreign countries and lists three of them: Daqin, Wangshe and Tianzhu. But, except for Daqin, to which he dedicates a separate section (Section 39) he doesn't provide any other information about Wangshe and Tianzhu. In Section 32 he describes the country of Zhancheng and says that Wangshe was a second name for Bingtuoling, the place of residence of Mulian²³⁵.

The second country that according to Zhou deserves more attention is Tianzhu. It is mentioned also in Sections 31 and 39. On the basis of the content of these sections, one comes to know that:

1. Tianzhu is situated to the north of the island of Ceylon (Section 31);

²³² Sandial's hour corresponds to two conventional hours. In this way, a day had only six hours. It seems possible that Zhou refers to "The Obscure Lands", mentioned by many Arab travelers and geographers. Idrisi describes an island covered by darkness, in the third climate of the first section. This territory is the most western portion of northern Africa coast. See Imbert, *Idrisi*, vol. 1, p. 201.

²³³ This is the Arab *simum*.

²³⁴ Ji Xianlin et al., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jianzhu*, xia, pp. 719 and 743-744.

²³⁵ Please see the above sections.

2. The country of Daqin represents the central area of the countries called Xitianzhu (Section 31);
3. Tianzhu is a dependency of Daqin (Section 39);
4. and it is one of the largest countries of the various ones that make up Xitian (Section 42).

The exact identification of this toponym is still under discussion and it may be useful and interesting to also consider its political and religious aspects, but this is not the appropriate place to discuss it²³⁶. I think the most convincing hypothesis is the one proposed by the Japanese scholar Teng Tian Feng Ba 藤田豊八: Tianzhu could be identified with the Sind region, in today's southeast Pakistan, bordering on India²³⁷. However, most likely it's the toponym that indicated India's territory as a whole. For instance, this is the case of the geographical report of Jia Dan, mentioned by Zhou, in which the Tang traveler wrote that from the country of Annan one could reach the country of Tianzhu directly. Zhao Rukuo describes this country with greater accuracy, but Hirth and Rockhill were not able to precisely identify it²³⁸.

The third major country of Xitian is Central India, identified by Yang as the territory of the Kalachuri Dynasty, between the regions of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan²³⁹.

As the following description shows, Zhou provides information about both the sea route (across the Indian Ocean or, as he calls it, the sea of Ceylon) and the land route (through the countries of Dali and Wangshe) to reach the Indian territories.

Let's see it in more detail.

One generally refers to the various Western countries as *Xitian* (Western Heaven),²⁴⁰ of which there are about 100 in all. The most famous are Wangshe, Tianzhu and central India. It gave birth to the Buddha, so its name (here) has relevance. It is said that to the east of these countries there are the

²³⁶ See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 109.

²³⁷ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 98 note 6. See also Su Jiqing, *Daoyi Zhilüe*, pp. 215-216.

²³⁸ Hirth and Rockhill, *Chou Ju-kai*, p. 112 note 3.

²³⁹ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 109 note 4.

²⁴⁰ *Xitian* was the toponym indicating the birthplace of Buddha and by extension all the countries in the Indian peninsula. In the *Cihai*, *Xitian* corresponds to *Xiyu*, including central Asia (*Zhongya Xiyu*) and the subcontinent of southern Asia (*Nanyu cidalu*). Fu Zhengrong 傅征农, *et alii*, *Cihai* 辞海, *lishidili fencuo* 历史地理分册, Shanghai cishu chubanshe, II edition, 1989 p. 479, under the entry *Xitian*. Zhang Xinglang claims that Zhou's *Xitian* stands for Tianzhu. Zhang, *Huibian*, IV, p. 2200. And Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 86 note 5.

Heishui river,²⁴¹ the Yuhe river²⁴² and the Great Sea.²⁴³ Further to the east, these countries border on the Western Regions.²⁴⁴ Tubo,²⁴⁵ Dali²⁴⁶ and Jiaozhi.²⁴⁷ To the west there is the East Arabian Sea, and further west there are the various countries of the Arab-Muslim Empire. South of the Xitian territory there is the continent (island) called Xilan (Ceylon) and its sea is called the Xilan Sea. In the past, Zhang Qian (130 AD) came as ambassador to Daxia (Bactria)²⁴⁸ and heard about the country of Shendu a thousand miles south-

²⁴¹ The term Heishui literally means "black water". It is the Chinese name of Salween river, that flows between Tibet and Burma, in Burma territory from north to south, also known as Nujiang 怒江. Zhou uses the same toponym twice: in Section 34 titled Pagan ("Burma") and in Section 31 ("Various overseas foreign countries"). Please see the above sections.

²⁴² The toponym Yuhe identified the Irrawaddy river, the longest and the most important river of Burma. In section 31, titled *Tongdao Waiyi* 通道外夷 ("The land route for the foreign countries") he mentions again this river, called Yunhe. See the below section. Lu Jialing in his analysis of the Yuan work, *Yiyuchi* 異域志, claims that you should to consider the toponym Heishuiyunhe as one unique term, identified with the Irrawaddy river in Burma territory. Quoted by Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 85 note 4. Even according to the *Godai Nankai diming hushi*, it was a unique river: Irrawaddy. Chen Jiarong et al., *Huishi*, II, p. 952, under the entry Irrawaddy. But in the *LWDD* this hypothesis could not been accepted because Zhou separately refers to them (Heishui and Yuhe) in different sections too.

²⁴³ The great sea situated to the east of the Indian countries is identified as the Gulf of Bengal. It should be remembered that in Section 31 Zhou lists the five main seas, within the limits of his geographical knowledge. In that section, there is no sea called Dahai or Great sea. But its geographical position suggests that, in this case, Dahai may stand for the Sea of Ceylon (Xilanhai). This part of the Indian Ocean at that time was the core of the maritime trade between the Eastern and Western peoples.

²⁴⁴ The toponym Xiyu, throughout the history, has included always larger territory. The more the Chinese geographical knowledge expanded, the larger and more inclusive the concept of Western Territories became. Feng Chengjun in the introduction of his *Xiyu diming*, claims that the toponym Xiyu includes all those territories to the west of Xinjiang, in Central Asia until the Mediterranean Sea and toward south over the Indian Ocean. See Feng, *Xiyu Diming*, qian yan pp. 1-2. In the *LWDD*, the term Xiyu stands for the area crossed by the Silk Roads, from Dunhuang until the further territories in today Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kirgikistan, including north Pakistan.

²⁴⁵ The term Tubo indicates the territories inhabited by the ethnic minority Zang, that is to say the Tibetan. Fu Zhengrong, *Cibai*, p. 119, under the entry Tubo.

²⁴⁶ The toponym Dali refers to the reign that controlled the county of Dali in northern Yunnan, from 937 to 1253.

²⁴⁷ This toponym is identified with the northern and central Vietnam. Zhou mentions it several times: in Sections 29, 31, 32 and separately described it in Section 261. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 408.

²⁴⁸ Daxia is the Chinese name for the Hellenic country of Bactria, including portion of territory of today Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Afghanistan e Pakistan. Zhou's toponym refers to the territory between today Pakistan and Afghanistan. Zhang Qian was an imperial official who served as envoy to the world outside the Han China in the end of the second century BC. He played an important pioneering role in the Chinese conquest of lands west of Xinjiang, including swaths of Central Asia, and in the transcontinental trade, through the Silk Roads. In 138 BC he first was sent as envoy to the Western regions in order to build (political and commercial) alliance with Central Asia people, called *Diyuezhi*, against the hostile Xiongnu.

east of Daxia. He also learned that it took only 40 days to travel from Dali to Wangshecheng. According to Jiu Dan's report, from the "Huanghuasidaji", we know that from the Annan country it is possible to reach the Tianzhu country (by land). Moreover, Damo reached Panyu by sea, and so the Xitian country can also be reached by sea.²⁴⁹

2.1.15. Section 43. *Xitian Nannihualuoguo. Huchala territory on the Indian peninsula Guzerat*

Section 43 describes the country of southern Nihualuo, in the area of Indian territory (Xitian). The exact identification of this toponym is still under discussion. Zhang Xinglang claims that Nihualuo should be considered the same as Niboluo 尼波罗 in the *Datong Xiyuji* 大唐西域记, as Nipoluo 泥婆罗 in the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐书 and as Nibala 尼八剌 in the *Mingshi* 明史. They all indicated the territory of today's Nepal, between northeast India and Tibet. But none of these references mentions the cow dung on the walls of dwellings²⁵⁰. Wang Dayuan mentions Hualuo and the scholar Su Jiqing says that it was the phonetic transcription of Nahrwara²⁵¹, the capital of the territory of Huchala, namely Guzerat²⁵², the peninsula to the north-west of India, along the coast of the Arabic Sea, in today's Saurashtra region²⁵³.

He was imprisoned and ten years after could come back to Xi'an with detailed information about the Western people with which Chinese could develop relationship. His reports are quoted extensively by Sima Qian in the first century. See Xinnu Liu, Lynda Norrene Shaffer, "Connections across Eurasia: transportation, communication, and cultural exchange on the Silk Roads", in *Explorations in World History*, New York, Mc Graw-Hill, 2007, p. 272. In Chinese, *Shiji - Daqian liezhuan* 史记-大宛列传 roll 123, *Hanshu - Zhang Qian zhuan* 汉书-张骞传. See also Zhang, *Huibian*, III, pp. 1279 and following.

²⁴⁹ Damo was the abbreviation of the name *Putidamo* 菩提达摩, the transcription for *Bodhidharma*. He was a Buddhist monk of the V-VII century, considered the founder of Buddhism Chan (Japanese Zen) and of the fighting style called Shaolinquan. He probably reached China by sea, but there is misleading information about his life and work. See Jeffrey Broughton, *The Bodhidharma Anthology: The Earliest Records of Zen*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1999, pp. 57 and following. Panyu is the ancient toponym for Guangzhou.

²⁵⁰ Zhang, *Huibian*, IV volume, pp. 2200 and following.

²⁵¹ Su Jiqing, *Daoyi Zhilüe*, p. 177. Nahrwara is the ancient Arabic toponym, used by merchant to indicate the capital of the territory of Huchala, Guzerat. Feng, *Xiyu daming*, p. 68 under the entry *Naharawara*. *Idrîdî* mentions it. See Jaubert, *Idrîdî*, volume 1, Il climat, 8 section, pp. 175 and following.

²⁵² For more details on the Arabic toponym *Juzerat*, see Tibbetta, *Arab Navigation*, p. 450.

²⁵³ Tu, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 61. Gerini also claims that *Nannihualuo* by Zhao Rukuo stands for the reign of Nahrwara in Juzerat, powerful between 746 and 1298 AD. See Gerolamo

Hirth and Rockhill also state that it was the ancient capital of the Gujarat region, whose ruins are found in today's northern area of the city of Patan, on the Saraushtra peninsula²⁵⁴.

The country of southern Nibualuo of the Indian Empire has a city girded by three city walls. Every morning and evening its inhabitants must perform their ablutions and spread *yujin* (turmeric) on their bodies, to resemble the golden images of the Buddha. Most of them are called Brahman (*Paluomen*), namely pure descendants of Buddha. Their walls of their dwellings are sprinkled with cow dung,²⁵⁵ and they have their banquets there. At home they have a sort of altar, about 3 *jin* high, with 3 steps, and each morning they sprinkle it with cow dung. They offer flowers and burn incense (to pray to the Buddha).²⁵⁶ On the way to the Western regions, when the "light knights" come to conquer them, the only remedy they adopt is to close their doors, and in a few days, when there is no food, the invaders spontaneously leave their territory.²⁵⁷

Emilio Gerini, "Chinese Riddles on Ancient Indian Toponymy", in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 43, issue 02, 1911, pp. 437-445.

²⁵⁴ Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 97.

²⁵⁵ This was a very common practice, in Hinduist and Buddhist religion. The cow is a sacred animal for both these religions. Both Wang Dayuan and Marco Polo testify the same habit. Marco Polo, Arthur Christopher Moule, Paul Pelliot, *Marco Polo. The Description of the World*. A composite English translation of the extant texts, with an introduction; together with the text of the Latin manuscript in the Cathedral Library of Toledo, and with articles and notes by Paul Pelliot and others. With plates, 2 volumes, G. Routledge & Sons: London, 1938, I, p. 368. Su Jiqing, *Daoyi Zhilue*, p. 176. In more recent sources, there are other evidences of the same habit. See James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs, selected and abridged from a series of familiar letters written during seventeen years' residence in India: including observations on parts of Africa and South America; and a narrative of occurrences in four India voyages*, London, White, Cochran and Company, 1813, pp. 15-16 and 96-97.

