An Earlier Age of Commerce in Southeast Asia : 900-1300 C.E.

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A. Introduction to the Issue

One of the most influential theses in Southeast Asian history in recent decades has been that put forward by Anthony Reid in his *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*.[1] In that work, Reid suggests that the Age of Commerce had its roots in changes which occurred or at least were more fully manifested during the 15th century. The commercial boom and the emergence of port cities as hubs of commerce,[2] he avers, spurred the political, social and economic changes which marked the Age of Commerce in the region, extending from the 15th to the 17th century. He points to changes in the spice and aromatic wood trade, a trade boom beginning some time around 1400, and new systems of cash-cropping across the archipelago.[3] With the booming maritime trade came the emergence of the Southeast Asian junk, as well as new navigational techniques. Increased commercialisation and the growth of cosmopolitan urban centres, usually port cities, were accompanied by the demand for more money, and the emergence of new common means of exchange. With this came a demand for more sophisticated financial systems,[4] and the emergence of mercantile elites.[5] Other social manifestations of the Age of Commerce as depicted by Reid included a religious revolution, with the introduction of Islam and Christianity in the region,[6] and a military revolution with new war technologies aiding in the strengthening of new regimes.[7]

But how new were the changes described in the Age of Commerce? Can we trace their roots back even further into the Southeast Asian past? Or can we even posit an earlier age of commerce where external changes stimulated a burgeoning maritime trade in the region, which in turn gave rise to social and economic changes in the polities and societies of the region. This paper will argue that the four centuries from circa 900 C.E. to 1300 can be seen as an "earlier age of commerce."[8] The thesis is that the collocation of a number of changes external to what is commonly referred to as Southeast Asia, provided an environment where maritime trade boomed, and that this trade boom induced

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[1] Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, Two Vols., New Haven, Yale University Press, 1988–93.
[2] Including Pegu, Arakan, Patani, Aceh, Banten and Makassar.
[3] Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, Vol. Two, pp. 32-36.
[4] Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, Vol. Two, pp. 107-113.
[5] Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, Vol. Two, pp. 114-123.
[6] Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, Vol. Two, p. 132. Tony Day, however, suggests that "the evidence for strong continuities across and beyond the quasi divide of the fifteenth century, especially where kingship, kinship, and respect for spirits and ancestors at all levels of society are concerned, is overwhelming, even in studies which argue the case for 'religious revolution.'" See Tony Day, "Ties that (un)bind: Families and states in Premodern Southeast Asia*", Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.55: 2 (May 1996), pp. 384-410.
[7] Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, Vol. Two, p. 219-233.
[8] A term also used by John Miksic of the National University of Singapore.

political, social and economic changes throughout the region. It is thus proposed that the period 900-1200 be considered the Earlier Age of Commerce in Southeast Asian history.

B. The Major External Factors Affecting Southeast Asia 900-1300

1. Financial and Trade Policies under the Song and Yuan Dynasties in China

The first series of changes to be examined are those which occurred in the polities and societies of China. The Song dynasty (960-1279), which existed for more than three of the four centuries examined in this study, constituted a period of great commercial and industrial growth – the changes which occurred during this period been referred to as the "medieval economic revolution."[9] The period saw expanded money supply, creation of bills of exchange, new forms of credit and paper money, as well as new foreign trade policies.[10] In the 1060s, under Wang An-shi's reforms,[11] the Song state pursued an expansionary monetary policy and in the 1070s and 1080s, state mints were producing 6 billion copper cash annually, the highest level at any time in Chinese history. The changes which occurred during this period can be usefully divided into "Financial Policies" and "Trade Policies," but the two were intimately linked.

i) Financial Policies

With the end of the Tang dynasty in the early 10th century and the emergence of competing polities, a period generally known as the Five Dynasties, many of these states pursued what Von Glahn calls "bullionist" policies, whereby they accumulated copper coins and issued debased versions for commerce.[12]

The emergence of the Song as the dominant polity among the competing states in the 960s saw that polity making efforts to prevent the flow of copper coins to the northern Tangut (Xi-xia) and Khitan (Liao) kingdoms. At the same time, the Song began minting large volumes of copper cash. In 996, it minted 800,000 strings of cash (nominally 800 million coins)[13], which well exceeded the maximum annual output of 327,000 strings during the Tang dynasty.[14] This expanded to 1.83 million strings in 1007, but mining restraints limited further growth and in 1021 a fixed output of 1.05 million strings per year was decided upon.

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[9] Mark Elvin, quoted in Richard von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune: Money and Monetary Policy in China 1000-1700*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996, p. 48.
[10] Von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune*, p. 48.
[11] For a study of the court official Wang An-shi and his financial and other reforms of Song administration, see H.R. Williamson, *Wang Anshih: A Chinese Statesman and Educationalist of the Sung Dynasty*, London: Arthur Probsthain, 1935-37.
[12] Richard von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune: Money and Monetary Policy in China 1000-1700*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996, p. 49.
[13] Von Glahn notes that under the "short-string system in common use during the Song, a *guan* of coin, although nominally 1,000 coins., actually contained only 770 coins as the official standard. However, the Jin, trying to attract coin, were willing to accept *guan* containing 600 coins or less. See von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune*, p. 52.
[14] Von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune*, p. 49.

Despite the output, there were still constant "currency famines", because the value of the metal was worth more than the value of the coin. Government policies both induced and encouraged increased mining and output of copper. By the time the Song state was pushed south of the Yangtze by the Jurchens in the 1120s, the Song state was still suffering from a deficiency of copper, the coinage problem was becoming intense, with output down to 200,000 strings annually, and more and more coins being privately withdrawn from circulation.

Silver also flowed out of the economy, and this outflow was blamed on merchants from the South Seas[15] as well as the steppes.[16] Von Glahn notes that the price of silver against gold was low in China compared to Japan and the Muslim world,[17] which naturally induced outflow. But still Southeast Asian brought silver to the ports of Southern China to trade for coin, apparently offering one *liang* of silver for one string of coins, triple the domestic price.[18] Much of this silver was then re-exported to Arab lands.

There were thus gradual efforts over the next century or more to replace the copper standard with a silver standard.[19] This flood of coin and bullion to offshore sites resulted in 1160 in a new monetary system being adopted, involving a shift from copper coin to a mix of paper money and uncoined silver. Interim measures included issuing large denomination coins as well as cheap iron-lead-tin coins and paper money in the 1160s. But by the early part of the 13th century, the excessive issue of the paper money caused rampant inflation, with these nominal 770 coin *guan* paper money trading in the market at 50 cash in the 1230s. It appears that silver played an increasing role in state finance during second half of the 12th century, but copper coins remained in use. The silver was for storing value rather than as instruments of exchange.

One of the reasons for the inability of the Song to keep their coins in circulation was that much flowed out of Song China in the 12th and 13th centuries via the maritime trade routes. **This was stimulated by the increasing monetization of Asian economies from Korea and Japan to Southeast Asia, even though these economies produced little money of their own.[20]** The Song banned the export of coin to Korea and Japan in 1199, [21] but with little effect. In the early 1250s, it was reported that 40-50 ships laden with nothing but coin departed Ningbo for Japan each year.[22] The Sinan wreck, found off the Korean coast and dated to the early14th century, carried a cargo of about 8 million copper coins.[23]

Yuan Financial Policies

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[15] The "Nan-hai" (南海) -- A generic name for the maritime regions to the south of China and beyond..
[16] *Xu Zi-zhi tong-jian chang-bian*, juan 85.19b
[17] Von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune*, p. 54.
[18] Von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune*, p. 54.
[19] Von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune*, p. 48.
[20] Von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune*, p. 53.
[21] Von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune*, p. 54.
[22] Von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune*, p. 54.
[23] D.H. Keith**, "**A fourteenth century shipwreck at Sinan-gun (Korea)" *Archaeology*, 33.2 (1980)

It was during the Yuan (1271-1368) that the coin economy was really replaced by one in which silver and paper money were intimately linked. The silver ingot initially became the monetary standard of the Mongol empire.

Even before the formal establishment of the Yuan dynasty, Khubilai Khan instituted monetary reforms in 1260 aimed at drawing gold, silver and copper coins into the government coffers and replacing them with the state-issued paper money.[24] Although denominated in *guan* or strings of coins, these notes increasingly came to be equated with weights of silver.

However, during this period, Muslim domains across Eurasia suffered from a "silver famine", resulting in the stopping of the minting of silver coins, and the value of silver relative to gold doubling over the period of Mongol rule. This resulted in silver being unavailable to support the paper money, with the inevitable inflation and the depreciation of paper money by 80 percent by 1287.

Despite the efforts of these central administrations, it appeared that the localities continued to utilize copper coin. In 1303, it was noted that in what is today Fu-jian, Guang-dong, Jiang-xi and Hu-nan, coin still prevailed as instruments of exchange despite having been demonetized 40 years previously.[25] Silver however, apparently remained the main measure of value

ii) Foreign Trade Policies

Song

If there were major changes in the financial system over the Song/Yuan period, there were even greater changes in the trade regime, and especially the foreign trade systems.[26] The importance of trade for the Song state was evident from its very beginnings, with the first emperor setting down regulations to govern trade in 960. With increasing control over the southern ports, the Song began to systematically utilize maritime trade for its fiscal advantage. Song maritime trade provided revenue to the Song through three avenues: [27]

1. Taxes were imposed on ocean-going ships. This income was devoted solely to military expenses.
2. Duties were levied on imports. In 1136 this was set at one tenth for fine quality goods and one fifteenth on coarse quality goods.
3. The majority of revenue came from purchase and sale of products, some of which were government monopolies.

[24] Von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune*, p. 57-58.
[25] Von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune*, p. 65.
[26] One of the seminal works on the Song trading systems is that by Shiba Yoshinobu, translated by Mark Elvin as *Commerce and Society in Sung China*, University of Michigan Press, 1969.
[27] Wheatley, "Geographical Notes on some Commodities involved in Sung Maritime Trade", pp. 22-23.

To coordinate the overseas trade and its taxation, the Song established maritime trade supervisorates at various ports. These maritime trade supervisorates had a range of functions, including inspection of incoming ships and their cargoes, assessing the cargoes and charging duty, purchasing government monopoly products, registering Chinese ships going abroad, issuing certificates for merchants, enforcing prohibitions against export of controlled commodities such as copper, and providing accommodation for maritime merchants.[28] The large profits they made for the state are well-attested.[29] The successive trade offices were established in the following order:

971 –Guang-zhou 廣州
989 – Hang-zhou 杭州
992 – Ding-hai 定海
1087 -- Quan-zhou 泉州
1088- Ban-qiao 板橋
1113- Hua-ting (Shang-hai) 華亭

After the Song were pushed south of the Yangtze a further two offices were established:

1131 – Wen-zhou 溫州
1146 – Jiang-yin 江陰

Wheatley also notes how the Southern Song developed new ports along the coast in the 12th century, including one at Tong-zhou near the mouth of the Yangtze and a new port in Hai-nan at Sha-jin.[30]

In addition to establishing these maritime trade offices, the Song state also actively encouraged foreign maritime traders to come to the Chinese ports. In 987, four missions were sent with imperial credentials to encourage "foreign traders of the Southern Ocean and those who went to foreign lands beyond the seas to trade" to come to the southern Chinese ports in order to obtain preferential licenses.[31]

The second part of the appeal seems to have been aimed at Chinese who had left to trade abroad. It is perhaps relevant that this action should have been taken just two years after 985 when Chinese merchants were banned from travelling abroad.[32] Other restrictions were imposed as part of the management of foreign trade. In 982, for example, In 982, an edict required that certain aromatics be restricted to ships calling at Guang-zhou, Quan-zhou and Zhang-zhou. There were, however, efforts to prevent officials from directly engaging in the obviously very lucrative trade. A 995 imperial order addressed to

[28] So, *Prosperity, Region and Institutions in Maritime China*, pp. 46-47.
[29] So, *Prosperity, Region and Institutions in Maritime China*, pp. 68-70. See also Hugh Clark, "The Politics of Trade and the Establishment of the Quanzhou Trade Superintendency" pp. 387-90.
[30] Wheatley, "Geographical Notes on some Commodities involved in Sung Maritime Trade", p. 393.
[31] Paul Wheatley, "Geographical Notes on some Commodities involved in Sung Maritime Trade", *JMBRAS* Vol. XXXII, 2 (1959), p. 24. References to these missions can be seen in *Song Hui-yao Ji-gao* juan 44.2b.
[32] *Song Shi*, juan 5.

the Guang-zhou Maritime Trade supervisorate prohibited officials, both central and local, from sending their servants abroad.[33]

As noted above, from 1069 onwards, economic and fiscal reforms were promulgated for the purpose of expanding and monetizing Chinese economic activities. These were initiated by the Song official Wang An-shi.[34] One of the effects of this was that Song overseas trade in the 11th century saw increasing monetization –that is, an increased use of copper cash. Three years later, further reforms relating to maritime trade were implemented as part of the restructuring of the Trade and Barter regulations. These changes were aimed at expanding economic exchange between the Song and economies beyond China, thereby benefiting the Song through taxation of maritime trade and sale of foreign products that were subject to state monopoly. The following year, in 1074, a ban on the export of copper coins, which had been instituted in 960, was lifted to further encourage maritime trade. This resulted in massive exports of copper coins to Southeast Asia. As a result, the minting of copper cash had to be greatly increased from 1.3 million strings annually at the beginning of the 11th century to 6 million strings by 1078.

By the late 11th century, envoys to Song China were paid for their goods in copper coin and silver bullion, and no longer in the gold, silver or copper objects previously provided.[35] Such payments/rewards were provided to, for example, missions from Champa (1072 and 1086), an Arab polity (1073), the Chola polity (1077), and Srivijaya (1078).