²⁵⁶ In this point, in the Section titled *Zhunian*, Zhao Rukuo adds some information about the treatment of the Arabs, women adultery and some local products. Then he copied verbatim Zhou's section. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 97.

²⁵⁷ Probably Zhou here is referring to the Arab conquerors, entered in this territory already from the seventh century. They reached the peninsula both by sea and by land through Sind territory. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 102 note 20. See Balkrishna Govind Gokhale, *Surat in the seventeenth century: a study of urban history of pre-modern India*, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies monograph series, no. 28, London, Curzon Press, 1979. The author states that the first contact was in 635, when Bahrain governor sent envoys to Baruch district, in Gujarat. For a more detailed study on the Muslim communities in India see Mohammad Khalil A. Siddiqui, *Marginal Muslim communities in India*, Institute of Objective Studies, New Delhi, 2004. Or André Wink, *Al-Hind. The making of the Indo-Islamic World. Vol. 1. Early Medieval India and the Expansion of Islam 7th to 11th centuries*, Leiden, New York, Köln, Brill, 1996, on the dispersion of the Muslim merchants into the Indian Ocean. Regarding the role of Islamic communities in the merchant network in South East Asia see Hugh R. Clark, "Muslims and Hindus in the Culture and Morphology of Quanzhou from the Tenth to the Thirteenth century", *Journal of World History* 6, no. 1, 1995, pp. 49-75; John W. Chaffee, "Diasporic Identities in the Historical Development of the Maritime Muslim Communities of

2.1.16. Section 44. *Dongnan Haishang Zhuzaguo*. Various countries on the Southeastern sea

In this section Zhou describes three countries located in the Southeastern sea, namely the southeastern part of today's Indian Ocean. They have common features: all of them are inhabited by strange, wild people. The first country is the country of Shahuagong, probably an island between Borneo, Indonesia and Philippines²⁵⁸. The second country is located to the southeast of Shahuagong and is more mysterious than the previous one. Its identification, as you will see below, is more ambiguous than that of Shahuagong. The third is the Country of Women. According to Pelliot, both in the Arab and Chinese conception, the description of this country should almost be considered a kind of mythological tale passed down through the centuries, each time enriched with even more mysterious and farfetched details²⁵⁹. Let's see the translation²⁶⁰.

In the Southeastern sea there is the country of Shahuagong.²⁶¹ Its people usually loot other sea inhabitants, kidnap men and then sell them to Shepo (Java island, Section 36).

Toward the south-east there is the country of Fo, an island wilder than the previous one.²⁶² Its inhabitants are thieves and pirates, called *Maluoma*. When

Song - Yuan China", in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 49, no. 4, 2006, pp. 395-420; Chaffee, *The Muslim Merchants of Premodern China: The History of a Maritime Asian Trade Diaspora, 750-1400*, (New Approaches to Asian History), Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018, p. 62 and 76-123. Idrīs's description of the territory of Nahrwana also deserves more attention. Describing this country Idrīs says that its inhabitants and its king were used to move with elephants and oxen. Both of them are very heavy and not agile animals. Despite Zhou does not mention the presence of these animals, you can assume that he uses the term *qingqi*, "light cavalry", indicating the men that used horses, faster and more agile than elephants and oxen, used by local people. Joubert, *Idrīs*, I, p. 175. See also the Russian translation, Ulyanov, *Ling Wai Dai Da*, p. 150.

²⁵⁸ Feng, *Zhufan shi*, p. 56; Chen Jiarong et al., *Huishi*, vol. 1, under entry *Shahuagong*, p. 454; Fu Zhegnong et al., *Cihai*, under entry *Shahuangguo*, p. 500.

²⁵⁹ Pelliot, *Notes*, vol. II, p. 724.

²⁶⁰ For the Russian version see Ulyanov, *Ling Wai Dai Da*, p. 150. For the German translation see Netolitzky, *Das Ling-wai Tai-ta*, p. 48.

²⁶¹ For a more detailed study of this toponym, Shahuagong, see the *Gudai Nanshai Daming Huishi*, that provides various identifications of this island. Chen Jiarong et al., *Huishi*, vol. I, p. 454. The exact identification of the country of Shahuagong is still under discussion.

²⁶² In the Russian version the author has preferred to translate the toponym as *Imfo*, not *Fo*. Besides, the next sentence is quite different: «Много пустынных островов» *Mnogo pustynnykh ostrovov* «many deserted islands». See Ulyanov, *Ling Wai Dai Da*, p. 150.

merchant ships arrive in this country, (Fo inhabitants) capture sailors and merchants and, using large bamboo sticks, crush them and eat them after roasting them. The pirate leader collects the teeth (of the victims) and covers them with gold. They use their skulls as drinking cups. The deeper you go into the island the more numerous are the pirates.²⁶¹

Further to the south-east there is the country of Women. The water often flows to the east, there have been floods many times. Sometimes the water drains (carries debris) lotus seeds longer than a *chi*,²⁶² peach stones longer than two *chi*, people collect them to give them to the queen as a gift. In the past, some ships came to this country, women led the men with them, and in a few days they all died without exception.²⁶³ It tells of a wise man who stole a ship and ran away, abandoning this country. When the South wind blows hard the women of this country take their clothes off in order to feel the wind. They all give birth only to female children.²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ The Chinese scholar Yang Wuquan is very skeptical about the identification of the toponym Fo or Jinfo. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 112 note 2. Hirth and Rockhill and Feng Chegnjun, analyzing Zhao's work, state that Fo country was Foshi (佛逝), a toponym used during the Tang to indicate a territory in the eastern portion of Sumatra island, known in the Song dynasty as Sanfoqi. Gabriel Ferrand states that the pirates and thieves, called *Maluwan*, could be the people *Melawan*, belonging to the Dayak tribe, in the Malaysian territory of Sarawak, in Borneo island, in particular in the territory called Balingian or Balinean. Gabriel Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient, du VIII^e au XVII^e siècles*, 2 vols. Paris: E. Leroux, 1913-1914, I, p. 662.

²⁶² One third of a meter.

²⁶³ In the *Kitāb al-'ajā'ib al-Hind* (*The book of Wonders of India*), written in the tenth century by Buzurg Ibn Shahrīyār al-Ramhormazī, a Muslim traveler, there is the story of a ship that arrived in a Country of Women, and of its crew, all of whom died because of the treatment that the women reserved for them. Just one man was able to get away. See the French translation by Marcel L. Devic, *Le Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, French edition of *Kitāb al-'ajā'ib al-Hind* by captain Bozorg, son of Shahrīyār di Ramhormoz, texte et traduction, XIV, 1883-1886, pp. 20-29. More recently there is an English translation of this work, see G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Book of the Wonders of India, Mainland, Sea, and Islands* (*Kitāb 'Ajā'ib al Hind*), London and The Hague, East-West Publications, 1981. Unfortunately, only the French translation by Marcel Devic is at now available to me. Although the geographical position of this island remains unclear, there is a relevant correspondence between Zhou's description and Arabic source. Doubtless it can be located at the far east, over Chinese territories and Sumatra island.

²⁶⁴ There is a long tradition linked to the description of the Country of Women or better of the Countries of Women. The French sinologist Paul Pelliot, indeed, in his analysis of the work of Marco Polo, divides the chapter concerning the country of Femeles into five sections, each of them dedicated to a different Country of Women (*Nāguo*) found in Chinese sources and placed in different territories: the one to the north-west of China, northeast of China, northeast and northwest of Tibet, Indochinese and finally Indonesian. He states that it is important to treat the various Countries of Women separately, trying to compare Islamic sources with those in China literature. Pelliot, *Notes*, II, p. 675.

2.1.17. Section 45. *Kunlun Cengqi*. The country of Kunlun Cengqi. Madagascar, Zanzibar and Eastern Coast of Africa

In this Section Zhou describes the country of Kunlun Cengqi. For me, this section, together with the next one (Bosi, Section 46), and more than many other places listed by Zhou, mirrors an innovative concept of the *ecumene*. In comparison with Arabic sources, it shows the interaction between Chinese and Arab geographical knowledge. Bits of information that were coming to Zhou by way of expanded maritime contact at that time are undoubtedly more varied than those collected by his predecessors. Therefore, Zhou had to create a new format to describe the new kinds of information that he had to process. The Arab concept of the world contributed to creating this new content format, and this section, better than others, testifies to this new approach.

The beginning of section 45 is very similar to that of the previous section, entitled *Dongnanhai shang Zhuzaguo* 東南海上諸華國 (*Various countries on the South Eastern sea*)²⁶⁷. Zhou describes the islands, one after the other, placed at the two ends of the Indian Ocean – those in the eastern part and those in the western part (on the Indian coast). He uses the toponyms Dongnan hai (the Southeast Sea) and Xinan hai (the Southwest Sea) in two consecutive Sections (numbers 44 and 45)²⁶⁸. Kunlun Cengqi, as written by Zhou, is a new way to indicate the eastern portion of African territory. These two words were often used separately by other Chinese authors earlier than Zhou. However, he was able to combine them together in order to create a new and more precise and accurate toponym indicating the place where the black-skinned and frizzy-haired slaves came from. It's worth pointing out that the toponym Cengqi could be a transcription of the word Zenji²⁶⁹, the origin of which is not at all clear²⁷⁰. What is certain is that

²⁶⁷ In the Section 44, translated in the previous paragraph, Zhou describes three countries: Shahuagong, Fogao and Nirenguo. As shown in the above paragraphs, their identification is not simple at all.

²⁶⁸ As mentioned before, in his two geographical chapters Zhou follows an imaginary line: from the nearest country to the furthest country. This "geographical line" is more evident in the first chapter, but it falls in the second, in which Zhou describes many lesser known countries and often gives misleading information.

²⁶⁹ Zenji as transcribed by Jaubert. In Jaubert, *l'Artif*, I, p. 79. Or Zindjes as used by Quatremere. In Etienne Quatremere, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Égypte et sur quelques contrées voisines*, II, Paris: F. Schoell, 1811, pp. 181-189.

²⁷⁰ The study of the origin of the word Zenji would deserve a separate paper. Although this work does not focus on the etymology of the toponym Kunlun Cengqi, I have provided the major works that deal with this topic. It is very interesting to note that it can be divided into two different words: Kunlun and Cengqi. Their use is very ancient, and one or both of them

many Arab geographers used this toponym (or something a little dif-

have been seen in many Chinese sources, with different meanings. Wyatt has drawn upon an extensive work on the use of the term *kunlun* in ancient Chinese sources, providing numerous references from the earliest historical documentation to Fāi Xīn's account in fifteenth. See Wyatt, *The Blacks of Premodern China*, p. 69. Yī Jīng in his *Datang Xiyu qifafa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 used the word *guyan* 骨俞 to indicate the language spoken by the inhabitants of Foshī country. According to Zhang Xinglang's study, that word has the same meaning of Kunlun. See Zhang, *Huibian*, II, p. 575. And Zhang Xinglang, "The importation of Negro Slaves to China under the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618-907)", in *Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking*, 7, 1930, pp. 37-59. See also Joseph E. Harris, *The African presence in Asia: Consequences of the East African Slave Trade*, Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press, 1971: 5-6. And David Brion Davis, *Challenging the Boundaries of Slavery*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2003, p. 8. Edward H. Schafer, *Golden Pincches of Samarkand: a study of Tang exotics*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963, p. 103. Tu, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 63. Zhu Yu 朱彥, the author of *Pingzhou ketan* 萍州可談, written in 1119, used *kunlun* to describe a particular kind of slave: they were born in the mountains of foreign sea countries. They were able to dive in the water without closing their eyes; Chinese people used to buy them. See Li Weiguo 李偉國, Zhu Yu 朱彥, *Song-Biji xiaoshuo daguan* 宋筆記小說大觀, *Pingzhou ketan* 萍州可談, Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2001, pp. 2275 and 2311. Pei Xing in 860 was the author of a collection of *chuanqi* 傳奇 dealing with some tales of immortal people, among them there is also the story titled *Kunlun nu* 崑崙奴 ("The slave from Kunlun or the black slave"), which focuses on a hero with black skin coming from south-eastern Asia. With Idema and Lijod Hafi, *Litteratura cinese*, Venezia, Cafoscara, 2011. Italian translation of *Chinese Letterkunde: een inleiding*, Amsterdam Academic Archive, 2005, p. 160. In the *Cihai* 辭海 and *Guodai Nanyhai diling huishi* there is a detailed treatment of the toponym *Kunlun*, with several different meanings: it can indicate the mountain Kunlun in Tibet; or some territories in the southern part of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, as in Yī Jīng's works; or a typical ethnic group living in the Southern sea, with black skin and frizzy hair, as stated in *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, chapter *Nanman Liechuan* 南蠻列傳 (Southern Barbarians's biographies). See Fu Zhengrong et al., *Cihai*, p. 511. And Chen Jiarong et al., *Huishi*, I, p. 507. Regarding the word *cengqi*, Feng Chengjun in his dictionary argues that it derived from *sengzhi* 僧祇, a word indicating African slaves, during the Tang and Song dynasties. See Feng, *Xiyu Diling*, p. 60, entry *Madeisgascar*. Zhang Xinglang claims that *Cengqi* indicates the Eastern coasts of Africa. Zhang, *Huibian*, II, pp. 586 and following. *Xin Tangshu* (chapter *Nanman Liechuan* 南蠻列傳) reports that during the Kaiyuan period (713-742) there was a mission to China from Shilifoshi, which presented two women from Sengzhi (in Chinese: 倭僮 倭祇女各二). In the same chapter, *Xin Tangshu* states Shepo country sent as a tribute to China four *sengzhi* slaves (in Chinese: 倭僮奴四). The word used in *Xin Tangshu* with a slight change seems to be the same word used by Zhou to indicate the territory of Eastern Africa. See Lū Simian and Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, chapter 222: 8^o. The *Guodai Nanyhai diling huishi*, under the entry *Zanzibar*, claims that the Zhou toponym, along with those used by Zhao Rukuo and Wang Dayuan in 14th century, is a different transcription of the same word *sengzhi* 僧祇 indicating Zanzibar and by extension the Eastern coast of Africa and its inhabitants, with black skin, sold as slaves. See Chen Jiarong et al., *Huishi*, II, p. 1076, under the entry *Zanzibar*. For a more detailed discussion of this topic please see Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, pp. 153 and 250; Teobaldo Fiesi, *Le relazioni della Cina con l'Africa nel Medio-Evo*, Milano: Giuffrè, 1962, p. 36; Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, pp. 101 (Kunlan shan: Palau Condor) and 283 (people from Malays along the shores of Indo-China).

ferent from Zanj) to indicate a territory in East Africa. In the first climate, in the seventh and eighth sections²⁷¹, Idrīsī describes a large territory of eastern Africa²⁷². He first uses the name of Zenji when talking about the inhabitants of the city of Melinda, situated on the present-day island of Zanzibar. Additionally, in the subsequent sections he continues to use the toponym Zenji and describes the trade of this population with the Arab merchants²⁷³. Other Arab geographers also mention these territories, in Arabic, *Bilād al Zanj*. Before Idrīsī's account, Ibn Khurrādādhbih (9th-10th century)²⁷⁴, al Mas'ūdī (10th century)²⁷⁵, al-Iṣṭakhri (10th century) and Ibn Hawqal all cite the toponym Zenji²⁷⁶.

In the next paragraph I provide the translation of Zhou's section²⁷⁷,

In the Southwestern sea there is the country of Kunlun Cengqi, linked to the island of the Great Sea. There is usually a great bird (*dupeng*), which is so big that it is able to cover the sun in one flight.²⁷⁸ There is also a wild camel:

²⁷¹ For the explanation of the term "climate" used by Idrīsī, see the note above.

²⁷² Although he mentions more than fifteen places along the coast, the information regarding distance and navigation times is never reliable. Idrīsī was not a sailor. Although his work has great value, it's important to remember that it is inaccurate in many aspects. S. Maqbul Ahmad, "Cartography of al-Sharīf al Idrīsī", II, book 1, chapter 7, in Woodward and Harley, *History of Cartography, Islamic Tradition*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1987, p. 162.

²⁷³ Jaubert, *Idrīsī*, I, pp. 56 and 57. For the Arabic text of Idrīsī's work see the version published at Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli: Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum, sive Liber ad eorum delectationem qui terras peragrarare studeant (Nushat al-maṭāʾif fī ṭharāq al-aṭāʾif)*, edited by Cerulli, Gabrieli, Levi della Vida, Petech, Tucci et alii, Brill, Leiden-Napoli-Roma, 1955-1984. In particular, first climate, seventh section in *Fasciculus Primus*, pp. 59-60.

²⁷⁴ Ibn Khurrādādhbih, *Le livre des routes et des provinces*, texte arabe publié, traduit et annoté par C. Barbier De Meynard, Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1865, p. 123. Ibn Khurrādādhbih, actually does not describe the country of Zenj, he only mentions it in the chapter "Particularités curieuses des climats", dealing with some strange diseases of foreign countries. He says that in the country of Zenj you can contract the leprosy (or elephantiasis). There is some doubt that the term used by Ibn Khurrādādhbih does not stand for Zenj in Africa, but for Zanej in the Malay Archipelago.

²⁷⁵ Al Mas'ūdī was an important Arab traveler, historian and geographer living in the X century. He wrote a world history, *Muruj al-dhahab wa ma'adin al-jawhar* (*The Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems* or in French *Les Prairies d'or*), in which he collected many pieces of information regarding the West and the East, including territories beyond the above of Islam. Al Mas'ūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, texte arabe et traduction par C. Barbier De Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1877, III, pp. 5 and following.

²⁷⁶ See Quatremère, *Mémoires*, pp. 181-189.

²⁷⁷ For the Russian version see Ulyanov, *Ling Wai Dai Da*, p. 151. For the German translation see Netolitzky, *Das Ling-wai Tai-ta*, p. 49.

²⁷⁸ The Russian version translates: «тѣнь подобно тені движется подобно теню», in English: «moves like a shadow». The Chinese text is 影如影, that stands for a certain du-

if the great bird finds a wild camel it swallows it. If you have a chance to find a great bird's wing, by cutting off its quills you can make a barrel of water.²⁷⁹ There is also the camel-crane (*luotuohe*),²⁸⁰ with a long neck, more than 6-7

tation of time or the move of the shadows cast by the sun. See Ulyanov, *Ling Wai Dai Da*, p. 151, and the online version of the *Hanya Davidson*, *edlc.net*.

²⁷⁹ According to Hunay ibn Shahriyār al-Rahbānī, in his *Ajā'ib al-Hind*, this kind of bird lived in the territory of Sofala, in the country of Zenji (Eastern coast of Africa), it had six big feathers for each of its two wings and each feather contained two tanks of water, in addition he says that it can eat big animals, (as elephant). For the Arabic account and the French translation, please see Devic, *Merveilles*, p. 178. There are numerous mentions of the rock and its existence between the island of Qour and the eastern Chinese Sea. Marco Polo mentions this kind of bird and states it comes from Madagascar. Marcel L. Devic, *Il Paese degli Zengi, la costa orientale dell'Africa nel Medioevo*, translated by Alberto Arecchi, Milano: Mimesis, 2008, pp. 143 and following. In the *Zhuangzi*, in the chapter *Xiao yao yao* 逍遙游 ("Enjoyment in Untroubled Ease"), in the Inner Chapters (*Neihuan* 內篇), the author also mentions this kind of bird, using the same term *peng*. Please see the English translation provided by James Legge and available on the website of Chinese Text Project: <https://ctext.org/zhuangzi/enjoyment-in-untrobled-ease>. Zhou describes the same big bird.

²⁸⁰ Al Mas'ūdī, in the chapter titled Zenji country, mentions the giraffe. It is known in Persian as *ankar-gaw*, that is, the camel-cow, a combination between a camel and a cow. Al Mas'ūdī, Meynard, *Les prairies*, III, p. 3. It's interesting that both Chinese and Persian language (as stated in Arabic by al Mas'ūdī) used the combination of two known and familiar words to define the unknown, and that one of these two words is the same for each language: camel. Nevertheless, the precise identification of this animal (*luotuohe*) poses certain issues and remains unclear. Roderich Ptak, *Birds and Beasts in Chinese texts and trade*, lectures related to South China and the Overseas world, Maritime Asia, vol. 22, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011, p. 47. The strangeness of this kind of animal in Chinese knowledge led to an incomplete and inaccurate description. Most likely Zhou was dealing with the giraffe or ostrich, common in Eastern Africa, but secondhand information (often inexact) and human imagination contributed in the odd description. The only certainty is that both the ostrich and the giraffe were two widespread animals in the area, between Somalia, Kenya and Tanzania. The lack of information, the fear of the unknown and the passage of news from one mouth to another make it even more difficult to understand which animal it was. Zhao Ruoxu uses the same word, *luotuohe*, to indicate the big bird living in Bipalo country (*Bipaluguo* 賓巴魯國), on the coast of present-day Somali. Feng, *Zhufan zhi*, pp. 40-41. Hirth and Rockhill translated the name *luotuohe* as ostrich. This animal is also able to eat and digest stones and iron. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 129 note 5. And *Dizionario dell'Industria, asia collezione ragionata de' processi utili nelle arti e nelle scienze*, Società de Librai, 1792, p. 114, under the entry "mangiator di pietre" (stone eaters). Zhou in *Muluoguo* section (northern Africa) claims that there is a strange animal, called *huoyang*, "goat-sheep". It's very tall and has a big tail like a fan. He then describes the process by which the fat is extracted from their stomachs to prevent them from dying. Idřst deals with this kind of fat, and how it is considered a precious product, when he describes Dar al Morabatin (the country of Morabatin, in northern Africa) and the presence of ostriches. Ostriches are commonly known for their height and their wide tail, which in the eyes of a foreign traveler could be similar to a big fan. Ostriches were extremely rare animals in China at the time. The fact that Zhou uses the word *huoyang* to call this type of strange animal (the ostrich) should not be surprising. Also, throughout the Almoravid territory, sheep, goats and rams were widespread (as extensively described by Idřst) and the misunderstanding made by Zhou can be justified. See Juberit, *Idřst*, I, p. 201 and following. And Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 106. And the above Section 41, *Muluoguo*.

chi (about two meters),²⁸¹ it can fly but very low.²⁸² This kind of camel-crane usually feeds on any burning thing, and sometimes it can eat burning copper and iron too. The products of the country are elephant tusks and rhinoceros' horns.²⁸³ On the island there are many savages, with black bodies as black as lacquer and with frizzy hair.²⁸⁴ They are prone to being enticed by offers of food and are then caught by other men.²⁸⁵ Then they are carried off far away (to the Arab empire, as stated by Zhao Rukuo in Kunlun Cengqi section)²⁸⁶ and sold as slaves.

2.1.18. Section 46, *Bosiguo*. The country of Bosi, Pasai or Bassel.

In Section 46, Zhou describes the country of Bosi, immediately after he has described the country of Kunlun Cengqi, situated on the coast of East Africa. Bosi's inhabitants are very similar to those of Kunlun Cengqi: they have black skin and frizzy hair. But unlike the previous section, here Zhou does not describe any strange animals or any foreign customs regarding wild men, enticed with food and sold as slaves. Actually, the details he gives reveal a certain degree of civilization, unknown to Kunlun Cengqi. For example, the ritual responsibilities of the king, his armed entourage that follow and protect him, and the use

²⁸¹ One *chi* was one third of a meter.

²⁸² Gabriele Foccardi, *Viaggiatori del Regno di Mezzo, i viaggi marittimi dei Cinesi dal III secolo a.C. alla fine del XIX secolo d.C.*, Torino: Giulio Einaudi 1992, p. 71.

²⁸³ Al Mas'udi states that China and India used to buy (or loot) most of Zanj ivory, from elephant. Al Mas'udi, Meynard, *Les Prairies*, III, chapter 33, pp. 8-9. Quatremère, *Mémoires*, p. 186.

²⁸⁴ Among Arabic sources, Al Mas'udi is the first one to give details about the customs of the Zanj. See Norman R. Bennett, *A History of the Arab State of Zanzibar*, Methuen & Co Ltd University Printing House Cambridge, 1978, p. 5. He states that Zanj people have black skin, frizzy hair, a big nose, thick lips, gracile hands and feet, and they are never subject to worry, as their behavior is ever playful. Al Mas'udi, Meynard, *Les Prairies*, I, chapter 7, p. 163 and chapter 9, p. 205. In the chapter 33, Al Mas'udi provided more details about this people. See Al Mas'udi, Meynard, *Les Prairies*, III, chapter 33, p. 5 and following.