The year 1080 saw the issuance of a new set of maritime regulations, whereby maritime affairs were placed under the control of the commissioner for transport at provincial level, and all Quan-zhou merchants had to register at Guang-zhou prior to proceeding to trade abroad. This obviously caused representations to be made to higher levels by the Quan-zhou merchants, as seven years later, in 1087, a new maritime Trade Supervisorate was opened in Quan-zhou,[36] obviating the need for the Hokkien merchants to register elsewhere. The year 1090 saw further liberalization of maritime shipping regulations.

After the Song were forced to retreat to their new capital of Hang-zhou, south of the Yangtze, more conservative trade policies were pursued by the court. In 1127, the first year of the new administration, the export of copper coins was banned, and at the same time, the emperor declared that foreign goods constituted an unnecessary luxury. Thus quotas were instituted for goods imported from the South Seas.[37] This ban on export of copper coins was repeated in 1133. Foreign traders coming to the Song were still paid in copper cash, but they were expected to convert their cash into other Chinese products before leaving.[38]

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[33] *Song Hui-yao Ji-gao* juan 44-2a-3b
[34] Heng, "Export Commodity and Regional Currency", p. 182.
[35] Heng, "Export Commodity and Regional Currency", p. 183.
[36] So, *Prosperity, Region and Institutions in Maritime China*, pp. 48-49.
[37] Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *The Malay Peninsula*, p. 393.
[38] Heng, "Export Commodity and Regional Currency", p. 187.

With the beginning of the monetary shift in 1160, from copper coin to a mix of paper money and uncoined silver,[39] there was a direct linkage between stocks of silver and the value of paper money. Any large decrease in the silver stocks would mean inflation. Therefore, the Song reversed its encouragement policies toward overseas trade in an effort to stem the outflow of silver. "As a result, Song China's once-thriving maritime trade with Japan and Korea, Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean withered in the thirteenth century."[40]

It is obvious that the enthusiasm for maritime trade so evident in Northern Song policies, the opening of the various maritime trade offices and the pursuit of the diverse financial policies had a great promotional effect on maritime trade throughout the major port cities of Southeast Asia. It is equally obvious that the withdrawal of encouragement by the Southern Song Court after 1127 had a major braking effect on official trade to the Chinese ports. These trends are directly reflected in the figures below which show the relative frequencies of the Southeast Asian (both mainland and maritime polities) missions to the Song by 20-year periods.

Table 1: Official Southeast Asian Missions to the Song Court (by 20-year periods)

Dates	Number of Missions	Dates	Number of Missions
947-966	7	1127-1146	5
967-986	34	1147-1166	12
987-1006	3	1167-1186	10
1007-1026	33	1187-1206	6
1027-1046	15	1207-1226	0
1047-1066	12	1227-1246	2
1067-1086	21	1247-1266	3
1087-1106	11	1267-1276 (10 yrs)	2
1107-1126	7		

Source: Hans Bielenstein, *Diplomacy and Trade in the Chinese World 586-1276*, Leiden, Brill, 2005, pp. 80-81

The major partners in this official trade are detailed below.

Table 2 – Se Asian Polities which sent Official Trade Missions to Song Court

Polity	960-1087	1087-1200	1200-1276
Srivijaya	20	8	-
Champa	44	7	

[39] Von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune*, p. 55.
[40] Von Glahn, *Fountain of Fortune*, p. 55.

The Arab lands	30	5	
Annam	4	10	6
Butuan	3		
Chola	4		
Java	2	1	
Brunei	2		
Cambodia	2	3	
Fu-lin (Rum)	2		
India	2		

Source: Based on Billy So, *Prosperity, Region and Institutions in Maritime China*, p. 56, adjusted through reference to Hartwell, *Tribute Missions to China 960-1126*.

The range of products brought to and exported from China by merchants -- foreign and Chinese -- during the Song has been dealt with in detail by Paul Wheatley.[41] He divides them into the general classes of: drugs and aromatics; textiles; metals both precious and base; minerals; and miscellaneous.[42] A commodity which was greatly in demand in Song China, presumably for a growing firearms capacity, was sulphur. This was produced in both Japan and Java. This was imported in huge quantities. In 1084, the Song court ordered the purchase of 500,000 catties of sulphur from Japan, a task which required 10 teams of merchants.[43]

One major effect of the increased overseas markets for Chinese ceramics was a growth in kiln sites in China, a diversification of products, increased adjustment for market demand, and great influence on ceramic industries in Southeast Asia. John Guy provides us with a useful study of the role of ceramics in the expansion of Chinese trade with Southeast Asia during the Song.[44] A study of ceramics found on Pulau Tioman in Malaysia at what was apparently a transhipment point also indicates a wide range of Song ceramics, mainly from the Guangdong kilns.[45]

An important side-effect of the increased interest in maritime trade by the Chinese state during the Song was the rise of a powerful merchant class. It was these people who were to continue to push the southern provinces toward the ocean and attract traders from beyond China's shores. Wheatley suggests that the new merchant class partially replaced the declining traditional aristocracy.[46] The merchants were indispensable to the Song court, given their intimate association with the revenue of the state, and it is not

[41] Wheatley, "Geographical Notes on some Commodities involved in Sung Maritime Trade", *passim*.
[42] Wheatley, "Geographical Notes on some Commodities involved in Sung Maritime Trade", pp. 31-40.
[43] So, *Prosperity, Region and Institutions in Maritime China*, pp. 63.
[44] John S. Guy, *Oriental Trade Ceramics in South-East Asia: Ninth to Sixteenth Centuries*, Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1986. See "The Expansion of China's Trade with South-East Asia, pp. 13-22.
[45] Peter Y.K. Lam et al, *A Ceramic Legacy of Asia's Maritime Trade*, Selangor, Southeast Asian Ceramic Society, 1985
[46] Wheatley, "Geographical Notes on some Commodities involved in Sung Maritime Trade", pp. 27-28.

surprising that a large group of Song imperial clansmen were moved to the trade port of Quan-zhou in the 12th century.[47]

Yuan

Following the defeat of the Southern Song by the Mongols, the Yuan established their own Maritime Trade Supervisorates, with the first being established in Quan-zhou in 1277, under Pu Shou-geng, the ex-Song Maritime Commissioner. By 1293, there existed seven such bureaus, in obvious efforts to copy the Song and derive increased revenue from maritime trade.[48] But their efforts were not to be equally rewarded, and this was due to a number of factors.

Much of the foreign trade during the Yuan was controlled by the foreign, mainly Muslim, merchant resident in the southern ports, often in *ortogh* (*wo-to*) partnerships with Mongol imperial family or government officials. There was joint-venture system established, called Government-Invested ships, combining government ships with merchant expertise, and with profits being shared in a 7:3 ratio. In 1285, the Yuan government allocated 100,000 *ding* (more than 20 tons) of silver to build ships for joint ventures. [49] In an interesting proposal, which foreshadowed what was to happen 100 years later under the early Ming dynasty, one of Khubilai Khan's advisers, Lu Shi-rong, urged the banning of all private foreign trade in 1286, so as to allow a monopoly of this by the government and *ortogh* merchants. The proposal did not proceed, but the fact that the maritime trade bureaus were placed under the Supervising Money Bureau in 1286 suggests that these *ortogh* partnerships were more important in overseas trade than were private operators.[50]

At the same time, trade in Chinese copper cash had declined to a low level by the second half of the 13th century and yet the Yuan issued edicts in 1283 and 1286 prohibiting the use of copper coins in maritime trade. The decline in maritime trade in the second half of the century was a product of these various factors, and the Yuan military missions which were sent throughout the seas of East and Southeast Asia during the last decades of the century were likely an attempt to both achieve political domination of the maritime realm and gain monopoly control of maritime trade. Both efforts were to fail.

2. Socio-economic Changes in Southern China

In tandem with the changes in state policies discussed above, there were also a great many changes occurring locally in various parts of China and, for our purposes here, we

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[47] See John W. Chafee, "The Impact of the Song Imperial Clan on the Overseas Trade of Quanzhou" in Angela Schottenhammer (ed.), *The Emporium of the World: Maritime Quanzhou, 1000-1400*, pp. 13-46.
[48] Elizabeth Endicott-West, "The Yüan Government and Society" in Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China: Vol. 6 – Alien regimes and border states, 907-1368*, pp. 587-615. pp. 599-60.
[49] Gang Deng, *Maritime sector, Institutions and Sea Power of Premodern China*, Westport, Greenwood Press, 1999, p.122.
[50] Endicott-West, "The Yüan Government and Society", p. 599-600.

will concentrate on examining those in southern Fu-jian. As noted above, the period between 750 and 1250 extending through the Tang-Five Dynasties period and the Song dynasty was to see such demographic and agricultural change in China, that some refer to it as a period of economic revolution.[51] During this period, there was a great explosion in the population of areas south of the Yangtze, with Hartwell giving figures for the population of southeast China, which included the Fu-jian coastal regions, of 286,000 households in the year 742, 654,000 households in 980, 1,537,000 in 1080 and 1,777,000 in 1290.[52] The population density of the core of this region, centred on Quan-zhou, increased from 2.61 households per square kilometre in 742 to 16.71 in the year 1200.[53] This enormous growth was in part a product of and in part a stimulus for increased maritime trade with the regions to the south and beyond. This is particularly reflected in the population figures for some of the major ports: Quan-zhou's population grew from 24,400 households in 742 to over 300,000 in the early 13th century, Chao-zhou from 7,600 households to over 80,000 in the early 13th century.[54]

Associated with this great population growth was a new vibrancy in markets. As von Glahn puts it in summarizing the accumulated researches of Katō Shigeshi, Miyazaki Ichisada, Robert Hartwell and Mark Elvin, "the monetary and fiscal innovations of the Song dynasty (960-1276) complemented advances in agricultural and industrial productivity in creating a vibrant market economy."[55] Mark Elvin noted specifically that this period saw "a financial revolution" where "the volume of money in circulation vastly exceeded that in earlier times, and the monetary economy reached right down into the villages."[56]

Southern Fu-jian

For the specifics of how South China changed during this time, one can read Billy So's study of Southern Fu-jian over the period from c. 950 to 1350, as detailed in his *Prosperity, Region and Institutions in Maritime China: The South Fukien Pattern, 946-1368*,[57] and Hugh Clark's *Community, Trade and Networks: Southern Fujian Province from the Third to the Thirteenth Century*.[58] So stresses the growth which began in the latter half of the 10th century, proceeding from changes in agriculture and the increased

[51] Robert M. Hartwell, "Demographic, Political and Social Transformations of China, 750-1550", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (Dec 1982) pp. 365-442. See p. 366.
[52] Hartwell, "Demographic, Political and Social Transformations of China, 750-1550", p. 369.
[53] Hartwell, "Demographic, Political and Social Transformations of China, 750-1550", p. 384.
[54] Hartwell, "Demographic, Political and Social Transformations of China, 750-1550", p. 428.
[55] Richard von Glahn, "Revisiting the Song Monetary Revolution: A Review Essay" in *International Journal of Asian Studies* 1,1 (2004) pp. 159-78. See p.159.
[56] Mark Elvin, The Pattern of the Chinese Past, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1973, pp. 146, 149. See also von Glahn, "Revisiting the Song Monetary Revolution" p. 159.
[57] Billy K.L. So, *Prosperity, Region and Institutions in Maritime China: The South Fukien Pattern, 946-1368,* Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 2000.
[58] Hugh Clark, *Community, Trade and Networks: Southern Fujian Province from the Third to the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991.

surpluses, and the relationship of this with commercial expansion[59] He divides the history of the region during this period into four stages:

1. 946-1087 -- Takeoff of the local economy
2. 1087-ca.1200 -- Maritime Trade and Cross-sectoral Prosperity
3. ca. 1200- 1276 -- Economic setback and local power
4. 1276-1368 -- Prosperity under a new order.

In southern Fu-jian, agriculture saw development in the 10th century through the widespread planting of double-harvest rice, the introduction of Champa rice (an early-ripening variety) and new transplantation techniques. More economic crops such as hemp, ramie, silk, cotton and lichees were intensively developed. So also suggests that the concentrated ownership of much agricultural land in the hands of monasteries had a promotional effect on agricultural development.

Second, in this 10th-11th century period, we see a shift of the maritime trade centre from Fu-zhou south to Quan-zhou. Overseas trade was encouraged under the rule of the Wu-yue state (893-978). A local genealogy notes that under the rule of Liu Cong-xiao in the middle of the 10th century, "pottery, copper and iron were shipped in abundance to foreign countries. In exchange, gold and shell [pearls] were brought back."[60] The subsequent rulers of the region under the later Zhou (951-960) and early Song provided to the court all sorts of exotic products from abroad, underlining the importance of long-distance maritime trade for the area. In addition, the number of families with assets exceeding one million copper coins grew dramatically, and So suggests that their wealth would likely have come from maritime trade. However, at this time, none of the official missions from Champa, Srivijaya, Koryŏ, Annam or the Arab world travelled through the Fu-jian ports of Quan-zhou or Zhang-zhou. Rather, they entered through Guang-zhou in Guang-dong or Ming-zhou in the modern Zhe-jiang.

So believes that the majority of the foreign trade in Fu-jian in the 10th and 11th centuries was conducted by "recently-immigrated or long-established South Fukien families," as the region was not yet producing any important export goods to attract foreign merchants.[61] Quan-zhou and the region did produce ceramics, but they were apparently not good enough initially to compete with products of kilns elsewhere. But the people of southern Fu-jian were certainly venturing abroad in the 11th century, and Champa was apparently a major destination.

By the 11th century, foreign merchants certainly were frequenting Quan-zhou. So holds that in the early part of the 11th century the foreign merchants chose Quan-zhou as a place to sell their goods as that port was a good transhipment port. But it is just as likely that these foreign merchants came to obtain the products of the area. Iron ore was being mined in An-qi in the middle of the 11th century, and the quality of the ceramics was improving.