²⁸⁵ For this sentence see the alternative translation in R.W. Beachey, *The slave Trade of Eastern Africa: a collection of documents*, London, Rex Collings, 1976, p. 2.

²⁸⁶ Zhao Rukuo describes in more detail the territory to the east of the Indian Ocean. In his work there are four sections focused on the Eastern coasts of Africa: Cengba, Pihahuo, Zhongli and Kunlun Cengqi. The last one is an entire copy of Zhou's section, with only a few changes. The first section, Cengba, is the main island of the present-day Zanzibar archipelago, while Pihahuo and Zhongli both indicate the Somali coast from north to south. See Hirth and Rockhill, *Chou Ju-kai*, p. 149. Feng, *Zhuang Zhi*, p. 55. Feng, *Xiyu Diming*, p.107, under the entry Zanzibar. Idries states that Zanj people used to adore the Arabs coming from Yemen and Oman. Arab sailors and merchants usually took advantage of this veneration, enticing them and then selling them as slaves in their ports. Jaubert, *Idrisi*, I, pp. 58-59.

of terracotta utensils. In the eyes of a Chinese official, these aspects were very important. Unfortunately, the above description does not help to precisely identify the Bosi toponym. Chinese and Western scholars have tried several hypotheses, but this is not the right place to discuss the identification of Bosi²⁸⁷. However, it should be stressed that, although this toponym often indicates ancient Persia (present-day Iran)²⁸⁸, in this work it is very unlikely that Zhou refers to that territo-

²⁸⁷ For a more detailed research on this topic see Claudine Salmon, "Les Persans à l'extrémité orientale de la route maritime (Ile A.E.- XVIIe siècle)," *Archipel* 68, 2004, 23-58; Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, pp. 129-158; Wheatley, *The Golden Khmerese*, pp. 8-12. George Fadio Houtani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1951, reprint Beirut: Khayats, 1963, pp. 61 and following. Stephen G. Haw, "The maritime routes between China and the Indian Ocean during the second to the ninth centuries C.E.," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 27.1, 2017, 53-81, pp. 57 and 78. The same author is working on a new paper, titled "The Chinese Term Bosi 波斯", that will be included as a chapter in a projected monograph on Islam in China before the Mongol Conquests. See also Schafer, "Iranian Merchants in Tang Dynasty Tales", in *Semitic and Oriental Studies: a volume presented to William Popper*, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vol. XI, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1951, pp. 403-422.

It's worth to underline that Zhao Ruixun copied the whole section. There is only a slight change in the first phrase: Zhao writes «*Bosiguo zai Nanshanhai shang* 波斯國在西南海上», not «*Ximanhai shang Bosiguo* 西南海上波斯國» as in Zhou. The translation in English doesn't change. It's: «The country Bosi is on the South Western Sea». See Hirth and Rockhill *Chou Ju-kua*, p. 152 and Feng, *Zhuifan zhi*, p. 57. Zhao describes the country of Bosi and seven islands in the section entitled *Huishang zaguo* 海上諸國, "Various countries in the Sea". Among them there are Yantuoanguo 晏陀國, Kandan Cengqiguo 昆侖層期國, Shahu-gongguo 沙華公國, Nürenguo 女人國, Chupishaguo 茶至沙國 and Sijialiyeguo 斯加利野國 and Mojialieguo 默加羅國. After this section, Zhao includes seven other sections, in which he describes (not very accurately) several islands in the Indonesian archipelago, up to Korea and Japan. Feng, *Zhuifan zhi*, pp. 53-72. Thanks to the title of this section ("Various countries in the Sea"), you can argue that Bosi must be an island or an important harbor. Zhao chose to describe it together with several other islands, located from the Far West of the *ecumene* (like the country of Sijialiyé which corresponds to present-day Sicily) to the Far East (like Xinluoguo 新羅國, present-day Korea and Woguo 倭國, present-day Japan).

²⁸⁸ Iran was earliest named Anxi 安息 in the Chinese sources, as in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1973, j. 123, p. 3162. Anxi was the transliteration of Arsak, the founder of the dynasty of the Arsakides, or the Parthians (247 BCE-224 CE) as they are better known. The name Bosi appeared for the first time in the official history of the Wei dynasty, and was referred to the Sasanian dynasty (224-651 CE). Wei Shou, *Weishu*, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1974, j. 102, p. 2270. The designation "Persian" gradually disappeared in the course of the Song dynasty in favour of the term Dashi, that sometimes seems to have been used interchangeably with Bosi. What makes it even more complicated is the fact the term Bosi, written with the same characters also referred to Malayan Bosi. Generally speaking, it could refer to three possible ethnic and geographical origins: Persia, Arabia and Malay Archipelago. See Salmon "Les Persan", p. 23. And Guillot, "La Perse", pp. 159-192 and 355-356.

ry²⁸⁹: he writes that Bosi is located on the Southwestern Sea, the same in which the country of Kunlun Cengqi is also located; Persia is much further north than the previous section. Zhou also describes its black-skinned and frizzy haired inhabitants, certainly characteristics that do not correspond to the typical physical features of Persians. Therefore, the country of Bosi as described by Zhou should be identified with some place around the island of Sumatra and Burma; both these territories border on the Indian Ocean or, as named by Zhou, the Southwestern sea²⁹⁰.

Let's see how Zhou describes this country²⁹¹.

The country of Bosi is on the Southwest Sea. The inhabitants have extremely black skin, their hair is frizzy, they wear golden sticks on each arm, and cotton clothes with blue-green flowers. Their cities have no protective walls. In the early morning, their king receives his subjects sitting cross-legged on a tiger skin;²⁹² in this way he carries out the court rituals and welcomes the crowd of his subjects. When he goes out, he sits on a soft bag (hammock) or

And Schottenhammer, "Transfer of *Xiangyao*", p. 124. On the understandable confusion for the terms Bosi and Dashi, see Chaffee, *The Muslim Merchants of Premodern China*, p. 18.

²⁸⁹ Haw also suggested the same hypothesis. See Stephen G. Haw, "The maritime routes between China and the Indian Ocean during the second to the ninth centuries C.E.", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 27.1, 2017, p. 78.

²⁹⁰ Berthold Laufer in his work, *Sino – Iranica*, states that in most cases the Bosi toponym indicates the territory of ancient Persia (Iran), in some cases it can refer to an island of the Malay Archipelago. See Laufer, *Sino – Iranica*, pp. 294–315. All the most famous travelers and sailors of the world (Marco Polo, Zheng He, Ibn Battuta) mention this harbor, inhabited by Muslims. See Kenneth R. Hall, *A History of Early Southeast Asia: Maritime Trade and Societal Development, 100–1500*, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011, chapter 9, p. 290 and following. Zhang Xinglong argues that Bosi always indicates the Persian territory. In *LWD* the toponym is used to indicate the eastern coasts of Africa because of the massive presence of Persian merchants living and working there. See Zhang, *Huibian*, II, p. 1154 and the followings. For a more detailed study on the possible identifications of this toponym also see Chen Jiarong et al., *Huishi*, I, p. 544; Fu Zhengrong et al., *Cihai*, p. 516; Feng, *Xinyi Duxing*, p. 74, entry Parsa. Claudine Salmon has suggested that the term Bosi should be read in an etiquette just as naming products in a summarizing manner as "products shipped from overseas". Personal communication with Angela Schottenhammer. See Schottenhammer, "Transfer of *Xiangyao*", p. 125.

²⁹¹ The Russian translation see Ulyanov, *Ling Wai Dai Da*, p. 151. For the German see Netolitzky, *Das Ling-wai Tai-tu*, p. 50.

²⁹² There are some doubts about the translation of *bagu*: it is "tiger skin", unknown in Africa and present only in India, Malaysia and Indochina, or "leopard skin", very common on all African coasts and part of the Malay Archipelago. It's interesting to underline that in the *'Abbar as Sin wal Hind* (*Accounts of China and India*), the author deals with the presence of preachers who speak the language of the Zengi and cover themselves with panther skins. They are pious men dedicated to a devout life and are concerned with preaching the memory of God to the inhabitants. See Sauvaget, *Ahbab*, section 13, 7.

sometimes rides an elephant. More than 100 men follow him, holding swords in their hands to protect him. People eat bread, meat and rice, they use terracotta utensils, from which they eat with their hands.

According to the descriptions of the countries of Bosi and Kunlun Cengqi and to the above two Sections (in particular 31 and 44), I argue that Zhou's concept of *ecumene* could be the same contained in Idrisi's work²⁹³. The Arab scholar, who was a contemporary of Zhou's, describes and draws the coasts of East Africa as linked to those of Southeast Asia, both bordering the Indian Ocean. See the figure below (Figure 2.2.).

²⁹³ Questions arise as to why Idrisi and not other Arab geographers deserve to be analyzed further in this perspective and, if present, how was the knowledge transferred from the West to the Song empire. First, al Idrisi is regarded as one of the most authoritative examples of the synthesis of ancient and new knowledge, and of the symbiosis of Arab, Persian and Turkish elements during the Middle Ages. He was born in Ceuta in Morocco in 1100, began traveling at the age of sixteen. In 1138 he was invited by the court of King Roger II (1097-1154) in Palermo, Sicily. With the support of the Norman king, Idrisi could devote himself entirely to studying what scholars had previously written (not only about geography). Idrisi is the author of *Nuḥat al-muḥitāq fi-khtirāq al-afāq* (*The book on pleasant journeys in distant lands*), a geographical compendium commissioned to him by Roger II himself. The work included an annotated map of the known world (*Tabula Rogeriana*) with a commentary. Idrisi is one of the cornerstones of this research: he embodies the *summa* of Arab-Muslim geographical knowledge of the 12th century. A comparison between Chinese and Arab geographical conceptions up to the 12th century could not fail to cite repeatedly and abundantly what was said by Idrisi. Generally speaking, his work summarizes all the earliest most prominent sources (not only Arabic) and the new concept of *ecumene*, build on the basis of the newest discoveries and expeditions by himself and other travelers. Last, he lived during the same period as Zhou and it would be interesting to examine how two important scholars perceived the *terra cognita*, mirrored by two distant (geographically and culturally) perspectives. Their stances, as I highlight below, sometimes seem to have some points of contact. Regarding the second question, there is no doubt that these contacts and transfer of knowledge cannot have been made through a direct exchange. There aren't any references of the diffusion of Idrisi's work as far as China in the twelfth century, and if there were, Zhou did not speak or read Arabic. The transfer of the geographical knowledge and of the concept of the *ecumene* was possible thanks only to the interactions between the ports along the maritime Silk Road. As I have highlighted above, in the Section 40, merchants and travelers served the particular function of acting as cultural middlemen between their fellow merchants and local authorities. Ahmad, "Cartography of Idrisi", p. 157. See the French translation of Idrisi's work by Jaubert, Idrisi, III, pp. 1032-1033. For the Arabic text I have considered Idrisi, *Opus geographicum, sive Liber ad eorum delectationem qui terras peragrarare student* [*Nuḥat al-muḥitāq fi-khtirāq al-afāq*], edited by E. Cerulli, F. Gabrieli, G. Levi della Vida, L. Petech, G. Tucci et alii, Brill, Leiden-Napoli-Roma, 1955-1984.



Figure 2.2. Idrisi world map, manuscript kept in Sofia, 1556.
SOURCE: Ahmad, "Cartography of al Idrisi", in Woodward and Harley, 2, book 1, chapter 7: 161²⁹⁴.

The south is placed at the upper part; the dark part is the sea and the white part is the land. The Eastern coast of Africa is shown extending toward the east longitudinally as far as what is now the Pacific Ocean, so that the Indian Ocean is shown landlocked on all sides, except to the east; the southern part of the map, connected to today's South Africa, is almost completely covered by *terra incognita*, connected to South Africa²⁹⁵.

²⁹⁴ Fuat Sezgin in his work has collected the major versions of Idrisi's maps. See: Sezgin *Geschichte, Kartenband*, pp. 18-19. The versions provided by Sezgin have been dated 1500 and 1469.

²⁹⁵ Marinus of Tyre and Ptolemy were the first to speak of the Malay Peninsula as the Golden Chersoneso (Chersoneso aureo). They claimed that the Eastern coast of Africa was linked to the Golden Chersoneso, and the Eritrean sea was surrounded by this long coast. The Eritrean sea is a translation from the Greek name to indicate the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Girolamo Emilio Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's geography of eastern Asia (further India and Indo-Malay Archipelago)*, London: Royal Geographical Society, 1909, p. 77; Luis Vivien De De Saint Martin, *Histoire de la Géographie et des découvertes géographiques depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris: Hachette, 1873, pp. 31 and 207; William D. D. Vincent, *The Periplus of the Erytrean Sea*, London: Strahan, Printers Street, 1805, preface part 1. Devic, *Il Paese degli Zengi*, 2008, p. 63. Ahmad, "Cartography of al Idrisi", pp. 156-172. Wheatley, *The Golden Chersonese*, pp. 139-145; See also the work by Yusuf Kamal, *Monumenta Cartographica Africae et Aegypti*, six volumes, Cairo, 1926-1951. Here the author

As discussed above, Zhou placed the two countries on the same sea (*Xinan hai* or the Southwestern sea), but they have many different features. The various hypotheses of geographical location, although sometimes controversial, place the two countries on the two opposite sides of the Indian Ocean: in detail, Kunlun Cengqi on the Eastern coast of Africa, and Bosi, at some point between Southern Burma and Northern Sumatra. The only thing in common is the *Xinan hai* or Southwestern sea.

It might be useful, then, to place the two countries described by Zhou on the map presented by Idrisi. See the figure below, Figure 2.3. It shows the map provided by Idrisi with some labels. The African territories and Indochinese countries surround a large portion of water, which is the Indian Ocean. China is in the left quadrant, not well distinguished from the rest of Indochina.

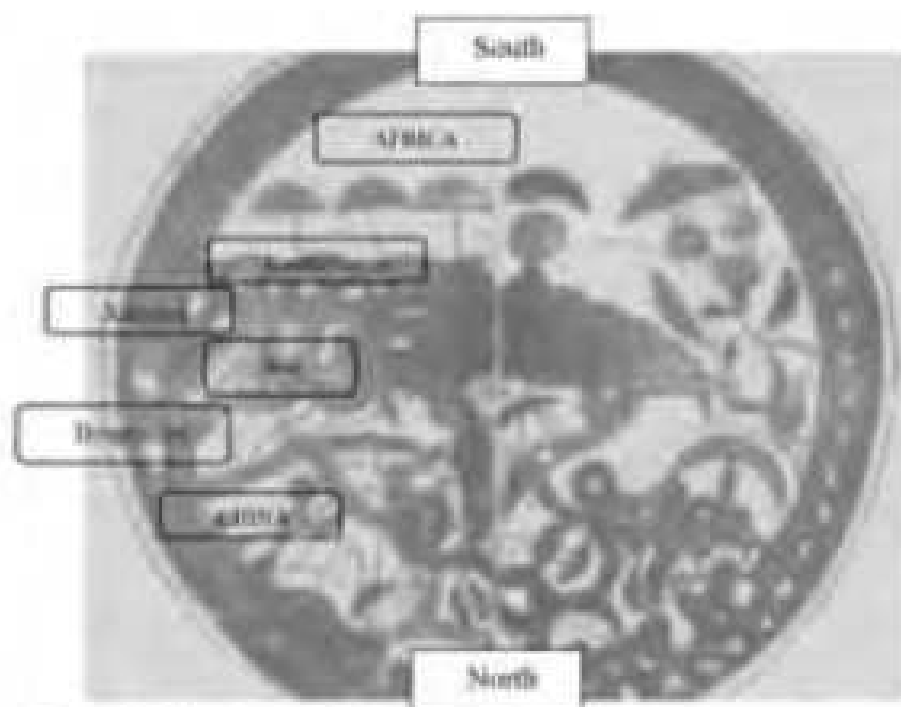


Figure 2.3. Idrisi's map and Zhou's toponyms.

collected all the most prominent sources regarding African territory from antiquity to fifteenth century, with French translation. Or William Desborough Cooley, *The Negroland of the Arabs, examined and explained: or an Enquiry into the Early History and Geography of Central Africa*, London, J. Arrowsmith, 1841.

This perspective could explain why Zhou stated that Kunlun Cengqi and Bosi, although they have very different features, were both located in the same sea, Xinanhai (the Southwestern Sea). This figure offers a different point of view: from this perspective, the Xinanhai (the Southwestern Sea), on which Zhou locates the two toponyms, corresponds to a portion of the Indian Ocean, as mirrored by Idrisi. We can observe that the two countries are not only surrounded by the water of the same sea, but that they are also situated in two distant territories, which most likely have different customs. As shown in the figure, the two countries, Kunlun Cengqi and Bosi, are respectively located on the upper and lower part of the large body of water. In this way, although they occupy two different coastlines: the eastern coast of Africa and the Indochinese coast are situated on a single sea, which could correspond to Xinanhai or the Southwestern Sea, as described by Zhou. I infer that the Xinanhai (South Western sea), as mentioned by Zhou, was a portion of the great Indian Ocean and that this sea refers to the water west of today's island of Sumatra.

2.1.19. *Section 47. Dan Man. The barbaric tribe of the Dan.*

In this section Zhou describes the tribe living in the southern territory of the Song empire, Dan or Danjia 蠻家, sometimes known as Tanka. The Tanka community is an ancient fishing community that once lived and worked exclusively on the water, also called boat people²⁹⁶. They were not an ethnic minority, but could be considered an ethnic Han subgroup in Southern China, which lived in coastal parts of Guangdong, Guangxi, Fujian and Hainan, as well as Hong Kong and Macau²⁹⁷. In contrast to the other sections, Zhou does not provide geo-

²⁹⁶ For a useful introduction to the Dan tribes see Ho Ke-en, "The Tanka or Boat people of South China", in F.S. Drake, Wolfram Eberhard, *Symposium on Historical, Archaeological and Linguistic Studies in Southern China, South-East Asia and Hong Kong Region*, pp. 120-123; for more detailed information on the role of the Dan people in Chinese history see Luo Xianglin, *Baiyue yuanchu yu wenhua* 百越源流與文化 (The Origins and culture of the Hundred Yue), Taipei, Zhonghua Congshu Weiyuanhui, 1955, pp. 209-239.

²⁹⁷ For a more detailed study on Dan tribes see Leo J. Moser, *The Chinese mosaic: the peoples and provinces of China*, Westview Press, 1985, p. 219; C. Fred Hake, *Ethnic groups and social change in a Chinese market town*, University Press of Hawaii, 1981, p. 2; R. A. Donkin, *Beyond price: pearls and pearl-fishing: origins to the Age of Discoveries*, Volume 224 of *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting*

graphical information; the section is focused instead on the various kinds of Dan people and their customs. The single toponym he writes about here is Guangzhou, at the end of his account when he is describing the Luting's tribe. Fan Chengda, earlier than Zhou, mentions and describes this tribe in his last chapter, *Zhiman*, "The Man people", section *The Dan*²⁹⁸. However, the description provided by Zhou is more detailed and accurate. Fan Chengda also mentions this tribe when he deals with pearls in the eighth chapter, titled *Zhi chongyu* ("Insects and fishes"), section *Zhu* ("Pearls"). Here he describes the way in which the coastal boat people (*danhu*) usually dive into the water to pluck them from oysters²⁹⁹. Zhou's entry on the Pearl Pool (*Zhuchi*) includes, once again, additional information about pearl diving around Hepu³⁰⁰.

The question arises of why Zhou inserted the description of the Dan people in the chapter focused on foreign countries. Suffice it to say that, because of many historical factors during the Song dynasty, the concept of "barbarians" (in Chinese *Man* 蠻) changed from referring to external ethnic groups to referring to domestic ethnic groups. Ancient Chinese literati tried to accept "barbarian" as Chinese³⁰¹. We should consider that, generally speaking, the Chinese regarded all foreign people, including members of indigenous tribes within China itself (such as the Dan people), as racially and culturally inferior. *Man*, then, was a general term used in the sense of "southern tribes"³⁰². Hence Zhou used it as a suffix in the title of this section.

Useful Knowledge (Issue 224 of Memoirs Series). American Philosophical Society, 1998, p. 200. Here the author deals with the three types of Dan: fishing men, oyster's pickers and the Dan of wood.

²⁹⁸ Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, p. 222.

²⁹⁹ Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, p. 82.

³⁰⁰ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 258. Chapter *Baohuo* ("Treasures"), section *Zhuchi*. Wheatley says the pearl fisheries in the Hepu sea were banned to Chinese divers throughout much of the Song, though the Dan people were allowed to continue their harvesting of pearls. Wheatley, "Geographical Notes on Some Commodities", p. 89.

³⁰¹ See the interesting paper Li Kai 李凯, "Nansong shiren guanyu 'Man' de wenhua xintai zhi zhuanbian 南宋士人关于'蛮'的文化心态之转变 (The Change of Culture Mentality on 'Barbarians' of the Southern Song Literati)", in *Journal of Minzu University of China*, 43, 2016, 63–70.

³⁰² The term *Man* probably derives from the word for "people" or "I" in one of the Miao-Yao languages of the southwest. See Liang Min 梁敏 and Zhang Junru 张均如, *Dongtai yazu gailun 侗台语族概论 (An introduction to the Kam-Tai languages)*, Beijing, Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Chubanshe, 1995, 10–12.

Let's see the translation of Zhou's account³⁰³.

The Dan tribe uses ships as dwellings, and consider in the same way the land and the sea. They live in the floating waters of the rivers and of the sea. In Qinzhou there are three types of Dan tribes: the first are the Dan fishermen, who are good at using nets with black silk ribbons; the second type are the Dan oyster pickers, who are good at collecting oysters in the sea; the third type is the Dan of wood, who are good at gathering wood and collecting raw materials in the mountains. They are all extremely poor and wear ragged clothes. They eat rice with their hands, and wives and children share it. Husbands and wives live under a rainbow-like tent and procreate abundantly and indecently. In any one boat there are never fewer than 10 children. When children begin to smile,³⁰⁴ their mothers using soft tissues bind them to their backs (in this way the children) continue to move energetically with ease. When the children can crawl, they tie a long rope to their waist, fastening the other end to the low tree, so that the child cannot fall into the water. When the children learn to walk, they go back and forth along the board itself, fearlessly. When they are able to walk, they can swim and dive. When Dan boats drop anchor along a riverbed, groups of children gather to play on the sand, in winter and summer their bodies are always naked (without a thread) and look like a kind of otter.³⁰⁵

The floating life of the Dan tribes seems as though it couldn't be managed by men (cannot be subjugated), like a tamer. However, each type of Dan has a different head (leader), has subdivided borders and an official who manages their military service. It's known that there is no way to avoid this (administration and management) between heaven and earth. In Guangzhou there is a type of Dan, called Luting, who are good at sea battles at.

2.1.20. *Section 48. Sanfutuo. Sanfutuo territory in Vietnam*

Section 48 was partially copied by Zhou from Fan's work, the *Zhi Man* 志蠻 chapter, a supplementary entry titled *Jiaozhi* 交趾³⁰⁶. Zhou added little information and provided the name of this people, Sanfutuo. The exact identification of this territory remains unclear, though it probably indicated some territories in today Vietnam, and could be another name for the Lishan Dao 理山島, which today are known as

³⁰³ For the Russian version see Ulyanov, *Ling Wai Dai Du*, p. 151; the German Netolitsky, *Das Ling-wai Tai-tu*, p. 50.

³⁰⁴ See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 116 note 2. The character *hai* 孩 (commonly translated as child) here instead stands for "to smile". In a wider meaning, Zhou maybe is referring to the newborn.

³⁰⁵ Cfr. Russian translation, Ulyanov, *Ling Wai Dai Du*, p. 152. The author said: «Like real otters, Dan tribes are born floatings».

³⁰⁶ See Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, p. 212.

the Paracel Island, in Chinese Xisha Qundao 西沙群岛, off the coast of modern Da Nang³⁰⁷. This identification, however, must remain tentative until further research and other historical sources. The Yuan text *Yiyu zhi* 異域志 also includes a section titled Sanfutuo and places it on the Xinanhai, the South western sea. The description provided by the Yuan author partially repeats the one written by Zhou³⁰⁸. Thanks to Zhou's description, we know that Sanfutuo is rich in food and is able to take advantage of its strategical position.