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[59] So, *Prosperity, Region and Institutions in Maritime China*, pp. 27-50.
[60] So, *Prosperity, Region and Institutions in Maritime China*, p. 33.
[61] So, *Prosperity, Region and Institutions in Maritime China*, p. 37-38.

In 1087, a major change occurred with a maritime trade supervisorate being established in Quan-zhou. This showed that maritime trade was already well-developed and that the Song state recognised the importance of the southern Fu-jian merchants in the overall overseas trade economy. Previous the merchants had had to register at Guang-zhou in order to trade legally, but this new office allowed them to register locally.[62]

The maritime trade situation in Quan-zhou in about 1100 is described in a funerary inscription of Du Chun:

> Maritime merchants visited this port twice a year. Each voyage comprises twenty ships. Exotic goods and government-monopoly items were so abundant as to be piled up like hills. Those officials who privately traded with them were able to pay but one-tenth or one-fifth of the regular price. Who could possibly refuse such a fortune! Officials of the entire prefecture rushed to trade with these merchants.[63]

It appears that this economic prosperity which was reflected in the establishment of the Maritime trade Supervisorate in Quan-zhou toward the end of the 11th century continued through to the end of the 12th century, with evident effects on the markets and other aspects of the southern Fu-jian economy, as well as markets abroad. The increased external commerce in the 12th century seems to have been associated with commercialization of agriculture in the region of southern Fu-jian, and the growth of local industries including ceramics, textiles, wine, sugar, minerals and salt.

During the 12th century, the Quan-zhou merchants extended their activities to the Korean peninsula and Japan, and the relations with Southeast Asia were intensified. Links with Muslim lands obviously grew and the recorded relations between Srivijaya, Champa and Quan-zhou suggest a special relationship, with Muslims from Srivijaya and Champa, as well as places further west taking up residence in Quan-zhou. The person who built a cemetery for foreigners in Quan-zhou in the 1160s was named Shi Na-wei and he, like many other merchants in the city, derived from Srivijaya.[64] Whether his name suggests a Chinese origin is a moot point.

But the economic boom was not to last and the discouragement of maritime trade by the Southern Song administration was obviously a part of the decline which was see in the second half of the 12th century and early in the 13th. In addition, problems with the money system and the introduction of paper currency obviously troubled the maritime merchants. Other likely factors include the domestic troubles of the trade partner Champa and the decline of Srivijaya in the 13th century. The financial difficulties of the local Quan-zhou government were also in part due to a reduction in silver mining and fewer ships arriving at the port. Chen De-xiu (1178-1235), a local official, noted in 1232 that:

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[62] So, *Prosperity, Region and Institutions in Maritime China*, p. 48-49.
[63] So, *Prosperity, Region and Institutions in Maritime China*, p. 40.
[64] So, *Prosperity, Region and Institutions in Maritime China*, p. 53-54.

> Local merchants have been so seriously exploited that many are bankrupt. Only a few can afford to voyage abroad again…. During my last term of office (1217-19), the office of maritime affairs was still able to gain a profit of 100,000 strings of cash per year. This amount dropped to 40,000 in 1232 and has just barely risen to 50,000 in 1233.[65]

The resurgence of the Quan-zhou economy under the early Yuan in the late 13th century is attributed by some to the dominance of non-Chinese, including the Pu family mentioned elsewhere, in the mercantile affairs of Quan-zhou.[66] It went on to become a great port again in the 14th century. The Arabs knew it as Zaitun and Ibn Battuta spoke in the mid-14th century as the harbour of Zaitun as "one of the greatest in the world –I am wrong: It is the greatest!"[67] These merchants sailed to the ports of Quilon in India in the middle of the 14th century, as attested by Ibn Battuta,[68] but we might consider these interactions to be considered the beginnings of Reid's Age of Commerce. The local Arabic inscriptions in Fu-jian from the period have been collected by Chen and Kalus.[69]

3. The Burgeoning of Islamic Trade to Southeast Asia and Southern China

Foreign trade to Canton during the Tang (618-906) dynasty was dominated by Arab and Persian merchants. The foundation of the urban centre of Baghdad in 762 C.E. –with Basra as its outlet to the Arabian Sea—was a major impetus in the transformation of trade and the development of commerce between the Persian Gulf and East Asia.[70] In the 8th century, Ibn Khurdādhbih recorded the trade ports at the furthest extension from the Arab world as Lūqīn (likely Loukin, situated in what is today Vietnam), *Khānfū* (Guang-zhou/Canton), *Khānjū* (Quan-zhou), with *Qānsū* (Yang-zhou) marking the end of the maritime route. In the middle of the same century (758/59 C.E.), following the An Lu-shan rebellion, the major Chinese port of Guang-zhou was sacked by persons of "Da-shi," the name which Chinese chroniclers assigned to the Arab world.[71] By a century later, there was evidence in the same city of a quite large Islamic community. Suleimān, who visited Guang-zhou in 851, noted that the city had a Muslim community governing itself

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[65] So, *Prosperity, Region and Institutions in Maritime China*, p. 89..

[66] Angela Schottenhammer, "The Maritime Trade of Quanzhou (Zaitun) from the Ninth through the Thirteenth Century" in Himanshu Prabha Ray (ed.) *Archaeology of Seafaring: The Indian Ocean in the Ancient Period*, Delhi, Pragati Publications, 1999, pp. 271-290.

[67] Schottenhammer, "The Maritime Trade of Quanzhou" p. 272.

[68] H.A.R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta A.D. 1325-1354*, London, The Hakluyt Society, 1994. See Vol.. IV, p. 817. "This city [Kawlam/Quilon] is the nearest of the Mulaibār towns to China and it is to it that most of the merchants [from China] come."

[69] Chen Da-sheng and Ludvik Kalus, *Corpus d'Inscriptions Arabes et persanes en Chine, Vol. I Province de Fu-jian*, Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1991.

[70] Pierre-Yves Manguin, "The Introduction of Islām into Champa", in Alijah Gordon (ed.), *The Propagation of Islām in the Indonesian-Malay Archipelago*, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 2001, pp 287-328. See p. 311, n. 12.

[71] Recorded in the *Jiu Tang shu*, or "Older History of the Tang Dynasty", in juan 10. Da-shi (大食), deriving from the Persian name *Tazi*, referring to a people in Persia. It was later used by the Persians to refer to the Arab lands. The Chinese used it from the Tang dynasty until the 12th century to refer to the Arabs.

according to the *sharī'a* under a *kādī* whose appointment had to be confirmed by the Chinese authorities. It is likely that this was the port from which the Arab/Indian ship wrecked off Belitung island in about 826 C.E. and carrying cargo seemingly bound for Western Asia had sailed.[72]

The 10th century saw the development of further trade linkages between the Middle East and Southeast Asia through the ports of the Indian subcontinent, and at the same time there is much evidence of Islamic connections between China and Southeast Asia. During this early period, Chinese texts record the arrival at the Northern Song court (at Kai-feng) of envoys from Da-shi (the Arab lands), the Côla empire, Zabaj/Zabag[73] (likely Srivijaya) and Champa, all bearing names which can be reconstructed as being Muslim.[74] These arrivals reflect the great maritime trade route which connected the Arab lands with China, passing through Southern India, Zabaj/Srivijaya in Sumatra, and Champa in what is today Central Vietnam. It thus appears that during this century, the more prominent Muslim communities in Southeast Asia likely resided in or traded out of the capital of Zabaj (either Palembang or Jambi) and the capital of Champa.

The listing of the names of the envoys who arrived in China in the 10th and 11th centuries (See Appendixes 1-3) suggests a number of salient points. That the envoys to China from the polities of Zabaj and Champa during this period were Muslim is undoubted, and verified by their names. The "tribute" missions to China were often the only way to obtain trade concessions in China, and it is thus obvious why merchants desired to be seen as representatives of Southeast Asian polities in coming to the Song court.[75] Whether these merchants were trading on their own account, acting as agents for local rulers, or some combination of the two remains unknown, but we can say with some certainty that Muslim merchants were well ensconced in Southeast Asia by the 10th century. The names borne by these persons, or at least the Chinese equivalents which the texts ascribed to them, are interesting in themselves, and the repetition of the same names often associated with different states, suggests that these merchants were acting as "envoys" for a range of polities. Some also appear to have become part of the ruling structure. The viceroy of Champa in 968 was named in Chinese sources as Li Nou, which might be tentatively reconstructed as Ali Nūr. It is also apparent, again from Chinese texts, hat Muslim traders were operating into China through Brunei in Borneo and Butuan in the modern Philippines by the early 11th century.[76] Further, in one of the few references to Muslims in the Cambodian court, in about 903 C.E., Ibn Rusta wrote that an Arab merchant Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin Ishak had spent two years at the court of the Khmer ruler, presumably at Angkor.[77] And in a recently-excavated shipwreck found

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[72] Michael Flecker, "A ninth-century AD Arab or Indian shipwreck in Indonesia: first evidence for direct trade with China", *World Archaeology*, Vol. 32:3 (February 2001), pp. 335-354.
[73] For details of which see Michael Laffan, *Finding Java: Muslim nomenclature of insular Southeast Asia from Śrîvijaya to Snouk Hurgronje*, Asia Research Institute Working Paper Series, No. 52, November 2005.
[74] For which see Appendixes 1-3.
[75] Elizabeth Lambourn's research suggests that, at least in the Subcontinent, some Muslim merchants were formally integrated into the administrative structures of coastal polities and thus did operate as formal envoys of those polities.
[76] Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 157.
[77] P.-Y. Manguin, "The Introduction of Islam into Champa", p. 293, after Ferrand.

in the ocean 100 kilometres north of Java and dated to about 960 C.E., there was found a stone mould for casting dual medallions both bearing an Islamic inscription reading in three lines Al-Malik Allah / al-Wahid / al-Qahhar.[78] The function of such medallions remains unknown, but the ship's cargo suggests a regional trading vessel touching at a range of Southeast Asian ports.[79] Arab texts also provide us with details of the Southeast Asian ports visited by Middle Eastern traders during this period.[80]

Some other interesting elements are notable. One envoy, Pu Ma-wu (蒲麻勿) – whose name can be reconstructed, with Hokkien or Cantonese pronunciation, as Abu Mahmud -- is recorded as being an envoy of the Arab lands in 1073 and as a representative of Champa in 1086. Does this suggest a wide-ranging trader who represented a variety of persons or polities in the tribute-trade with Song China?

It appears that many of the trader-envoys "surnamed" Pu in the Chinese texts were based in Champa, from where some moved to Hai-nan, others to Guang-dong and still others to Fu-jian over the late 10th to 12th centuries. The Champa Muslims who settled in Hai-nan appear to have been key links between Islamic communities in Champa and those in China. A 17th-century Chinese encyclopaedia *Gu-jin tu-shu ji-cheng*, which brings together much earlier material, informs us of the following about Ai-zhou, which was located on the southern coast of Hai-nan:

> The foreigners [here] were originally from Champa. During the Song and Yuan dynasties (10th-13th centuries), because of great disorder, they brought their families in ships and came to this place. They settled along the coast and these places are now called 'foreigners' villages' or 'foreigners' coast'. The people now registered in San-ya village are all of this tribe. Many of them are surnamed 'Pu' and they do not eat pork. Within the home, they do not worship their ancestors, but they have a deity hall, where they chant

[78] "Allah the King, the One and Only, the Dominator."

[79] This 10th-century wreck, assigned the name Five Dynasties Wreck, was excavated in 2005. Much Middle Eastern glass as well as a huge range of Chinese ceramics and Southeast Asian commodities were found on the wreck. Another 10th-century wreck discovered in the Java Sea, and known as the Intan has also been excavated and analysed. For details, see Michael Flecker, "The Archaeological Excavation of the 10th Century Intan Wreck", Ph.D. thesis, National University of Singapore, 2001. Published in the BAR International Series 1047, Oxford, 2002.

[80] Including the work of Abū Zaid (916 C.E.) which mentions Zabaj and Qmār; the *Muruj al-Dhahab* of Mas'udi (10th century) which mentions Zabaj, China, India, Kalah, Sirandib, Sribuza and the sea of Sanf; the work of Abu Dulaf (c. 940 C.E.) which recorded Sandabil, China, Kalah, and Qamrun; the work of Ibn Serapion (c. 950) which mentions Kalah, Zabaj, Harang and Fansur; the work of Ibn al-Nadīm (988 C.E.) which notes Qmar, Sanf, and Luqin; the *Aja'ib al-Hind (*c. 1000 C.E.) which mentions Malayu, China, Sanf; Mait, Sribuza , Zabaj, Lamuri, Fansur, Kalah, and Qaqulla; the *Mukhtasar al-Aja'ib* (c.1000 C.E.) which records Sanf, Kalah, Jaba, Salahit, and Zabaj; Biruni's *India* (early 11th cent.) which records Zabaj, and Qmar; the work of Marwazi (c. 1120 C.E.) which records Zabaj and Lankabalus; and the text of Idrisi (of the mid-12th century), which lists Zabaj, Karimata, Ramni, China, Qmur, Niyan, Balus, Kalah, Harang, Jaba, Salahit, Ma'it, Tiyuma, Sanf, Qmar, Luqin and China. See G.R. Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material on South-East Asia*, Leiden, Brill for the Royal Asiatic Society, 1979 and Gabriel Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et texts rélatifs à l'Extrême Orient*, 2 vols, Paris, 1913-14. See also, for some new interpretations, Michael Laffan, *Finding Java: Muslim Nomenclature of Insular Southeast Asia from Śrîvijaya to Snouk Hurgronje*.

> scriptures and worship their deity. Their language is similar to that of the Hui-hui[81]…They do not marry the natives and the latter do not marry them.