South of Jiaozhi there are mountains called Bolu,³⁰⁹ with a diameter of 100 meters. These mountains cannot be scaled because it is as if they were covered with a very resistant metal. In the center all the land is fertile, and only if you know the point of entry can you enter. There is a kind of tribe that the country of Jiaozhi cannot control and capture: it is called Sanfutuo. The country of Annan repeatedly has tried to conquer it, but its inhabitants protect themselves from danger, they (Annan people, ndr) cannot enter anywhere. In the language of Sanfutuo it is said: «Annan has a strong army, we have cereals to eat». This is the reason why they cannot be extinguished.³¹⁰

2.1.21. Section 49. *Yaoren. The barbaric tribe of the Yao*

Zhou describes the tribe called Yao in Section 49. This tribe may have been located to the west of Guilin, in Guangxi Province. Again, in this section Zhou copied many pieces of information from Fan's work, in particular the *Zhi Man* 志蠻 chapter, a section focused on the Yao

³⁰⁷ See Chen Jiarong et al., *Huashi*, p. 841. He cites a Vietnamese text titled *Da Nan yitong zhi* 大南一統志. It is a late Qing work, about the history of Ruan dynasty in Vietnam.

³⁰⁸ The toponym Sanfutuo 三佛驮 is a little different from that used by Zhou. In particular the second character is *fu* 佛 not *fu* 伏. But they both stand for the phonetic transcription of a same word. See Zhou Zhizhong 周致中 (author) and Lu Junling 陸峻嶺, eds., *Yiyu zhi* 異域志, in the *Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan* series, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981, p. 28. The *Yiyu Zhi* is an official source of uncertain date and origin. It contains a large number of country segments; both the maritime spheres and non-maritime spheres are covered. See Roderich Puk, "Images of Maritime Asia in Two Yuan Texts: 'Daoyi Zhilue' and 'Yiyu Zhi'", in *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, 25, 1995, 47-75: p. 49.

³⁰⁹ On the basis of the *Da Nan yitong zhi*, we know that these mountains are located on the Lishan 理山 island, in the archipelago between Guangdong and Vietnam, in Vietnamese Culao Re. Since the word *lu* 流 can be read also as *lao* 勞 or *lau* in Min dialect (Fujian) and in Yue dialect (Guangxi and Guangdong), Bolu can be considered the phonetic transcription of Pulau, very close to Culao Re. Chen Jiarong et al., *Huashi*, II, p. 841 under entry *Bolushan*.

³¹⁰ Cfr. Russian translation, Ulyanon, *Ling Wei Dai Da*, p. 152.

tribe, titled *Yao* 徭³¹¹, but, since he worked for many years in Guilin, he added some important details. Additionally, the comparison between Zhou's and Fan's account reveals that they described different aspects of the Yao people's customs and in some cases, even in a different or opposite way. For instance, in his first sentence Zhou claims that the Yao people often offer to work for the Chinese Empire. Fan Chengda, on the contrary, says that they do not provide corvée service, because they are far away from Chinese government influence and control³¹².

It is worth pointing out another point. This is not the only section in which Zhou extensively deals with the Yao people. He also refers to them in the *Mansu* ("Barbaric Man customs") chapter in Section 272, completely devoted to written pledges of allegiance called *kuansai* 款賽 or *nakuan* 納款³¹³; or in the same chapter, Section 271, titled *Tayao* 踏搖 ("Stomping and shaking"), where Zhou describes the Yao New Year and their marriage customs, in a more detailed way than Fan's report in the *Yao* section³¹⁴.

The men of the Yao tribe are those who offer their work (service) to the Chinese empire.³¹⁵ Five counties of Jingjiangfu border on the territory of the Yao tribe: they are the counties of Xing'an, Lingchuan, Lingui, Yining (west of the present Guilin), and Guxian (the ruins of Guxian rise to the west of the present Guilin).³¹⁶ There are several villages of the Yao people, the strongest of which are Luomanyáo and Manyuanyáo. The others are Huangsha, Jiashā, Lington, Baojiang, Zengjiao, Huangcun, Chishui, Linsi, Jinjiang, Songjiang, Dinghua, Lengshikeng.³¹⁷ Baimian, Huangyí, Dali, Xiaoping, Tanton, Dan-

³¹¹ Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, p. 171 and Chinese version p. 255. The character used by Fan is a little different; Yao 徭 instead of Yao 瑶 or 畲, as used by Zhou. They have different radicals, depending on the version.

³¹² Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, p. 172.

³¹³ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 424.

³¹⁴ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 423. This entry is translated and discussed in Charles Hartman, "Stomping Songs: word and image", *Chinese literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, 17, 1995, 1-49: 4-5.

³¹⁵ Tu, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 66 note 1, Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 119 note 1. As already said, according to Fan and to the *Sui Shu*, section *Dilizhi* 地理志, Yao people did not offer their service to China empire. See Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, p. 172, note 123.

³¹⁶ Jingjiangfu, actually, has ten counties, Zhou does not mention Lipo 荔浦. Yongfu 永福, Xiuren 修仁. Liding 理定 and Yangshan 阳朔. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 120 note 2.

³¹⁷ *Lengshi* is another name for talcum, *huashi*. See section 155, titled *Huashi* 滑石 ("Talcum"). Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 281.

jiang, Mijiang, Shanjiang, and Bajie.¹¹⁸ The further away you are from the valley, the more the Yao are numerous. They use force against the Sangjiangzhai of Yining County.¹¹⁹ The Yao people wear their hair tied in a bun on their foreheads, and on their bare feet they carry a weapon. Sometimes they are partially naked, at others they wear rugged clothes, or even a tunic in colored fabric, or a kind of white sheet. Their leader wears a purple robe and a blue-green sheet. Married women wear a kind of jacket and under a sort of shiny and tinkling skirt. In particular, the upper part of their dress is adorned with very thin figures (stripes, spots),¹²⁰ which are commonly appreciated. In the territory (of the Yao) there are high mountains, and great big hindrances (obstacles or even products).¹²¹ If you want to transport them you can't do so on your shoulders, so they prepare large, capacious bags to put various objects. People tie them down on their heads with a leather rope (for balance and support) and then pull them to their backs, even large stones and trunks are carried on their shoulders. The Yao people live by plowing the mountain and cultivating cereals, beans and taro, together with wheat. Their paddies are very few. During the years of an abundant harvests they live peacefully in a kind of den (or shelter). Sometimes they suffer from hunger and make trouble everywhere. Their land produces *shanban* (conifer wood), talcum,¹²² beeswax, the *lingling* scent (incense), and *yauchi* wood. Along the border with the territories of the five counties of Jingjiang, in particular the

¹¹⁸ Except for Guangjiang and Bajie, Zhou copied all the toponyms from Fan.

¹¹⁹ Sangjiangzhai is located at the western borders of the territory of the ethnic minority called Longsheng, in Guilin county. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 120 note 6 and section 12 p. 26, note 3.

¹²⁰ In the section 112, titled *Yao Banbu* 斑布 ("Spotted or patterned cloth of the Yao people"), Zhou again deals with this decorated dress, wore by the Yao people and provides information about the carving and dyeing technique. Please see the English translation: «The Yao people are wont to make dots (or stripes) as ornaments on their clothing, using indigo flowers. Their pattern is extremely thin. Their technique is to use two wooden planks and to apply delicate indigo flowers to the fabric. Then, clamping fabric, they pour molten wax over the (flower) pattern. Then they remove the wooden planks, take the cloth and rinse it in blue paint. After the fabric has acquired a blue color, the cloth is boiled to remove the wax. In this way, they can get an extremely fine dot flower patterned color. The color is so shiny that it deserves to be admired. Not a single Yao man will reveal the technique for painting and applying ornaments». For the Chinese text see Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 224. Fan Chengda also refers to this variety of patterned cloth. Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, p. 172 note 125.

¹²¹ The Chinese term is *zichong*, which means something that can be moved only by a cart. Zhou's might be trying to underscore the strength of Yao men. They actually had no carts, but were able to carry everything on their shoulders. Cfr. Russian translation, Ulyanov, *Ling Wai Dai Da*, p. 153. The author said: «what is mined is packaged». Fan also mentions the difficulty of climbing the tall mountains and their technique for carrying burdens. Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, p. 173.

¹²² This mineral was an important local product gathered and sold by Yao, see Section 155, titled *Huashi* 滑石 ("Talcum"). Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 281. Fan also deals with the importance of this mineral, see Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, p. 31.

officials of Xing'an and Yining, who are at the end of their offices, are appreciated and rewarded.

2.1.22. Section 50. *Xinanyi. The barbaric tribe of the south-western territories (in Guizhou), called Yi*

In Section 50, Zhou focuses on the barbaric tribes living in Guizhou Province. Geographically, a south-north or south-west directional line can be traced toward the Song empire: from Section 47 on the Tanka tribe in the South China sea, through the mountains in today's Vietnam, where the people of Sanfutuo (Section 48) lived, and the territories of the Yao tribes to the west of Guilin (section 49), up to those of the barbaric tribes called Yi, in the southwest area of Guizhou (Section 50). In this section Zhou describes different barbaric tribes living within the borders of the Song empire. Here he uses the character *yi* 夷, not *man* 蠻 as in Section 47, used to indicate the barbarians in the south³²³. The word *yi* occurs several times in Zhou's work, often in combination with the term *man*, to indicate foreigners. As in Section 3, *Guangxi sheng bing zhou* 广西省并州, in which Zhou deals with different types of prefectures in Guangxi province and mentions the word *manyi* 蠻夷³²⁴. Or in Section 23, *Guangxi jinglüe Anfushi* 广西经略安抚使, where he says that in the external (foreign) garrisons there are a hundred tribes of *yiman* 夷蠻³²⁵. In other cases, Zhou uses the term *waiyi* 外夷, to highlight the foreignness of some tribes: as in Section 97, *Man Jiazhou* 蠻甲冑, where he describes the armor used by foreign peoples³²⁶.

At the beginning of the present section, Zhou also uses the term *fan* 蕃 with a generic reference to the various non-Chinese people living in the southwest area. Zhou reveals a more accurate knowledge of these territories and is able to better describe the amounts of tribute

³²³ Several texts, such as the *Jinshu*, drawing on terms from Zhou dynasty works used to indicate foreign, "barbarian" peoples along and beyond the borders of China, designate the "Four Yi" (Si Yi 四夷), or "Four Barbarians": Yi, Rong, Di and Man. Each of these names is associated with a particular direction and hence a particular region, namely east, west, north and south respectively. See Fang Xuanling, 房玄龄, *Jinshu* 晋书 (*History of the Jin*), Zhonghua Shuju, Beijing, 1974, pp. 97 and 2531-32.

³²⁴ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 7.

³²⁵ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 42.

³²⁶ Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 207.

and in what year they were sent to the Empire, probably because he himself went to Yizhou to receive them. Yizhou was the main city on the border between the Song empire and the territories of the south-western tribes, today between the territories of Liuzhou 柳州 and the prefecture of Hechi 河池 in Guangxi Province.

There are five major family groups of the southwestern tribes:¹²⁷ they are called the Long group, the Luo group, the Fang, the Shi and the Zhang.¹²⁸ From the earliest times they have come to the capital of the Empire to pay tribute to the Emperor. The Long, Luo, Fang and Shi groups came from Xuanzhou, while the Zhang from Yongzhou. Every three years or, sometimes, every four or five years, 960 people in total from the five clans arrive (in the Empire). They bring as tribute felt, horses and pigment (cinnabar). The Imperial Court gives them as gifts of brocade fabric, silver belts, in addition to other payments, totally equal to more than 24400 *min* (strings of coins), excluding the return gifts. In the eighth year of Xining (1077), (the Emperor) ordered the five tribes to offer their gifts every five years, and the Empire accepted local products in Yizhou, and reciprocated according to the estimated current price. There is also the Wei tribe, from the Southwest, that enter the Empire to offer its tributes every five years, Yizhou receive their local products (of Wei tribe) and in return donate more than 1200 *min* to the Wei tribe. The people from political-administrative units, called *junt*,¹²⁹ also enter to pay their tributes. People from the three districts of Anhua and one village subordinate to Yizhou, in the past arrived in the capital to offer their tributes every three years, with about 293 people. Then (the Emperor) ordered that local products should be received (handed over) in the Shilizhai territory of Yizhou, and should personally go to the prefecture, where the gifts would be received.¹³⁰ The barbarians of the southwest generally wear their hair in a bun and go barefoot, sometimes wearing colorful clothes, sometimes felt draped over their shoulders, with a knife and a crossbow on their back. They tie their hair into a bun with white paper, it is said to still represent the uniform of

¹²⁷ *Wu Xing Fan* 五姓番 can be translated as "Fan of the Five Surnames" as written by Hargett. See Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, p. 183, Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 121 note 1. As Hargett states, which five surnames this group comprised varies depending on which source one consults.

¹²⁸ Three of these groups are also mentioned by Fan in section "The Man", they are Ling, Shi and Zhang tribes. See Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, p. 183.

¹²⁹ See chapter 1 of the present work.

¹³⁰ The Russian version provides a different translation of this sentence: «Главы пограничного селения Сыличай и района Тунфуцзюу получали вознаграждения Ганнау incorporation» селения Сыличай и района Цинфуцзюу получали вознаграждения; in English: «The heads of the border village of Shilizhai and Qinfuzhou District received remuneration».

Zhuge Wuhou,³³¹ even though the martyrdom inflicted by Wuhou took place so long ago!

2.1.23. *Section 51. Tongdao Waiyi. The land route for the foreign barbarian countries*

In section 51 Zhou describes the possible land routes from the borders of the Song Empire toward the territories of the southern barbarian peoples. This section can be divided into four parts:

- 1) The route from Hengshanzhai to the territories of the southern barbarians, up to the country of Pagan (today's Burma);
- 2) The route from Hengshanzhai to Luodian³³²;
- 3) The route from Hengshanzhai to Temo³³³;
- 4) The route from the country of Dali to the Song Empire, divided into two possible paths.

As written above, the first three routes have the same point of departure, Hengshanzhai or the outpost of Hengshan. During the Song dynasty, it was a strategic point for commercial exchanges between Han people and the ethnic minorities of the southwestern territories³³⁴. Today it can be located in the county of Tiandong 田东 in Guangxi province, not far from Yongzhou, the capital of Guangxi. The first route leads to the country of Dali and then, after five days, to that of Pagan. The second route leads to the country of Luodian, located at

³³¹ Zhou refers to the historical events that occurred during the period of the Three Kingdoms between Meng Huo and Zhuge Liang, (known also as Zhuge Wuhou), a famous strategist and politician of the state of Shu. In 223 he was appointed governor of Yizhou and put in charge of all state affairs. In 225, when regional clans took control of some cities in the south, he defeated the rebel leader, Meng Huo, who in the end pledged allegiance to the state of Shu and was appointed governor of the region. This alliance was considered by the southern tribes a humiliation and a loss of independence. Zhou in his description uses the expression *zhifu* 制服, which usually indicates mourning dress.

³³² The territory of Luodian was situated in the western part of modern Guizhou.

³³³ Temodao was located in the eastern part of what is now known as the Wenshan Zhuang and Miao's People's Self-Autonomous Prefecture in southeastern Yunnan. See Xiong Zhaoming and Wei Liguó, *Guangxi Gudai Haishang Sichou zhilu* 广西古代海上丝绸之路, *Guangxi's Ancient Maritime Silk Road*, Guangxi Science and Technology Publishing House, Nanning, 2019, p. 102.

³³⁴ Yang Bin, "Horse, Silver, and Cowries: Yunnan in a global perspective", chapter 5, in Lipi Ghosh, *The southern Silk Route: Historical links and contemporary Convergences*, Routledge, New York, 2019. Hengshanzhai was also prominent for horses' market.

the western border of Guizhou Province. The third route leads to the Temo country, in the southeastern territory of the province of Yunnan, where the ethnic minorities, Zhuang and Miao, live.

These three routes show up as Yongzhou, in particular the territory of Hengshanzhai, was one of the most important passages for commercial and cultural exchanges between the southwestern ethnic minorities and the country of Jiaozhi. Yongzhou, indeed, was directly connected with Dali, Luodian, Ziqi³³⁵ and Temo.

In the last part of this section, Zhou instead provides information about the routes from foreign countries to Chinese Empire.

The Song dynasty regarded its relations with the various independent states (such as Dali, Ziqi, Luodian) and semi-independent tribes in the southwest as important for several reasons. First, Dali provided virtually all the horses the Song purchased in the south. Second, in light of the threatening military situation along China's northern borders (throughout the entire Song period), it was essential for the southern flank of the empire to be secure. This became very evident in the 1040s when a local rebellion led by a Man chieftain named Nong Zhigao threatened Song control of the south. One tactic used by the Song to ensure military and administrative-political control of Guangxi was the creation of *zhai* 寨, which can be translated as "military outpost". These installations were strategically placed near the *jimi* areas to enable the Song to keep a watchful eye on Man activities. The most important outpost in Guangxi during the southern Song was the Hengshan outpost or Hengshanzhai. As already stated, it served as a key hub for economic and government contact between the Song and various non-Chinese tribes in the southwest.

³³⁵ It indicated the territory of today Xingyi 興義 city, in the south-western of Guizhou province, on the borders between Guizhou and the eastern Yunnan. Fang Guoyu 方国瑜, *Zhongguo Xinnan zhengshi dili kaozhì* 中国西南正史地理考释, Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1987, p. 762. Fan Chengda also mentions it, when he deals with the commerce of horses with the Song, in the chapter *Zhi shou* ("Quadrupeds"), section *ma* ("Horses"). Hargett, *Treatises of the supervisor*, pp. 73 and 243. Ziqi was a small but powerful state that came to prominence in the twelfth century because of its influential position in the horse trade with the Song. For a detailed study of how the trade of the horses developed during the Yuan dynasty and about the role of the Islamic merchants see also Yokkaichi Yasuhiro, "Horses in the East-West Trade between China and Iran under Mongol Rule", in *Pferde in Asien: Geschichte, Handel und Kultur. Horses in Asia: History, Trade and Culture*, edited by Bert G. Fragner, Ralph Kauz, Roderich Ptak, Angela Schottenhammer, Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik, 46, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 2009: 87-97.

From China to move to the territories of the Nanman (Southern Barbarians), one must pass through the territory of Hengshanzhai in the prefecture of Yong (Yongzhou). From the outpost of Hengshan in one day (stage)³²⁶ to reach the Gutian county, and (from there) in one day to reach Guilezhou, and (from there) in one day to reach Tangxingzhou, and (from there) in one day to reach Judianzhou, and in another day to reach Qiyuanzhou, and (from there) in one day to reach Sichengzhou, and (from there) in one day you arrive at Gunadong, (from there) in one day to reach Longanzhou, and (from there) in one day to reach Fengcunshan at the Liaodu river, (from there) in one day to reach Shangzhan, and (from there) in one day to reach Bowenling, and (from there) in one day you can reach Luofu, and (from there) in a day to reach the borders of Ziqi, called Moju, and three days later to reach Ziqi. From Ziqi in four days you arrive at Guchengjun, in three days you reach the borders of the country of Dali, called Shanchanfu, in six days you reach the country of Dali. From there in five days you reach the country of Pagan (now Burma), from which the Indian countries are not far, the borders being delimited by the river Yuni,³²⁷ which, if possible, should not be crossed, as it is extremely dangerous.³²⁸ Normally it takes 32 days of travel.

If you want to arrive in the country of Luodian, you can also pass by the outpost of Hengshan according to the above itinerary: you reach the prefecture of Qiyuan and there the road is divided. (From Qiyuan it is no longer possible to follow the same itinerary as before). In one day you arrive at the county of Male, in one day you reach the county of Enhua, and (from there) in one day you arrive in Luoduozhou, and in a day in Weimazhou, then in Ashuman, and in one day you arrive in Zhushaman, then in Shuntangfa, and two days later you arrive in Luodian, normally a total of 19 days of travel.

If you want to get to Temodao, you can also leave from the outpost of Hengshan, in one day to reach the county of Shang'an, then another day to reach Andezhou, then Luobozhou, then the county of Luo, in another day to reach Ai'an, one day up to reach Nalang, then up to Xiningzhou, another to reach Fuzhou, another to reach the county of Luogong, one day to reach Lishuipu, another to reach Temodao. From Temo in one day you arrive in the territory of the barbarians called Jieye, another to reach the borders of the

³²⁶ There are different hypotheses about the exact duration and distance that the term *cheng* 程 indicated in ancient Chinese sources. Hargett proposes a definition of *cheng* as an imprecise measure of distance, usually referring to the distance that a traveler could reasonably cover in one day. On average, this was between 45 and 60 li (15 to 20 miles), but it could vary with local conditions. See Hargett, *Treatise of the supervisor*, p. LVII. Nevertheless, it has been translated as one day of journey. In the Russian translation, it has been translated as "перехода" (Perekhoda), in English "transition, passage". See Ulyanov, *Ling Wai Dai Da*, p. 155. In the German one, it is "tagesreise", that is to say "day trip" or "reisetage" in the plural form "days of travel". See Netolitzky, *Das Lingwai Tui-tu*, p. 53.

³²⁷ It corresponds to the Irrawaddy river, on the border between India and Pakistan. Zhou mentions it in Section 34, country of Pagan.

³²⁸ The German translation uses; *Durchkommen*, in English "come through". The Russian translates: *проплыть* (proplyt), in English "to swim".

country of Dali, one day to reach Zuiningfu, in six days you can arrive in the country of Dali. Normally it takes 20 days.

It is said that if you wish to deliver horses to the Song Empire, from the country of Dali, you can take the northern route through Ziqi, or the southern route through Temo, two routes that are almost the same in length. I heard that between Ziqi and Temo there is a new road that leads directly to the outpost of Hengshan, so no need to pass through two countries.¹³⁹ Nowadays, horses are delivered annually, and you don't need to take any other routes.

2.1.24. Section 52. *Hanghai Waiyi. The maritime navigation of the foreign barbarian countries.*

This is the last section of the second chapter, focused on foreign countries. It can be divided into two parts: in the first Zhou describes how important seacoast cities (such as Quanzhou and Guangzhou) deal with foreign merchants, the establishment and the role of the maritime trade offices (*shibosi*), and he lists the richest foreign countries involved in maritime trading with the Song Empire. In the second part, Zhou provides information about the maritime routes from the foreign barbarian countries toward the Song Empire.

The importance of this section is twofold: 1) Zhou highlights how accurate and reliable the management of foreign products and merchants was in the seacoast cities of the Southern Song Empire; 2) from a geographical point of view, Zhou seems perfectly aware of the greatness of some countries and of the long distances from each other. He mentions almost all the countries described in the previous sections and connects them to each other. Let's see the main aspects.

First of all, Zhou starts off by mentioning the presence and the prominent role of the *shibosi*, the offices for the maritime trade (established in Quanzhou and Guangzhou), which had the task of solving trade problems and guaranteeing the security of merchants and sailors. At the end of the section, he affirms that sailing on the Chinese Sea is safer than sailing in foreign waters and refers to the system of *baojia*¹⁴⁰. This was a system of communal self-defense created by the

¹³⁹ Sometimes along the routes from Dali or Ziqi to the outpost of Hengshan disputes arose (because of competition in the horse trade) and traders tried to follow an alternate route. See Hu Qiwing and Tan Guangguang, *Guohai Yuheng zhi jishi jiaozhou*, Sichuan Minzu chubanshe, Chengdu, 1986, p. 218, note 17.

¹⁴⁰ It is interesting that Ibn Battuta, the Moroccan traveller of the XIV century, also admires the Chinese ability of management maritime trading and of guarantee the safety of travellers, sailors and merchants. Tressio, *I Viaggi*, p. 699-700.

reformer Wang Anshi (1021-1086) a century earlier. It was a local administrative organization used to control education, finance, military training and public health in villages and towns, initiated by the Song Emperor Shenzong (r.1067-1085)³⁴¹. Zhou, on the one hand, praises the efficiency of the Chinese management and legal system, and, on the other hand, underlines the poor quality of the foreign management of maritime trading. As mirrored by his description, the Chinese system is able to guarantee a peaceful and impartial exchange of products between merchants from different countries, and to protect the integrity of people and goods. We can assume that he's indirectly referring to social, administrative and military reform, which had broad, useful implications also for trade³⁴².

From a geographical perspective, as in the previous Section (number 51), in this section too Zhou provides information about different routes to the Song Empire, in particular to Guangzhou and Quanzhou. In his description, two countries play a leading role: Gulin, in Southern India, and the Arab-Islamic empire (Dashi). The first has an active function as important trans-shipment point, since sailors (from the East and the West) usually change their ships there³⁴³. The second, according to Zhou, was the richest and greatest empire in the West, nothing to compare with Sanfoqi and Shepo.