Here, then we have strong evidence of a Muslim community, including many members of the Pu clan, tied by kinship and by trade to both Champa and China and situated on the maritime route linking the two.[82]

Two political events affecting Muslims in Southeast Asia stand out from the available records of the 10th and 11th centuries. As noted above, some hundreds of Muslims removed in the 980s to Hai-nan and Guang-zhou to escape political turmoil in Champa. It is likely that it was these persons who formed the nucleus of the Muslim community at San-ya on the southern coast of Hai-nan, which has continued into the present-day.[83] The other event, reflected in the listings of Muslim envoys to the Song court was the Côla attacks on Southeast Asia. The reasons for these attacks are not clear, but the possibility that the Côla ruler Rājēndra I wished to take control over the trade passing through the Straits of Malacca should not be excluded. Raids are suggested for 1017 and 1025 C.E.. The last envoy from San-fo-qi to China for the 11th century was in 1028, while missions to China from Da-shi (the "Arab lands") saw a hiatus from 1019 until the 1050s. Champa missions to China led by Muslims continued during this period. It thus appears that Islamic trading links with the Straits were affected by the attacks on and likely capture of the major ports in the region by Côla forces. These military activities likely permanently changed the patterns of Middle Eastern trade to the archipelago. We certainly have evidence of the possibly related rise of the Tamil guilds in Barus during that century.[84]

By the second half of the 11th century, envoy-merchants from the Arab lands were again arriving in China by sea, through Southeast Asia. This period also saw a major shift in the region's maritime trade, with the Fu-jian port of Quan-zhou eclipsing the former trade centre of Guang-zhou. Quan-zhou quickly became the site of mosques[85] and Tamil temples, as the maritime merchants from lands extending all the way to Asia Minor brought trade products to China and took Chinese products on their return journeys. On this voyage, it is clear that Champa was a major staging post. That the Islamic communities of China and Southeast Asia were intimately tied during the 12th century is apparent from a comment by al-Idrisi (1100-65) who stated that when China was

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[81] Referring mainly to Islamic peoples of Central Asia.

[82] Hirth also cites from the *Tu-shu ji-cheng* (juan 1,380) a 14th-century reference to a temple at the port of Lian-tang on Hai-nan, where the deity was know as *Bo-zhu* (舶主), or Lord of the Ships, where pork was forbidden and where everyone referred to the temple as the *fan-shen-miao* (蕃神廟), or "temple of the foreign deity." See Kuwabara, *Pu Shou-keng*, II, p. 21.

[83] For one of the few historical reports on this community, see Chen and Salmon, "Rapport preliminaire sur la decouverte de tombes musulmanes dans l'Ile de Hainan", *Archipel*, Vol. 38 (1989), pp. 75-106.

[84] See, for example, Y. Subbarayalu. "The Tamil Merchant-Guild inscription at Barus: A Rediscovery" in Guillot (ed.) *Histoire de Barus I*, pp. 25-33. The inscription is dated to the equivalent of 1088 C.E..

[85] The oldest mosque in Quan-zhou –the Qing-jing Mosque -- reputedly dates from the 11th century when the port began to rise in importance.

convulsed by troubles, the (Muslim) merchants would descend to the harbours of a place they called Zabaj.[86] This was a reference to the ports of Sumatra and surrounding areas.

Half way around the globe, in and near the Red Sea, the 12th and 13th centuries saw Yemeni ports developing their links with regions to the East under the aegis of the Ayyūbid (1171-1250) in Egypt and subsequently the local Rasulid dynasty (1228-1454). This revitalized the luxury and spice trades with India and ports further east, providing further avenues for Muslims to travel to and interact with people from the Southeast Asian realm, as well as further reasons for Southeast Asians and Chinese to travel to the major Islamic centres in the Middle East.

Quan-zhou thus became the end port for the long journey from the Arab and Persian lands, as well as a key port for those Muslims trading from Southeast Asia. From the sources we have available, more than half of the foreign trade into Quan-zhou appears to have been controlled by Muslims in this period. By the 13th century, when the Mongols ruled over China, it appears that Quan-zhou was being administered as a Muslim polity, funded through its trade with Southeast Asia and beyond. The boom in maritime trade during the 12th and 13th centuries underwrote Islamic power in Quan-zhou, and in this Pu Shou-geng and his family were major players.

Islamic links between Quan-zhou and Brunei during this period are evidenced by material remains. A grave of a Song dynasty official surnamed Pu and likely from Quan-zhou has been found in Brunei. Dated to the equivalent of 1264 C.E., it is the earliest Chinese-script gravestone in Southeast Asia as well as one of the earliest Muslim gravestones.[87] The Pu clan was a major element in the story of Isla*m in the maritime realm which connected Southeast Asia and South China. One account suggests that an unnamed Pu ancestor had originally come to Guangzhou from somewhere in the Arab world and was appointed as the head-man of the foreign quarter in that city, eventually becoming the richest man in the entire region. Another version suggests that this person was a noble from Champa which, as noted above, does not preclude him from having been an Arab. Could he have been a descendant of the Pu Luo-e who led his family members to Hai-nan from Champa in 986 following political disturbance in that place? The fact remains that during the 12th century a person "surnamed" Pu, a Muslim, was one of the richest men in the city of Guang-zhou, and behind whose residence was a giant "stupa", unlike Buddhist ones. This was likely the minaret of the Huai-sheng-si, the famous mosque of Guang-zhou. The wealth of the family, however, declined, and the son of the Guang-zhou foreign head-man, named Pu Kai-zong (蒲開宗), removed the family to Quan-zhou,[88] as that port rose to dominate the trade with Southeast Asia and beyond.

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[86] Al-Idrîsî, *Opus Geographicum*, E. Cerulli *et al.* (eds), 2 vols. Rome, 1970, I, p. 62. Cited in Michael Laffan, *Finding Java*, p. 22, n. 65.

[87] The assumption is that this official surnamed Pu was, like other members of the Pu clan, a Muslim. There exists in Leran, East Java an Islamic gravestone dated AH 475 (1082 C.E.) for a woman, the daughter of Maimun. However, there is no firm evidence that the gravestone originated in Java, and was possibly brought there as ballast. See Ludvik Kalus and Claude Guillot, "Réinterprétation des plus anciennes stèles funéraires islamiques nousantariennes: II. La stèle de Leran (Java) datée de 475/1082 et les stèles associées", *Archipel*, Vol. 67 (2004), pp. 17-36.

[88] This is noted in *Min Shu* (閩書), juan 152.

It was his son, Pu Shou-geng (蒲壽庚) who was to become famed in the histories of Quan-zhou, Chinese Islam and maritime trade with Southeast Asia.[89] Reputedly for his assistance in suppressing pirates in the region of Quan-zhou, Pu Shou-geng was rewarded by the Song court in 1274 with the position of maritime trade supervisor in the port. All maritime trade through Quan-zhou was subject to his control, and as this was the major port of the entire polity, the opportunities for gain would have been enormous. He and his brother also operated many ships. Pu Shou-geng was subsequently appointed to even higher office with a provincial post, only a few years before the Yuan armies crushed the Southern Song capital at Hang-zhou and the Song dynasty came to an end.

Even before they took Hang-zhou, the Yuan generals had recognised the power of Pu Shou-geng and his brother in south-eastern China and had sent envoys to invite them to side with the Yuan. The Pu brothers knew where their future lay, and they gave their allegiance to the incoming Mongols, probably by 1276. The importance of this to the Yuan was enormous, as it provided them with a local regime with access to the sea, something which the Mongols had never commanded. Their new ally subsequently massacred the Song imperial clansmen who resided in Quan-zhou, showing his allegiance to the Mongols. The Yuan rulers richly rewarded those who had assisted them and Pu Shou-geng was appointed as the Grand Commander of Fu-jian and Guang-dong, and subsequently as a vice minister of the Fu-jian administration. Pu was tasked with assisting the Mongols in both promoting maritime trade and providing ships and personnel for some of the Mongol invasions of overseas polities. It is not surprising that the first countries to respond to Pu Shou-geng's invitation to resume trade were Champa in Southeast Asia and Ma'abar on the subcontinent -- both major trading polities with large Muslim populations. One of the latest reports we have of Pu Shou-geng, dating from 1281, notes that he had been ordered by the Yuan emperor to build 200 ocean-going ships, or which 50 had been finished.

The arrival of the Yuan forces in southern China in the 1270s and the violence which accompanied that arrival had apparently spurred some Muslims to leave Chinese ports and, as in the past, flee south. Li Tana has examined the Vietnamese annals on this point and found reference to Muslim refugees from China arriving in the Vietnamese polity in 1274.[90] This date fits well with the last-ditch Song defence of Yang-zhou during the Yuan attack on that city in 1275. Yang-zhou was a very cosmopolitan city and it would not have been surprising if some of the Muslims resident there would have opted for safer climes to the south prior to the attack.[91]

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[89] For the most detailed available account of Pu Shou-geng, see Kuwabara Jitsuzo, "On P'u Shou-keng", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, II (1928), pp. 1-79, and VII (1935), pp. 1-104. See also Billy K.L. So, *Prosperity, Region and Institutions in Maritime China: The South Fukien Pattern, 946-1368,* Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press, 2000, Appendix B – P'u Shou-keng: A Reassessment pp. 301-305.

[90] Personal communication from Li Tana. For original text, see Chen Ching-ho, 陳荊和 （編校）校合本 <大越史記全書> (3 本), (*Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*), Tokyo, 1985-86, pp. 348-49.

[91] One apparent victim of the battles at this time was Pu Ha-ting, a Sayyid of the 16th generation and builder of the Xian-he Mosque in Yang-zhou, who died in 1275. See D.D. Leslie*, Islam in Traditional China: A Short History to 1800*, p. 48.

At approximately the same time, on the other side of the archipelago, we begin to see evidence for the emergence of Muslim rulers in Southeast Asia. An Islamic gravestone is reported for a Sultan Sulaiman bin Abd Allah bin al-Basir of Lamreh dated 608 A.H. (1211 C.E.).[92] It remains controversial, but if confirmed this will be the first evidence of a Muslim ruler in the Nusantaran world. There seems little doubt that the emergence of such Islamic rulers in Sumatra was intimately tied to their control over the maritime trade connecting the subcontinent ports with Southeast Asia.

Direct links between Samudera and the ports of Western India are evidenced by the material remains of the age. The cemeteries of Samudera have a range of gravestones, some with *bismillahs* in Kufic Script, and these have been shown to be linked with the gravestones of Cambay in Gujarat. These stones were seemingly imported from Cambay, but were carved locally with local artistic elements.[93]

Why Islamic polities should have emerged in northern Sumatra in the 13th century remains an enigma. It is obvious that Muslim traders had been passing and stopping at these port-polities for centuries before this. It is likely that the rise of Islamic states in Sumatra was linked with the decline of the Côla dynasty in southern India, the collapse of that country into war and the end of the integrated regional economy which incorporated the northern Sumatran polities. With the rise of the more domestically-oriented Vijayanagara in southern India, the linkages of the Hindu-Buddhist polities of Sumatra with the subcontinent would have declined, as would have the Tamil guilds, likely providing new avenues for religious conversion. In addition, the booming trade which marked the 12th century would have provided the opportunity for traders to centralise resources and then social influence, prior to seizing political power.

4. The Tamil Trade Networks

Maritime trade between the Indian subcontinent and the ports of what is today Southern China extends back at least 2,000 years. In his seminal work *The Nanhai Trade*,[94] Wang Gungwu references the texts which describe early Chinese voyages to Huang-zhi (likely Kancipuram) on the subcontinent. More recently, Haraprasad Ray has

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[92] Suwedi Montana, "Nouvelles données sur les royaumes de Lamuri et Barat", *Archipel*, 53 (1997) pp. 85-96. See p. 92. There remains much dispute over the dating and other aspects of this gravestone.

[93] More details can be found in Lambourn, "The formation of the *batu Aceh* tradition". See also Elizabeth Lambourn, "From Cambay to Pasai and Gresik – the export of Gujarati grave memorials to Sumatra and Java in the 15th century AD", *Indonesia and the Malay World*, Vol. 31, No. 90 (2003): pp. 221-89; and Elizabeth Lambourn, «La production de marbre sculpté à Cambaye au Gujarat et son exportation dans l'Océan Indien (XIIIè - XVè siècles Ap. J. C.) » in J. M. dos Santos Alves, C. Guillot and R. Ptak (eds.) *Mirabilia Asiatica. Produtos raros no comércio marítimo. Produits rares dans le commerce maritime. Seltene Waren im Seehandel*. Wiesbaden and Lisbon: Harrassowitz Verlag and Fundação Oriente, 2003, pp. 209-52.

[94] Wang Gungwu, "The Nanhai trade: a study of the early history of Chinese trade in the South China Sea", *JMBRAS* 31, 2 (1958).

brought together a collection of Chinese historical texts describing links between polities which today are parts of India and China.[95]

It was through their earlier links with Southeast Asia, the Tamil and other Indian merchants were to reach China. Tamil merchants were spread throughout Southeast Asia from at least the 3rd century, leaving inscriptions on the peninsula. The existence of South Indian communities in the southern Chinese ports is recorded from at least the 6th century,[96] and large communities existed in Guang-zhou by the 8th century.

With the emergence of the Chola polity during the 10th-century in southern India, a major new player entered into Asian maritime trade. Tansen Sen suggests that "some credit for the 'emergence of a world market' must go to the Chola (or Cōla) kingdom in Southern India. The trading ports and mercantile guilds of the Chola kingdom, he suggests, played a significant role in linking the markets of China to the rest of the world." [97] He cites the following passage from a Cola ruler as the rationale for participating in and encouraging maritime trade:

> Make the merchants of distant foreign countries who import elephants and good horses attach to yourself by providing them with villages and decent dwellings in the city, by affording them daily audience, presents and allowing them profits. Then those articles will never go to your enemies.[98]

Sen notes the intimate relationship between the temples, merchant guilds, Brahman communities and the Chola rulers, and how the Chola rulers frequently turned over conquered regions to Brahman communities for developmental purposes, and that these communities then involved the merchant guilds in temple construction.[99] This idea continued that of Meera Abraham, who noted that the intimate links among the Chola state, merchant guilds, and religious institutions was one of the "vital elements of the Cōla state synthesis of the eleventh century."[100] Abraham in turn drew much from earlier studies by Nilakanta Sastri.[101]

The conquest of southern Karnataka by the Chola ruler Rājēndra in 1032, for example, appears to have been aimed at securing internal trade routes in southern India

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[95] Haraprasad Ray, *Trade and trade routes between India and China, c. 140 B.C.-A.D. 1500***,** Kolkata : Progressive Publishers, 2003; and Haraprasad Ray, *Chinese sources of South Asian history in translation : data for study of India-China relations through history***,** Kolkata, Asiatic Society, 2004.

[96] John Guy, "Tamil Merchant Guilds and the Quanzhou Trade", in Angela Schottenhammer (ed.), *The Emporium of the World: Maritime Quanzhou, 1000-1400*, pp. 283-308. See p. 287, quoting Nilakanta Sastri.

[97] Tansen Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy and Trade: The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations 600-1400*, Honolulu : Association for Asian Studies : University of Hawai'i Press, 2003. p. 156. See also Tansen Tan, "Maritime Contacts Between China and the Cola Kingdom (A.D. 850-1279)" in K.S. Mathew (ed.), *Mariners, Merchants and Oceans: Studies in Maritime History*, Delhi, Manohar, 1995, pp. 25-42.

[98] Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy and Trade*, p. 156.

[99] Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy and Trade*, p. 158.

[100] Abraham, *Two medieval merchant guilds of South India,* p. 87.

[101] K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas*, Madras, University of Madras, 1955.

for the Tamil merchant guilds. At the same time, there seems little doubt that the Chola attacks waged on Southeast Asia port polities in 1025 and again in the 1070s, as well as the occupation of Sri Lanka in 1080, were all intended to expand the commercial interests of the polity's merchants and thereby of the polity itself.[102] The commercial towns of the Chola polity appear to have reached a zenith between the late 12th and mid-13th, possibly as a result of the wealth realised through these overseas markets.

It also appears that the Chola-China links reached a zenith about the same time. From the mid-13th century we have the *Dao-yi zhi-lue* account which records the Chinese-sponsored pagoda at Nagapattinam which bore an inscription in Chinese noting that it was completed in the equivalent of 1267. This was balanced by a Tamil temple in Quan-zhou dated by inscription to 1281, suggesting quite a community of Tamils in the city during this period of effervescence.[103]

The trade between the ports of South China and the Chola polity is also evidenced by the 11-12th century Chinese ceramic remains found widely in Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu.[104] Classical Chinese texts also inform us that the Chinese obtained all of their pepper from Indian ports, and there was obviously a strong trade in textiles travelling both ways.[105]

Tansen Sen suggests that, "In fact, Tamil merchant guilds may have been as active on the Sino-Indian circuit of Indian Ocean commerce as were there Arab counterparts. More importantly, however, the coastal region of India and Northern Sri Lanka under Chola rule provided a well-organised trading mechanism through which commodities could flow from China, on the one end of the global market, to the Persian Gulf and Mediterranean ports on the other."[106] While it is true that most of the maritime merchants travelling into China bore names which can be reconstructed as Islamic, we have no knowledge as to the degree to which Tamil Muslim converts continued to trade along the routes and possibly through the same guilds which the earlier Hindu merchants had done.

C. Manifestations of these Changes in Southeast Asia

1. Maritime Trade, including Shipwreck data

International maritime trade connecting the ports of West Asia to those of East Asia and through the myriad hubs in between has been an element of the global economy for at least 2,000 years. But how do we periodize maritime trade as it affected Southeast Asia?

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[102] Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy and Trade*, p. 156-58.
[103] John Guy, "Tamil Merchant Guilds and the Quanzhou Trade", pp. 295-302.
[104] For which see the various contributions in Noboru Karashima (ed.), *In Search of Chinese Ceramic-sherds in South India and Sri Lanka*, Tokyo, Taisho University Press, 2004.
[105] For information of Chinese texts on Southern India during the Yuan, see Roderich Ptak, "Yuan and Early Ming Notices on the Kayal Area in South India" *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 80 (1993), pp. 137-55.
[106] Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy and Trade*, p. 158.

Jan Christie suggests a succession of trade booms in western maritime Southeast Asia, each larger than the former, interspersed with trade depressions. She sees this pattern as already established in the 7th-8th century, when there was minor expansion of trade in response to Chinese interest in Southeast Asian exports and Southeast Asian interest in South Asian exports. Most relevant to the present investigation, she suggests that "Between the early tenth and mid-thirteenth centuries, a boom occurred in the trade linking the seas of maritime Southeast Asia to the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea."[107] After the mid-13th century, she suggests, maritime trade fell due to domestic problems in both China and India. Then there was a resurgence which began in the 15th century which ended with 17th century crisis. The present investigation tends to support the aspect of her thesis that posits a trade boom during the 10th and 13th centuries.

In addition to the increased trade, we see the emergence of new trade ports and/or trade-based polities. These included that at Thị Nai (modern Quy Nho'n) in the Cham polity of Vijaya, the Viet port of Vân Đồn, and the state of Tambralinga on the peninsula, all in the 12th century. Whitmore also notes that "Through the eleventh and twelfth centuries, especially with the shift of the Song capital south in 1126, there was a heavy involvement of Chinese merchants with this international trade."[108] This was again a new element.

The Shipwrecks

One of the most concrete manifestations we have today of the changing nature of maritime trade in Southeast Asia is the shipwreck cargoes which have been gradually coming to light. Four wrecks provide us with a variety of Southeast Asian trade evidence extending from the 9th to the 13th centuries. All were linked to both Southern China and to Southeast Asian ports.

1. The Batu Hitam/Belitung/Tang Wreck (9th century)

The Belitung Wreck was discovered off the Indonesian Island of Belitung in 1998. It appears to be the only example of an ancient Arab or Indian ship ever found. The hull was stitched. It has bee possible to date the wreck to c.826 through some dated ceramics found in the cargo. Michael Flecker, one of the excavators, suggests that "Its location in Indonesian waters, and its cargo of Chinese ceramics, provide compelling archaeological evidence for direct trade between the Western Indian Ocean and China in the first millennium.

The cargo comprised a huge volume of Chang-sha bowls, apparently produced specifically for an Islamic market. In addition, there was a range of other Chinese

[107] Jan Wisseman Christie, "Javanese Markets and the Asian Sea Trade Boom of the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries A.D.", *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (1998), pp. 344-81.
[108] John K. Whitmore, "The Rise of the Coast: Trade, State and Culture in Early Đại Việt" in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 37 (2006:1), pp. 103-22. See p. 109.

ceramics, including some of the earliest blue and white ware known, as well as some exquisite gold and silverwork.[109]

2. Intan Wreck (10th century)

The Intan Wreck, located some 40 nautical miles off the coast of Sumatra, nearly half way between Bangka and Jakarta, was excavated in 1997. It is apparently the oldest Southeast Asian wreck with a complete cargo. Dating through ceramic analysis, coins and carbon dating suggest a 10th century AD date. Michael Flecker suggests that the ship was an Indonesian lashed-lug craft, possibly bound from the Srivijayan capital, Palembang to Java. The recovered cargo was extremely diverse, comprising several thousand Chinese ceramics, Thai fine-paste-ware, base metal ingots of bronze, tin, lead and silver, Indonesian gold jewellery, bronze religious and utilitarian artefacts, Chinese mirrors, Arab glass, iron pots, and a wide range of organic materials. It has been suggested that it was supplying metal-deficient Java with a range of material necessary for its religious, ceremonial and commercial life.[110] The key study of this wreck and its cargo is Michael Flecker's work based on his doctoral dissertation, conducted under the supervision of John Miksic.[111]

3. Pulau Buaya Wreck (12th/13th century)

This ship, found in the Riau Archipelago, was likely of Southeast Asian origin, but may have been travelling from Southern China to a port in Southeast Asia, possibly in Sumatra or Java. The vessel ship was laden with Chinese products, including ceramics, iron wares, copper gongs and lead slabs. Cast-iron cooking vessels as well as bundles of iron blades were found on board, but few coins. The only study of this wreck is that by Abu Ridho and E. Edwards McKinnon.[112]

One of the interesting facets of this wreck is the silver ingots which were found in the cargo. The inscription of the silver ingots indicates that these were salt tax payments intended for submission to a local authority in China. These were then redirected, legally of otherwise, for maritime trade purposes.

4. Java Sea Wreck (13th Century)

The Java Sea Wreck is thought to be an Indonesian lashed-lug craft of the 13th century. She was likely voyaging from China to Java with a cargo of iron and ceramics. As much as 200 tonnes of iron was shipped in the form of cast iron pots and wrought iron bars. [113] The original ceramics cargo may have amounted to 100,000 pieces. Approximately 12,000 intact or mostly intact Song dynasty ceramics were recovered,

[109] http://maritime-explorations.com/belitung.htm
[110] http://maritime-explorations.com/intan.htm
[111] Michael Flecker, *The archaeological excavation of the 10th Century Intan shipwreck*, Oxford, England : Archaeopress, 2002.
[112] Abu Ridho and E. Edwards McKinnon, *The Pulau Buaya Wreck: Finds from the Song period*, Jakarta, The Ceramics Society of Indonesia, 1998.
[113] http://maritime-explorations.com/java%20sea.htm

consisting primarily of celadon-type bowls and dishes from the kilns of southern China. There were also many covered boxes and jars, and an unusual painted ware with a lead-green glaze. Thai fine-paste-ware kendis and bottles were also found. A number of studies of this wreck are collected in the work edited by Mathers and Flecker.[114]

2. The Development of an Overseas Chinese trade Network

The Earlier Age of Commerce we are investigating involved financial and trade reforms in China, various changes in the Southern Chinese agricultural and commercial economies and a powerful trade boom in the maritime realm of Southeast Asia. These elements, not unnaturally, appear to have induced an expansion of Hokkien maritime trade into both Southeast Asia and into Northeast Asia.

We do have quite a few Chinese textual references to Hokkien people venturing abroad during this period. According to the *Song shi*, the year 992 saw Mao Xu (毛旭), a wealthy Hokkien merchant, providing a guide for the tribute mission from the kingdom of She-po in Java.[115] This was done on the basis that Mao Xu had travelled repeatedly to She-po. Similar records are seen for Champa. In 1166, a Hokkien merchant Chen Ying (陳應) led five ships to trade with people in Champa. The ships returned to Fu-jian in the following year loaded with frankincense, ivory and tribute envoys from the ruler of Champa. At least two other Hokkien merchant groups, headed by Wu Bing (吳兵) and (陳應祥) were also involved in maritime trade with Champa.[116]

But it is with Korea that we have evidence of very intense Hokkien trading contacts in the 11th century. James Chin provides data showing that between 1013 and 1091 on at least 23 occasions, groups of Hokkien merchants, including some groups of up to 200, sailed to Korea to engage in commerce.[117] The size of the trade transacted can only be guessed at, but the networks, connecting Korea, southern China and Southeast Asia presaged similar commercial networks created later. Some of these Hokkien maritime merchants apparently controlled large fortunes. When Fo-lian, the son-in-law of Pu Shou-geng, died in 1293, his assets included 80 ships and 130 *dan*[118] of pearls.

There is also evidence that it was during this period that some of the Hokkien began to sojourn overseas. Chin provides the account of Wang Yuan-mao who travelled to Champa in the 1170s. He had reportedly learned the Cham language in a mosque in Quan-zhou and later became a trusted confidant of the ruler of Champa and married a princess in that country. He made a fortune there and then returned to Quan-zhou to

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[114] William Mathers and Michael Flecker, *The Java Sea Wreck Archaeological Report*, Annapolis: Pacific Sea Resources, 1997.
[115] James CHIN Kong, "Merchants and Other Sojourners: The Hokkiens Overseas, 1570-1760", Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Hong Kong 1998, p. 9. Detail extracted from *juan* 489 of the account of She-po in *Song Shi*, the dynastic history of the Song dynasty.
[116] James Chin Kong, "Merchants and Other Sojourners: The Hokkiens Overseas, 1570-1760", p. 10.
[117] James Chin Kong, "Merchants and Other Sojourners: The Hokkiens Overseas, 1570-1760", p. 11.
[118] Each *dan* was equivalent to approximately 133 pounds.

trade, organizing a large group of Hokkiens to trade overseas. This suggests something of the Islam/Hokkien nexus during the late 12th century in Fujian and Southeast Asia.

That Chinese were also resident in Cambodia in the 13th century is attested by Zhou Da-guan, whose work *Zhen-la feng-tu-ji* ("An Account of the Customs of Cambodia"), which was completed in the early 14th century, details the trading activities of Chinese persons at Angkor, some of whom had been there for many decades. Sumio Fukami[119] suggests that, by the 13th century, settlements of Chinese persons could be found on the Malay peninsula and by 1267 even across the Bay of Bengal in Nagapattinam on the Coromandel Coast of Southern India.[120] He suggests that the *Cinam* mentioned in the Pandya inscription of 1265 as a polity conquered by King Vira-Pandya referred to one of these overseas Chinese communities. He thus further suggests that forces from one of these communities were used by Chandrabhanu in his attack on Sri Lanka.