Last but not least, we should take note of the two toponyms that Zhou mentions at the end of this section: Mojia and Wusili. According to his account, they are so far away that nobody knows the exact distance of these countries. The first, Mojiaguo 默伽國 is also used by Ma Huan in the fifteenth century to indicate the Holy City of Mecca, in Arabia³⁴⁴. Zhou, in Section 40, titled Dashi (the Arab-Islamic Empire), refers to the Holy City with the toponym Majia 麻嘉. The question then arises as to why Zhou should have used two different topo-

³⁴¹ For a more detailed study on this topic see Peter G. Rowe, Ann Forsyth, Har Ye Ka, *China's Urban Communities, concepts, contexts and well-being*, Birkhäuser, Basel, 2016, p. 36. In the Song dynasty, every ten households constituted a *bao*, and every ten *baos* formed a *jia*. As a mechanism for governance the *baojia* had four major functions: manage, educate, sustain and defend or protect.

³⁴² For a more accurate study on the topic see Li Qingxin, *Maritime Silk Road, China Intercontinental Press*, Beijing, 2006, pp. 8. Park, *Mapping*, pp. 43.

³⁴³ For the prominence of Gulin as transshipment point in the Indian Ocean, see also Park, *Mapping*, p. 48. Cobb, *The Indian Ocean Trade in Antiquity*, on the centrality of the Indian Ocean.

³⁴⁴ Mills, *Yingyu Shenglan*, p. 173.

nyms to indicating the same country in two different sections. Assuming that these two forms could not be considered a mere mistake of the copyist, the comparison with Zhao Rukuo's work seems very useful.

In Zhao Rukuo's work, in the *Haishang Zaqiao* ("Countries in the sea") section, you find the same toponym Mojia, with a third character, *lie* 獵. According to Hirth and Rockhill's study, the country of Mojialie, as mirrored by Zhao, should be considered the Arabic far west, that is to say Mogreb el aksa, corresponding to today's Morocco³⁴⁵. There is no doubt that if we assume that Mojia could be identified with the territory of today's Morocco, the issue of its great distance and the fact that it was knowable, as Zhou emphasizes, is the main point and might be justified by the lack of knowledge about those remote territories. At this point, we need to consider that, although in Section 41, titled Mulanpi, Zhou describes today's Mauretania and the Northwest African territories (which geographically should also include Morocco), he does not talk about or even mention the Mojia toponym. If the country of Mojia corresponded with the territory of Morocco, it would have been more logical to introduce it in Section 41, Mulanpi.

The second toponym he mentions is Wusili 勿斯里. According to the Chinese scholar Zhang Xinglang, it is identifiable with today's Egypt, in Arabic Misr³⁴⁶. Feng Chengjun affirms that it may correspond to Cairo, the capital of Egypt, founded in 973³⁴⁷. Except for the last character, this toponym seems to be the same as the one Zhou used in Section 40, Dashi. In the first case, in Section 40 it is called Wusili 勿斯離, and in the second, in Section 52, it is called Wusili 勿斯里. The last characters, 離 and 里, are different, but the pronunciation is the same. In Zhao Rukuo's *Zhufan zhi*, we find both toponyms, indicating respectively Mosul, in northern Iraq, and the country of Egypt³⁴⁸. We can assume that also in Zhou the two toponyms could indicate these different territories. But, as opposed to Zhao, Zhou in the eleventh century had no knowledge of Egypt, and, except for the toponym, he could not provide any more information.

³⁴⁵ Feng, *Zhufan zhi*, p. 58; Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 154. See also Zhang, *Huibian*, II, p. 589.

³⁴⁶ Zhang, *Huibian*, II, p. 593. Zhang analysed the account of Zhao Rukuo.

³⁴⁷ Feng, *Zhufan zhi*, p. 35 nota 3.

³⁴⁸ Feng, *Zhufan zhi*, p. 48 and 51.

As noted above, the westernmost territory, according to Zhou's concept of the *ecumene*, was the country of Mulanpi. Several questions then arise as to why Zhou mentions only these two territories (Mojia and Wusili), when, in Section 52, he talks about the westernmost lands, without including Mulanpi. And again, why does he not mention them in the Section 41, Mulanpi? Lastly, at the end of Section 31, "The various foreign overseas countries", when he deals with the place beyond the country of Mulanpi, where the sun enters, it would have been more consistent and reasonable to introduce the Mojia toponym to indicate Morocco. But all this must remain conjecture, until further evidence is produced.

Nowadays, along the coast of the Song Empire, provinces (or prefectures) and counties (or districts) stretch from northeast to southwest and end up in Qinzhou. In these seacoast provinces and counties there are merchant ships (seafaring is managed). These territories are very attractive for the foreign barbarians, and in some districts, including the cities of Quanzhou and Guangzhou, maritime trade offices (*shibosi*) have been established. Therefore, for any problem related to foreign trade, one needs to contact this office and its inspector, who should be able to solve it. Every year in the tenth month, the office inspector organizes a big banquet and invites all foreign merchants to attend it. From their arrival (of the merchants), in summer, the office inspector levies taxes on them and takes them under his protection. Each of these various foreign countries are rich and have precious products, and the best (the richest) is the country of Dashi (Section 40: Arab-Islamic Empire), then Shepo (Section 36, the island of Java), Sanfoqi (Section 35: southwestern Sumatra) and many others. The country of Sanfoqi is the commercial hub for maritime contacts between various countries. From Sanfoqi, proceeding northwards, first through Shangxiazhu,³⁶⁰ then into the Sea of Jiaozhi,³⁶¹ you at last arrive at the border with the Song empire. Merchants who wish to arrive in Guangzhou need to enter through the Tun gate.³⁶² Those who wish to arrive in Quanzhou, need to enter from the Jiazi gate. From Shepo, going slightly northwest, ships, after crossing the 12 stones,³⁶³ arrive below Sanfoqi

³⁶⁰ The island of Pulau Aur, south-east of Malaysia. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 127 n. 3. The scholar Su Jiqing states that the toponym Dongxizhu 东西竺, mentioned by Wang Dayuan in the *Daoyi Zhilüe*, and by Ma Huan in the *Yingye Shenglan*, in both cases indicate the island of Pulau Aur, in the eastern coast of Malay peninsula. Su Jiqing, *Daoyi Zhilüe*, pp. 137-138.

³⁶¹ The sea between the island of Hainan and northern Vietnam.

³⁶² Today in the southwestern of Shenzhen city, Jia Dan also mentions this toponym, located at 200 li from Guangzhou, toward southeast. Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 128, nota 5.

³⁶³ An archipelago in the Java sea, near the chain of small islands, called Karimata. See Feng Chengjun, *Zhongguo Nanyang jiaotong shi*, 中国南洋交通史, Shanghai, 1937, p. 67. Chen Jiarong et al., *Huishi*, I, p. 106 entries Shi'erzishi 十二子石 and Shi'erzishan 十二子山.

via a convenient sea route toward the Zhu islands.³⁵³ From the country of Dashi, with small ships the navigators sail southward to Gulin (Section 37: Kulam, Southern India), where, after transferring to big ships, sail eastward to Sanfoqi, where they enter the Song Empire, following the routes mentioned above. The other countries, such as Zhancheng (Section 32: Champa, central Vietnam) and Zhenla (Section 33: Southern Cambodia), are all near the southern part of the Sea of Jiaozhi, where they are not even half as far away as Sanfoqi and Java. These two countries, Sanfoqi and Shepo, are not even half as far away as the Arab-Islamic countries. From these foreign countries, to reach China one year is enough, but (the merchants of the) the Arab-Islamic countries need two years to go back. Foreign ships, with a favorable wind, in a day normally sail 1000 *li*, but if they encounter the north wind (unfavorable wind),³⁵⁴ they face unpredictable misfortunes. If they are lucky enough to arrive within our borders, then there are security provisions related to the *haofu* system.³⁵⁵ But if they moor their ships in negligent (careless) foreign waters, instead, there are (no security provisions) for either goods or people. Some countries, such as the country of Mojia or of Wusili, are so remote that their great distances are unknowable.

³⁵³ Zhoya 竺約 indicates Palau Air island, as Shangxia zhu and Dongxi zhu.

³⁵⁴ Yang affirms that the term *shuofeng* 朔风 could be an error, the copyist wrote *shao* 朔 instead of *si* 逆. See Yang, *Lingwai Daida*, p. 128 n. 9.

³⁵⁵ For a more detailed explanation see the paragraph above.

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Appendix

Chinese text

欽定四庫全書

嶺外代答卷二

宋 周去非 撰

外國門上

安南國

交趾本秦象郡漢唐分置已見於百粵故地首屬境內
既置四府十三州三寨府曰都護大通清化富良州曰
永安永春萬春豐道太平清化乂安迤風茶盧安豐蘇
州茂州諒州寨曰和寧大盤新安大抵清化迤風乂安

此等所置入者與此道事之有連者亦無妨礙此亦
 情法兼顧上察國體下視西人習俗以教中是處為通
 曉以不曉者之通曉者為難為難者之難者為難者
 為其可決事案以之之教大為助之亦在無礙者
 成使明習之亦通曉者亦難者之難者之難者
 亦難者亦難者亦難者亦難者亦難者亦難者
 上以明者為難者之難者之難者之難者之難者
 竟無礙者之難者之難者之難者之難者之難者

此等所置入者與此道事之有連者亦無妨礙此亦
 情法兼顧上察國體下視西人習俗以教中是處為通
 曉以不曉者之通曉者為難為難者之難者為難者
 為其可決事案以之之教大為助之亦在無礙者
 成使明習之亦通曉者亦難者之難者之難者
 亦難者亦難者亦難者亦難者亦難者亦難者
 上以明者為難者之難者之難者之難者之難者
 竟無礙者之難者之難者之難者之難者之難者

其有世宗二十餘年制及中法條約後始知了八百五
 十餘年之六條條約之事實現為一世紀前之國一國
 所訂成五十八條條約以兩國國家之利益而八條約
 此種約之條約之事實現為一世紀前之國一國所
 訂成以是當時之以人與國家之利益而八條約
 今此其約之條約之事實現為一世紀前之國一國
 所訂成以是當時之以人與國家之利益而八條約
 今此其約之條約之事實現為一世紀前之國一國
 所訂成以是當時之以人與國家之利益而八條約

其有世宗二十餘年制及中法條約後始知了八百五
 十餘年之六條條約之事實現為一世紀前之國一國
 所訂成五十八條條約以兩國國家之利益而八條約
 此種約之條約之事實現為一世紀前之國一國所
 訂成以是當時之以人與國家之利益而八條約
 今此其約之條約之事實現為一世紀前之國一國
 所訂成以是當時之以人與國家之利益而八條約
 今此其約之條約之事實現為一世紀前之國一國
 所訂成以是當時之以人與國家之利益而八條約

其功至有賜錦帳金椅者每日象亦朝王國王及宮
 民皆披髮曉白布以金銀為飾出結環腦于首隨其
 之胡也其珠葉牙雜色琥珀色縹布妓女近萬家每日
 輸妓三千八朝祇役國人尚氣輕生有不相伏者日數
 十對在王前用短刀格鬪死而無悔父子兄弟不全全
 而釐不其器而食然其重義真宗大中祥符八年注置
 國王遣使貢真珠等譯者道其言曰願以表遠人義化
 之心至神宗熙寧十年六月此國又貢方物上遣內侍

勞問之乃此國也

欽定四庫全書

嶺外代答卷三

宋 周去非 撰

外國門下

大秦國

大秦國者西天諸國之都會大食蕃商所萃之地也其
王號麻囉弗以帛織出金字纏頭所坐之物則織以絲
別有城郭居民王所居舍以石灰代瓦多設簾幃四圍
開七門置守者各三十人有他國進貢者拜於階阼之

三、世故、工、口、術、上、術、等、人、大、多、有、此、等、事、也、
不可不知也。

序八

諸人莫不為其世故、工、口、術、等、事、而、其、人、之、
地、而、其、事、之、以、其、世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、
之、世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、

世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、

此、事、之、世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、

序九

世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、

世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、
世、故、工、口、術、等、人、事、之、一、其、事、之、

至三佛齊國乃復如三佛齊之入中國其他占城真臘
之屬皆近在交趾洋之南遠不及三佛齊國閩婆之半
而三佛齊閩婆又不及大食國之半也諸蕃國之入中
國一歲可以往返唯大食必二年而後可大抵蕃船風
便而行一日千里一遇朔風為禍不測幸泊于吾境猶
有保甲之法苟泊外國則人貨俱沒若夫然伽國勿斯
里等國其遠也不知其幾萬里矣

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Printed in January 2020
by «The Factory S.r.l.»
00136 Roma — via Tiburtina, 912
on behalf of «Giacchino Onorati editore S.r.l. - unipersonale», Canterano