The Hokkiens were also involved in the politics of the Southeast Asian polities where they operated. The Hokkien were operating commercially in 11th-century Vietnam and Chinese texts record that one Hokkien Li Gong-yun, known in Vietnamese as Lý Công Uẩn (Lý Thai To) became the first Lý dynasty ruler in 1010.[121] Later Vietnamese texts claim that Lý was from Jiao-zhou (modern Vietnam), but regardless of where he was from, it appears that there were intimate links between the Lý court and the Hokkiens, both merchants and literati,[122] presumably bolstering commercial links between southern China and the maritime trade routes passing by Đại Việt. A Hokkien origin is also assigned by both Chinese and Vietnamese sources to the founder of the Trần dynasty (1225-1400). At the end of the 13th century, the Chinese encyclopaedist Ma Duan-lin (馬端臨 1245–1322), wrote in his *Wen-xian Tong-kao* of the Vietnamese polity as follows: "the local people are generally illiterate, and therefore the Hokkien merchants who travel to the kingdom by sea-going vessel will be given exceptionally good treatment and will be appointed as court officials and participate in policy-making. All the officials documents of this kingdom have thus been drafted by these sojourners."[123]

3. Changes in Specific Regions of Southeast Asia

i) Đại Việt

It has, in recent years, been increasingly argued that the polity of Đại Việt was long intimately tied into the premodern maritime trade networks of East and Southeast

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[119] Fukami Sumio, "The Long 13th century of Tambralinga: From Javaka to Siam" in *The Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, Vol. 62 (2004), pp. 45-79. See pp. 55-56.
[120] The pagoda at Nagapattinam, according to the *Dao-yi zhi-lue*, bore an inscription in Chinese reading: "Completed in the eighth month of the third year of the Xian-chun reign" (漢字書云：咸淳三年八月，畢工), corresponding to August/September 1267, and suggesting quite some settlement of Chinese in that port city in the second half of the 13th century. See Fukami ,"The Long 13th century of Tambralinga", p. 56.
[121] See James Chin Kong, "Merchants and Other Sojourners: The Hokkiens Overseas, 1570-1760", p. 17.
[122] James Chin Kong, "Merchants and Other Sojourners: The Hokkiens Overseas, 1570-1760", p. 17-19.
[123] James Chin Kong, "Merchants and Other Sojourners: The Hokkiens Overseas, 1570-1760", p. 17.

Asia[124] The major questions which arise are how this happened and why. It appears that this was also related to the Earlier Age of Commerce

Li Tana has described her ideas about how, during the Tang dynasty (618-908), Guang-zhou (in the modern Pearl River Delta) and Jiao-zhou (in the modern Red River delta), were both ports in regional maritime trade, but that Guang-zhou was essentially a maritime trade port, while Jiao-zhou was a place where both maritime and overland routes came together.[125]

It has been argued by both John Whitmore and Li Tana, on the basis of materials contained in the Vietnamese history *Việt sử lu'ợc* that even in the 11th and 12th centuries the coastal areas of what is today northern Vietnam were under polities controlled by rulers other than the Lý (1009-1225). It is suggested that the division between the "upper" and "lower" delta of Đại Việt was broken down only in the 13th century as the Lý moved closer to the coast.[126] The process was continued by the Trần (1225-1400) rulers who built another set of palaces at today's Nam Định, closer to the sea than was Hanoi.

The polity was obviously rich in the 12th century, with the "tribute" offered to the Song court including 1200 *taels* of gold wares, pearls as big as egg-plants, huge amounts of aromatic woods, textiles and other products.[127] Much of this wealth appears to have come from maritime trade. How did the polity achieve this? A convenient trade port was a major requirement. It was at Vân Đồn on the estuary of the Bạch Đằng River, the main waterway connecting the Đại Việt capital with the sea, that the new trade port was to grow. It may well have emerged in the 11th century, but certainly burgeoned in the 12th and 13th centuries, serving Đại Việt trade with Hai-nan, southern China and other ports to the south until at least the Trần Dynasty (1225-1400).[128] Li stresses the importance of the links between maritime Đại Việt and the port of Qin-zhou in modern Guang-xi during the 12th century, where traders came from as far afield as Si-chuan to trade with merchants, and where many of the trade goods used by the Vietnamese came from. With both inflow of Song copper cash, the increasing power of Chinese networks in the South China Sea and the movement of Chinese people into the region, the region of Vân Đồn was tied further into both international and internal markets. The participation of Muslims in this Vietnamese trade, at least in the 13th century, is detailed by Li Tana, as are the links of these merchants to the island of Hainan. [129]

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[124] See, for example, Momoki Shiro, "Đại Việt and the South China Sea trade from the 10th to the 15th Century" *Crossroads*, 12:1 (1998), pp. 1-34; and Li Tana, "A View from the Sea: Perspectives on the Northern and Central Vietnamese Coasts" in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 37 (2006:1), pp. 83-102; and John Whitmore, "The Rise of the Coast".

[125] Li Tana, "A View from the Sea", p. 90.

[126] Li Tana, "A View from the Sea", p. 89. Whitmore phrases it thus: "What was taking place through the twelfth century was the formation of this coastal zone as an area of transition between the international and the internal, between lower and upper Đại Việt. The zone was much more commercial: it was open to the outside world and involved more directly with developments in China than was inland Đại Việt." John K. Whitmore, "The Rise of the Coast," p. 111.

[127] Li Tana, "A View from the Sea", p. 88.

[128] Yamamoto Tatsuro, "Vân Đồn, A Trade Port in Vietnam", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 39 (1981), pp. 1-32.

[129] Li Tana, "A View from the Sea", p. 92.

We may well surmise that the Lý efforts to expand toward those who controlled maritime trade was as a result of the burgeoning of that trade in the 11th and 12th centuries, and the need for the Lý to consolidate their polity by gaining some control over that maritime trade. Both Momoki Shiro and Whitmore describe the 11th-12th century movement of royal outposts further down the delta towards the coast.[130] Whitmore, following Lieberman, also sees the development of temple networks as key in agricultural and economic expansion. But even more important was the Song economy to the north, with its capital moving south of the Yangtze in 1126. Whitmore describes it thus: "As the Song trade surge reached along the coastal zone of Đại Việt, it interacted strongly with the inland economic forces in the mid-river area as well as providing an even greater pull on the upriver zone for the greatly desired highland goods."[131]

Whitmore concludes that through the 12th and into the 13th centuries, two major economic forces were at work in Đại Việt: 1) Agricultural development linked to the rise of the Lý state and the Buddhist temples and estates which provided the foundation for the state: 2) Activities linked with the surge of trade out of and into Song China. The first created the demand for foreign goods, the second responded to that demand. External forces included the Chinese economy. While the Viet had produced coins in the first half of the 11th century, by the 12th century Song copper cash had become the major form of exchange.

Large numbers of Song refugees appear to have fled to Đại Việt in the 13th century providing further markets and market operators for the products of maritime commerce. Over the period c. 1200-1340, we see a doubling of the population The population increase, which was further fed by the inflow of peoples from the Chinese coastal regions, likely increased labour specialisation and the development of handicraft production, particularly ceramics for Southeast Asian and Muslim markets.[132]

To what degree were the changes in Trần administrative systems, and adoption of more Sinic forms, a result of the coastal orgins of the Trần and their connections with maritime trade networks?[133] They developed a scholarly bureacracy with scholars coming from the coast, and pursued new scholarly examinations. In 1253 they established a National College and in 1272, the compilation of an official chronicle was ordered. They additionally extended the Đại Việt agricultural base downwards toward the delta. The Trần also adopted a more contemporary form of Buddhism –Dhyana/Chan/Thiền—from the coastal region and there was strong integration of this Buddhism with classical Chinese thought.[134]

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[130] John K. Whitmore, "The Rise of the Coast," p. 108, and especially note 12.
[131] John K. Whitmore, "The Rise of the Coast," p. 109.
[132] Li Tana, "A View from the Sea", p. 96.
[133] John K. Whitmore, "The Rise of the Coast," p. 116.
[134] John K. Whitmore, "The Rise of the Coast," p. 118.

ii) Champa

The *Song Hui-yao*, compiled in the 12th or 13th century, provides us with a useful account of Champa extending over the period from the 10th to the 12th centuries. It records, *inter alia,* that Champa was connected by sea, to San-fo-qi,[135] Ma-yi,[136] and Butuan. These were presumably the places with which Champa engaged in maritime trade. While agriculture is noted as a key element of the economy, it is also obvious that trade across the seas was also a major economic component.

In terms of local manufactures during this 10th-12th century period, the Chinese recorded for Champa floral cloth, damask, white fine cotton cloth, rattan mats, palm-leaf mats, and gold, silver and iron ingots. But also given attention was the procurement, collection and trade of aromatics, medicinal plants and others forest products. We are told that various types and qualities of gharu wood, as well as pinang (betel-nut), sapan wood, ebony, cane, bee's wax and kapok were produced locally.[137] These were all obvious trade products.

The medium of exchange was gold and silver, but at some time through the 250 years which the text covers, Chinese copper cash were introduced into the economy. This again argues for a new period in Asian maritime commerce during the 10th-12th century.

There was an apparent shift of the Cham capital southwards during this period, away from the Viet, at some date prior to 1007. How this would have affected participation in or control over maritime trade is not clear. Certainly a new port arose. Whitmore notes that the new Champa port of Thị Nai (modern Quy Nho'n) in Vijaya arose about the same time as the Viet port of Vân Đồn, in the mid-12th century, and that these thrived on the trade between eastern Java and China.[138] He notes Thị Nai and its hinterland of Vijaya linked up with elements in Angkor to dominate Champa (by replacing the port of Hội An and the northern political centre at Amaravati) and dominate international trade.

Champa was hugely important for the Song in procurement of aromatics. Ptak's study of the trade of cloves into China over the 10th to 12th centuries shows that the vast majority of this product came through either Champa or Butuan.[139]

There was a large foreign presence in Champa's trade system. The presence of Arabs and/or Persians along the maritime routes to Hai-nan and Guang-zhou region is

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[135] Often equated with Srivijaya.

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

[137] See Geoff Wade, *Champa in the Song hui-yao: A Draft Translation*, Asia Research Institute Online Working Papers, No.

[138] John K. Whitmore, "The Rise of the Coast," p. 110.

[139] Roderich Ptak, "China and the Trade in Cloves, circa 960-1435" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 113 (1993), pp. 1-13. See chart on p.7.

attested since the 8th century. Thus, it is certainly not beyond the realms of possibility that Arab traders were operating out of Champa in the 10th century and onwards. Southworth notes that in the present-day Quang Nam Province, large sherds of Islamic ceramics from the ninth and tenth centuries have been found on Culao Cham Island opposite Thu Bon River estuary.[140] Another suggestive element relates to the Pu Ma-wu noted in a 1068 reference as an envoy of Champa Someone of the same name, and possibly the same person is recorded as the envoy of the country of Da-shi (大食) and as having offered tribute to the Song court in 1076.[141] The Ya-tuo-luo-pan-si (押陀羅潘思) noted as being part of the Champa mission to the Song in 977 shared the name "Ya-tuo-luo" (Abdullah) with an Arab headman Xin Ya-tuo-luo (辛押陀羅), who is noted in the *Song hui-yao* as returning home in 1072.[142] It is thus perhaps necessary for us to have a much closer look at the inter-relationships between the envoys to the Song court from Srivijaya and Champa, as well as those who were considered Arab or Persian by the Chinese choniclers.

The Cham connections with the Arabs were to last until at least the 12th century. A Northern Song source from that century notes: "Many people of Champa and Da-shi come annually from across the seas and trade in China. Fathers and sons will come in the same year to Fu-zhou."[143]

The 10th to 11th centuries appear to have been a period of booming trade in East Asia, and an important element in this was the "official trade" which is disguised in Chinese texts as "offering tribute". The types of commodities traded and the volumes of each which were brought to the Song court by the Champa missions can be divided into three groups, which provide some indication of the types of commodities which were traded during this period.

a) Locally procured commodities

1. Rhinoceros horns (including variants –spiral horns and "medicinal" horns)
2. Elephant tusks
3. Pea-fowl
4. Gharu wood (of a diverse variety of types)
5. Rattan mats
6. Champa "gu-ban" "gu" thin silks (占城孤班古縵)
7. Champa "water-embroidered" woven cloth (占城繡水織布)
8. Peacock feather umbrellas
9. Gourds

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[140] William A. Southworth, "The Coastal States of Champa", in Ian Glover and Peter Bellwood, *Southeast Asia: From Prehistory to History*, Oxfordshire, RoutledgeCurzon, 2004. p. 228.
[141] See *Song Hui-yao* , "Fan yi" section, Book 199, Vol 8 p. 7846.
[142] Kuwabara Jitsuzô, "On P'u Shou-keng, a man of the Wrestern regions, who was the superintendent of the Trading Ships' Office in Ch'uän-chou 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", *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, 2 (1928), pp. 1-79. See p. 41.
[143] Wang Yu-cheng 王禹偁 , *Xiao-chu-ji* (小畜集), juan 14 as quoted in Liao Da-ke, *Fu-jian hai-wai jiao-tong-shi*, Fu-jian ren-min chu-ban-she, 2002, p. 91.

10. "shan-de-ji"[144]
11. Coconuts
12. "Wu-li" aromatic (烏里香) – 55,000 *jin* delivered by one mission.[145]

b) Commodities obtained from other parts of the Archipelago

1. "Dragon brain" camphor (probably from Sumatra, Borneo or the Malay peninsula).
2. "Ge" thin silk (哥縵) (possibly Malay peninsula)
3. "stone-pavilion" gum (石亭脂) (nature unknown)
4. Sandalwood (islands east of Java, southern India)
5. Lac (Sumatra, Malay Peninsula)
6. Pinang (Malay peninsula?)
7. "gu" thin silk from the country of Ma-li-yan-luan in Java (闍婆馬禮偃鸞國古縵)[146]
8. "gu" thin silk from Sha-wan in Java (闍婆沙剜古縵)[147]
9. Tortoise-shell
10. "ba" (巴)[148] "dragon-brain" camphor
11. white cardamom (Cambodia, Malay peninsula, Java)
12. Cloves
13. Pepper
14. Nutmeg
15. "Phoenix" – Possibly a Bird of Paradise
16. Coral
17. Cubebs[149]
18. "Bay" aromatic (澳香) – unidentified aromatic
19. Kingfisher feathers (Cambodia)

c) Commodities obtained through long-distance trade

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[144] Literally "Chicken obtained form the hills". This product is sometimes measured in *jin* and at other times in simple numbers. Presumably some sort of hill pheasant. Some 14,3000 were presented by one mission in 995.

[145] Unidentified, but as it shares the name of the northernmost region of Champa as described by the *Song Hui-yao ji-gao*, probably a local aromatic.

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

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

[148] Possibly abbreviation for "Ba[rus]" camphor?

[149] Cubebs (Arab. ka ba bah) are the fruit of several species of pepper, belonging to the natural order Piperaceae. Also known as Java pepper or tailed pepper (lada berekor), it was used in both pharmacy and cuisine. It is a climbing woody shrub indigenous to south Borneo, Sumatra, and Java. For further information, see Hirth and Rockhill *Chau Ju-kua* (p. 28) and Wheatley Geographical Notes (p. 107). The Chinese term "bi-deng-jia" is obviously a representation of a term from another language, but it is not known from whence it derives.

1. Frankincense (Arabian peninsula)
2. Embroidered "gu" thin silk from Da-shi[150]
3. "Beacon iron" (烽鐵)[151]
4. Yue-nuo (cloth) (越諾布)[152]
5. Myrrh (Arabia and NE African coast)
6. Rose-water (Persian Gulf)
7. Lion (Asia Minor, Africa)
8. Aniseed (Middle East, Africa)
9. Putchuk (Arabia and Somaliland)
10. Glass (Middle East)
11. "fan" oil (番油) –possibly a fossil fuel
12. Da-shi[153] vases

We need to note from the above listings that Champa was intimately tied into long-range trade networks, which connected it ultimately to the Middle East. The maritime aspect of the Champa economy needs to be given due attention. Even accepting the long maritime traditions of Champa, it was likely the Arabs or Persians who were the managers of the trade along the long-distance routes, although not necessarily of the routes which connected Champa with the various archipelagic collection and trading centres. It is obvious there access to some of the rare commodities was limited, with the small quantities of cloves which were submitted, for instance, indicating the limited supply of the commodity.

iii) Cambodia

Funan appears in history in the 3rd century as a port centre on the trade route connecting China to Southeast Asia and then to India. In the 5th-6th centuries C.E. a new, more direct Indonesia-China route weakened the Cambodian maritime economy and inland centres became prominent on a strong agricultural base.

With the emergence of Angkor in the 9th century, there was frequent conflict with Champa, Vickery suggests over access to the valuable products desired in China and ports for transporting them. The culmination of this rivalry was the 12th-century wars in which Angkor invaded Champa, first under Suryavarman II (1113?-1145/50?), then under Jayavarman VII (1181-1220?), almost certainly for control of the central Champa ports, especially Vijaya (modern Qui Nho'n). The apparently fierce Cambodia-Champa

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[150] Da-shi is a generic reference to the Arab world.
[151] Quite likely Middle Eastern forged steel, famous for Persian swords and known later as "Damascus steel". The "beacon" name is presumably a reference to the powerful fire used for forging.
[152] This was a type of cloth manufactured in Baghdad, Ghazni and Asia Minor. See Paul Wheatley, *Geographical Notes on some Commodities involved in Sung Maritime Trade* (1961: p. 61).
[153] The term Da-shi (大食) was derived from a Persian name *tāzīk* for the Tajik. It was later used by the Persians for the Arabs and was adopted by the Chinese as a generic term for the Arabs. Presumably here, it refers to the Abbasid empire.

conflicts seem to have ended after mid-13th century. Vickery suggests that this was perhaps due to political decline within Cambodia, the Mongol invasions in Vietnam and Champa, and the Vietnamese expansion into Champa.[154] However, the coincidence that this was a period when maritime trade saw a downturn is such that we cannot ignore this as a major factor.

What is very apparent about Cambodia during the period from the 9th to the 14th centuries is the fact that ceramics went through a remarkable transformation over that period. Bernard Groslier speaks of "the Angkorian ware 'deluxe' that developed roughly from the end of the 9th century to the end of the 13th century."[155] He suggests Chinese influence and even Chinese potters in the development of the Khmer glazed ceramic tradition. Dawn Rooney in her study of Khmer ceramics is more direct: "Present evidence indicates that Chinese potters may have come directly to Kampuchea in the ninth century from southern China. Recent finds in the Xicun kilns in Guangdong province show striking similarities to Khmer wares and indicate a connection between the two ceramics producing centres."[156] In addition, there have been literally tons of Chinese ceramics found in and around Angkor dating from the second half of the 10th century. We thus have evidence of direct trade, stylistic influence and perhaps even movement of skilled craftsmen between southern China and Cambodia in the first part of our Early Age of Commerce. A study of the links and interactions between Guangdong wares and Khmer ceramics over the 9th to 13th centuries is now being conducted at the National University of Singapore by Sharon Wong Wai-yee.

iv) Menam Valley

Chinese texts refer to a polity of Luo-hu (羅斛) sending a mission to the Song court in 1115.[157] By the early 13th century, the *Zhu-fan-zhi* records that Luo-hu was a dependency of Zhen-la (the Khmer polity).[158] The Yuan history records a few further missions to the Yuan court by this polity. It is generally associated with the polity known as Lopburi.

Xian was another polity of the Menam Valley which came to prominence at about this time and is well-recorded in Chinese texts.[159] Yamamoto[160] notes that the Canton

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[154] Michael Vickery, Abstract for *A Survey of Cambodian economy - Funan to 14th century*, Angkor - Landscape, City and Temple, Sydney 2006

[155] Bernard P. Groslier, Introduction to the Ceramics Wares of Angkor" in Diana Stock (ed.) *Khmer Ceramics 9th-14th century*, Singapore, Southeast Asian Ceramics Society, 1981, pp. 9-40. See p. 15.

[156] Dawn Rooney*, Khmer Ceramics*, Singapore, Oxford University Press, p. 24.

[157] Robert M. Hartwell, *Tribute Missions to China 960-1126*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1983. p. 149.

[158] Friedrich Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chï*, Taipei, Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company reprint, 1967, p. 53.

[159] The first reference to Xian (暹) in Chinese sources appears to be that contained in *juan* 418 of the *Song Shi* (History of the Song Dynasty), where in the biography of the Song loyalist Chen Yi-zhong (陳 宜 中), it is noted: "In the 19th year of the Zhi-yuan reign (1282/83), the Great Army [i.e. the Mongol forces] attacked Champa, and [Chen] Yi-zhong fled to Xian. He subsequently died in Xian." There are many subsequent references to Xian including those of envoys sent to China. For a general guide to the references, see Chen Jia-rong, Xie Fang and Lu Jun-ling, *Gu-dai Nan-hai Di-ming Hui-shi* ("Collected

gazetteer *Da-de Nan-hai Zhi* from about 1304 C.E. records that the "country of Xian controls Shang-shui Su-gu-di" (暹 國 管 上 水 速 孤 底). The "Shang-shui" can be considered either a place-name or simply "up river", while "Su-gu-di" is unquestionably Sukothai. Prof. Yamamoto argues that if Xian controlled (or managed) Sukothai, the two cannot be considered to have been equal terms. He considers that Ayudhya is the best identification for references to Xian. Other information also suggests a maritime-connected polity. Xian expanded southward and clashed with the polity of Malayu in the 1290s. A further coastal polity of Phetchaburi (必察不里) is recorded in the Yuan history as having sent a mission to the Yuan capital in 1294.

Here then we have three new polities, linked to the sea, arising in the 12th-13th centuries in the Chao Phraya valley. Can we consider that these polities arose in response to burgeoning maritime trade opportunities in the Gulf of Siam and attempts to exploit it?

As in Cambodia, ceramic technologies developed powerfully at this time. Based on excavations in Si-Satchanalai, Don Hein and Mike Barbetti note: "it can be shown that the production of the wares used for export (LASW) occurred from about the middle of the 13th century, and it follows that production at Si-Satchanalai must have begun around the tenth or eleventh century"[161]

v) Java

Christie argues that the impact that this trade boom of the 10th to 13th centuries had on the Javanese economy was profound. She posits that "the expansion of the Chinese market, in particular, for the produce of Java and its archipelago trading network led to changes in Javanese agricultural practices, patterns of domestic marketing and regional trade, and the monetary and tax system."[162] At the Southeast Asian end, the wealth generated by long distance sea trade "financed the growth of states in the strategically-located Malacca Straits region and on the more fertile islands of Java and Bali."

Javanese external trade extends much earlier than the Common Era, linking the island to the rest of Southeast Asia, southern China, South Asia and onwards to the Mediterranean empires. By the 5th century C.E. the Javanese polities had begun

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References to Ancient Names for Places in the Southern Ocean"), Bei-jing 1986, pp. 843-44. Some of the Yuan dynasty references are translated in Luce (1959) and Flood (1969; pp 220-227). A major reference of importance is contained in *Dao-yi Zhi-lue* ("Brief Account of the Maritime Barbarians"), where in the account of the "Country of Xian" it is recorded: "In the fifth month of the *ji-chou* year in the Zhi-zheng reign (May/June 1349), [Xian] submitted to Luo-hu." Su Ji-qing, a modern scholar who edited an annotated version of *Dao-yi Zhi-lue*, entitled *Dao-yi Zhi-lue Jiao-shi* (島 夷 誌 略 校 釋), suggests that as the author Wang Da-yuan only completed the work in the winter of the year quoted (1349/50), the date given for Xian's submission to Luo-hu is probably erroneous. He suggests as an alternative, though with little evidence, a year which corresponds to 1339/40.

[160] Yamamoto Tatsuro, "Thailand as it is referred to in the *Da-de Nan-hai zhi* at the beginning of the fourteenth century", *Journal of East-West Maritime Relations*, Vol. 1 (1989) pp. 47-58. See p. 51.

[161] Don Hein and Mike Barbetti, "Si-Satchanalai and the Development of Glazed Stoneware in Southeast Asia, *Siam Society Newsletter* 4 (3), 1988, p. 12.

[162] Christie, *Javanese Markets*, p. 344.

borrowing from Indian political, religious, artistic and literary cultures. By the 8th century, the Javanese state of Mataram had been formed. It was an agricultural inland state which grew to prominence after annexing the coastal state known as Ho-ling, which was an economic trading partner with southern China.

But with the decline of Tang and disruptions of Chinese ports at the end of Tang in 8th/9th century, there was decline in sea trade and movement of economic power away from the coast. Java was to see oscillations between interior and coast over subsequent centuries in response to rise and decline of sea trade. In the 8th and 9th centuries, there was economic surplus in the island polities and this was channelled into the large stone temple complexes.

However, early in the tenth century, as sea trade revived, Mataram's capital was shifted to the port region of the Brantas Delta in East Java. During the 10th-13th century period of trade boom, fewer and smaller temples were built, as the surplus was instead invested in trade and conspicuous consumption of foreign luxuries.[163]

By the middle of the 11th century, the wealthy coastal region had hived off from the inland agrarian region, but when sea trade fell again in 13th century, the polity was reunified. The periods of sea trade boom enriched the Javanese ports but this destabilised the inland states, "whose administrations were poorly equipped to counter the centrifugal tendencies of very rich coastal enclaves."[164]

The period of trade boom from 10th-13th centuries saw changing patterns of production and consumption Java. As mentioned, early in the 10th century, the Mataram court shifted several hundred kilometres to east, near the Brantas delta. This was partly due to volcanic eruption, but likely the burgeoning sea trade was the reason it moved toward the coast. Also, there was a related population movement toward the delta/coastal region.

Christie suggests that double cropping of rice which subsequently occurred in Brantas delta was a result of demand for export trade.[165] Rice was a major export commodity by the 11th century. The mid-11th century charter of the Brantas delta port community of Manañjung placed rice at the head of the list of commodities stored in the port's warehouses. Also mentioned were black pepper, beans, fennel, salt and sugar.[166] Safflower and pepper, which were originally from India, were apparently planted in Java after ninth century as cash crops. By the twelfth century, Java had supplanted southern India as China's major supplier of pepper, and Bali and Java became China's main suppliers of safflower dye.

What did Java import? The Mataram elite were building fewer and smaller stone monuments in the Brantas region. "Between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, private

[163] Christie, *Javanese Markets*, p. 346.
[164] Christie, *Javanese Markets*, p. 346.
[165] Christie, *Javanese Markets*, p. 352.
[166] Christie, *Javanese Markets*, p. 352, 373-74.

consumption replaced public building as the main outlet for surplus wealth. A large proportion of east Java's surplus in rice and other crops—particularly those planted in the catchment regions of the ports—was exported to pay for imported luxuries and industrial materials."[167] By the 11th century, sumptuary restrictions were consuming increasing space in Javanese inscriptions, as the court attempted to maintain differentials in status markers within the increasingly wealthy and socially fluid east Javanese society, as was also experienced in Song China.[168] Zhao Ru-gua lists the Javanese imports in the 13th century as gold, silver and copper currency, gold and silver utensils, ceramics, iron goods, lacquer-ware, silks and damasks, as well as a range of industrial raw materials – orris root (used for perfume-making), cinnabar (used in cosmetics and dyes), copperas (dyeing), alum (dyeing), arsenic (metal-working) and borax (glass and glazing).[169]

The effects of these imports on domestic industries can be observed particularly in ceramics, textile and metal-working industries

Ceramics

With the shift of the Mataram political centre to the coast in the 10th century, the increased importance of trade with China was reflected in ceramic remains. The late 10th and early 11th century sites show imported Chinese ceramics widely distributed within Mataram, as well as all along the north coast of Java. Christie notes "The indigenous Javanese pottery of late tenth and eleventh century date, found at the same sites, appears to have been profoundly affected by Chinese styles and Chinese techniques of manufacture. By the turn of the millennium, in the north coast region to the east of Semarang, not only were shapes of professionally-made pottery beginning to imitate those of the imported Chinese ceramics, but Javanese potters appear to have begun to abandon their older indigenous paddle-and-anvil potting techniques in favour of Chinese wheel-throwing techniques. By the thirteenth and fourteenth, east Javanese potters were producing a range of exact copies of the more popular Chinese ceramic shapes.[170]

Textiles

Cotton cultivation was introduced to Java from India, as was indigo cultivation. During the ninth century, the *ikat* method (tie-dying warp threads before they are placed on the loom) was introduced. In 10th to 13th centuries, a series of innovations occurred in the Javanese textile industry, paralleling those occurring in south India.[171] Looms had been modified by 10th century to produce finer cloth. During the 10th and 11th centuries, the patterns on valued textiles began to change and began to duplicate those of India from the same period. The inscriptions also recorded: 1) new names for textile patterns; 2) new

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[167] Christie, *Javanese Markets*, p. 354.
[168] Christie, *Javanese Markets*, p. 354 and Shiba Yoshinobu, *Commerce and Society in Sung China*, pp. 202-04.
[169] Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 78.
[170] Christie, *Javanese Markets*, p. 356, quoting H.R.A. Muller, *Javanese Terracottas: Terra Incognita* (1978), pp. 54-57.
[171] Christie, *Javanese Markets*, p. 357.

techniques for creating the patterns, 3) new dye colours. The Javanese were also importing ready-died silk from China and exporting textiles to China.

Metals and coinage

There appears to have been a native iron bar currency (known as *iket wsi*) circulating in Java in the ninth century and possibly earlier.[172] There were also indications of standardized weights of gold and silver which obviously functioned as a type of currency or even money.[173] These are the so-called *suvarna* (38.6 grams), *masa* (2.4 grams), and *kupang* (0.6 grams),[174] which gave rise to the "sandalwood" flower coinage which were used from 900 to 1300, struck in silver, gold and electrum. Robert Wicks suggests that these were being produced in three centres –the west coast of Sumatra, peninsular Thailand and central and eastern Java,[175] with the earliest coming out of Java in the early ninth century. An example has been found in Egypt[176] showing that Java was, directly or indirectly, tied into trade with the Middle East.

By the 11th century, pressure from Javanese and Balinese markets for quantities of even smaller denomination coinage led to large-scale imports of Chinese copper coinage. As the supply of Chinese coin became unpredictable, the Javanese began to cast their own imitations, called *pisis*, which were recognised by the court as official currency for tax payment purposes.

There were different currency spheres to Java. . The indigenous currency was restricted to two core areas – one in central Java and one on the region around Trowulan/Majapahit/ Singasari in East Java.[177] The Central Java area was characterised by more intense use of indigenous coin use, while the Eastern Java area is marked by the introduction of Chinese copper cash, replacing the indigenous coins in the 13th century.
By 11th century, pressure from Javanese and Balinese markets for quantities of even smaller denomination coinage led to large-scale imports of Chinese copper coinage. Heng notes that the Javanese sites in the Brantas Delta have yielded large quantities of copper coins, dating from the Tang until the Northern Song dynasties. This suggests to him massive import of copper coins into Java in the late 11th century until 1126, when the

[172] Jan Wisseman Christie, "Patterns of Trade in Western Indonesia: Ninth through Thirteenth Centuries A.D." (Ph.D thesis, University of London May 1982), p. 146. See also Robert S. Wicks, "Monetary Developments in Java between the Ninth and Sixteenth centuries: A Numismatic Perspective" in *Indonesia,* Vol. 42 (Oct. 1986), pp. 42-77, p. 44.
[173] Charles Setman notes: "Metal when used to facilitate the exchange of goods is currency; currency when used according to specific weight standards is money."
[174] Jan Christie notes that while the *masa* unit was noted in inscriptions from the 9th to 11th centuries, the *kupang* begins to appear only in the 11th or 12th century. See Wicks, "Monetary Developments in Java between the Ninth and Sixteenth centuries", pp. 45-46. The term *kupang* has come down to us in the modern era, with people in Penang, Malaysia, for example, still using the term for a 10-cent unit.
[175] Wicks, "Monetary Developments in Java between the Ninth and Sixteenth centuries" p. 50-51.
[176] Wicks, "Monetary Developments in Java between the Ninth and Sixteenth centuries" p. 52.
[177] See Wicks, "Monetary Developments in Java between the Ninth and Sixteenth centuries" p. 42 for maps of his Core Area I and Core Area II.

Northern Song capitulated and the Song capital moved south.[178] He considers that prior to the official adoption of Chinese cash for low-value transactions in Java in the 13th century, that there had been much use of cash for market transactions, particularly after the lifting of the export ban on copper coins in 1074. As supply of Chinese coin became unpredictable, the Javanese began to cast their own imitations, called *pisis*, which were recognised by the court as official currency for tax payment purposes.

The trade boom produced many changes in the Javanese trade sphere. The 11th century saw major ports emerge in the Brantas River delta, from modern Japara to Tuban and Gresik. New forms of collecting port taxes were instituted and it appears that there was no royal monopoly on trade. Instead, privileges were assigned to highly-capitalised merchants and merchant associations (*banigrāma*). These merchant associations appear in inscriptions of 10th and 11th centuries and this Indian name suggests close links with the ports of southern India. These merchant associations appear to have had royal sanction and were been linked to the *abakul* wholesalers, who were purchasers and wholesalers of agricultural produce.[179]

vi) Sumatra

In some ways, the ports on Sumatra and the other side of the Straits of Malacca can be seen as the maritime trade polities par excellence. They appear to have grown out of and thrived through maritime trade, during the years of the Kedah ports, the heyday of Srivijaya and through the years of Temasek, Melaka and later Singapore.

During the period we are examining – 900 to 1300 C.E. – we know from texts of the polity of San-fo-qi (equivalent to the Arabic Zabaj, but frequently rendered simply as Srivijaya) in southern Sumatra,[180] and also know from the archaeological record of a major settlement at what is called Kota China, near the modern Medan in Sumatra. The first-mentioned is far better documented and Oliver Wolter's *Early Indonesian Commerce* [181] provides a helpful background to the polity as it had developed by the 11th century. He notes an attack on the polity by Java in 922, and the emergence of and attacks by the contending Cola empire. These very likely would have derived from attempts to control the commercial trade Srivijaya enjoyed with China. Wolters suggests that these wars weakened the political authority of Srivijaya and that over the next 200 years, smaller ports emerged on the island vying for commercial share. He further suggests that the increased expansion of Song traders weakened the polity of Srivijaya as

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[178] Heng, *Export Commodity and Regional Currency,* p. 186. He does not address the possibility that these were transported to Java decades or even centuries after they were minted.

[179] Christie, *Javanese Markets*, p. 362.

[180] Fukami argues that the Chinese term San-fo-qi, often rendered as Srivijaya, was actually a generic name for polities or tributaries in the Melaka Straits, and is equivalent with the Zabaj of the Arabs. He offeres evidence with names in the Chinese texts including San-fo-qi Zhan-bei (Jambi) and San-fo-qi Zhu-nian (Cola). See Sumio Fukami, "San-fo-qi, Srivijaya, and the historiography of Insular Southeast Asia" in Nguyen The Anh and Yoshiaki Ishizawa (eds.), *Commerce et navigation en Asie du Sud-Est, XIVe-XIXe siècle*, Paris & Montréal (Québec): l'Harmattan, 1998, pp. 31-46.

[181] Oliver Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the origins of Śrīvijaya*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press,1967.

these Chinese traders took on many of the functions which those of Srivijaya had previously fulfilled as regional traders.[182]

Heng notes that archaeological investigations in Jambi and Palembang, the capitals of Srivijaya, the pre-eminent polity of the Straits region in the 10th-13th centuries, reveals few Chinese copper coins, and concludes that such coins were probably not much used before the beginning of the 11th century.[183]

By the 11th century, with the policy changes in China vis-à-vis foreign trade and copper cash export, we see a Srivijayan mission of 1078 being rewarded for their shipment of white gold, camphor, frankincense and other foreign products with 64,000 strings of cash and 10,500 taels of silver.[184] Heng also notes that there were nine missions sent from Srivijaya to the Song in the last three decades of the 11th century, suggesting much more inflow of copper cash to the Straits of Melaka during this period. Non state-sponsored trade through Guang-zhou and later Quan-zhou would also have seen copper cash moving into the Straits.

And yet, Chinese textual evidence in the mid-12th century notes that Palembang-Jambi used gold, silver, copper, tin and alloys as money, and even statements from the early 13th century recorded that "[Srivijaya] does not have stringed coins. Broken pieces of white gold are used in trade exchanges."[185] Heng suggests that "Chinese copper coins do not appear to have been adopted as a form of domestic currency by most regional ports prior to the fourteenth century."[186]

It is interesting to note that excavations in the highlands of southern Sumatra behind these trade ports also appear to have been connecting up with the ports in the 11th and 12th century. Excavations in the highlands near Kerinci by a team led by Dominik Bonatz of Albert Ludwigs-University, Freiburg, reveal that the megalithic sites had been occupied during the period of the Chinese ceramics found there, dating from 11th-12th centuries. This also suggests links, direct or otherwise, with the coastal ports over that period.

In the north of the island of Sumatra, we can observe a number of major trading centres which flourished during the 900-1300 period. That of Kota Cina, on the east coast of north Sumatra and which has been excavated by McKinnon[187] and Miksic,[188] appears

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[182] Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, pp. 250-53.
[183] Heng, *Export Commodity and Regional Currency,* p. 181.
[184] Heng, *Export Commodity and Regional Currency,* p. 183.
[184] Heng, *Export Commodity and Regional Currency,* p. 181.
[184] For which see Flecker, "The Archaeological Excavation of the 10th Century Intan Wreck"
[184] Heng, *Export Commodity and Regional Currency,* p. 183.
[184] Heng, *Export Commodity and Regional Currency,* p. 184.
[185] Heng, *Export Commodity and Regional Currency,* p. 184.
[186] Heng, *Export Commodity and Regional Currency,* p. 184.
[187] Described in E. Edwards McKinnon, "Kota Cina: its context and meaning in the trade of Southeast Asia in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries," unpublished PhD dissertation, Cornell University, 1984.
[188] Miksic places Kota Cina in a broader context in Miksic, "The Classical Cultures of Indonesia" p. 248-49.

to have thrived from the 11th to 14th centuries. Chinese coins dating from the early 11th century until the late 13th century have been found, a spread similar to that found in the sites of Temasik/Singapore according to Heng, but Kota Cina also bore many marks, including coins and statuary, suggesting very close links with Sri Lanka and India. Heng suggests that "the ports in the immediate economic region within which Kota Cina was located – the north Melaka Straits region – appear to have been oriented towards the Indian Ocean, suggested by the presence of Indian Ocean and Middle East coins at these port sites, and from the minting of gold coins with Islamic script that were modelled after the Middle Eastern dinar by the thirteenth century."[189] And yet, a large number of Chinese coins were also found there, and Heng suggests that these came directly from China, and that this suggests a prominent Chinese presence at the port and Chinese cash as a basic currency.[190] Milner, McKinnon and Luckman Sinar associate Kota Cina with the Aru noted in Chinese texts.[191] It is likely also that the polity included the next northern estuary Jian-bi (Gan-bei—Kompei), of which the *Zhu-fan-zhi* says: "it was formerly a dependency of San-fo-qi, but following a battle it set up a king of its own."[192]

Miksic notes that the first archaeological evidence of urban sites in Sumatra appears during the Middle Classic period (1000-1300) on the island and he ascribes this possibly to the arrival of Chinese immigrants. He suggests that this begins in the early 12th century, and notes Marco Polo's record of the practice of establishing fortified settlements in their ports.[193]

> This is how we spent our five months. We disembarked from our ships and for fear that these nasty and brutish folk who kill men for food we dug a big trench around our encampment, extending down to the shore of the harbour at either end. On the embankment of the trench, we built five wooden towers or forts; and within these fortifications we lived for five months. There was no lack of timber. But the islanders used to trade with us for victual and the like; for there was a compact between us.[194]

Very recently, excavations in Aceh near Ladong, have revealed typical Guangdong stonewares of the 12th century or even earlier, together with Zhe-jiang Long-quan and Fu-jian wares. The area on the northern tip of Sumatra was obviously a major trade port in the 12th and 13th centuries. Zhao Ru-gua in 1225 noted how foreign ships travelling from Quan-zhou to the Arab lands would stop at Lan-li (Lamuri/Lambri) to

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[189] Heng, *Export Commodity and Regional Currency,* p. 194.
[190] Heng, *Export Commodity and Regional Currency,* p. 194-95.
[191] See also: A. C. Milner, E. Edwards McKinnon and Tengu Luckman Sinar, "A Note on Aru and Kota Cina", *Indonesia,* Vol. 26 (October 1978), 1-42.
[192] Friedrich Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chï*, Taipei, Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company reprint, 1967, p. 71.
[193] John Miksic, "The Classical Cultures of Indonesia" in Ian Glover and Peter Bellwood*, Southeast Asia: From Prehistory to History*, Oxfordshire, RoutledgeCurzon, 2004. p. 248-.
[194] Miksic, "The Classical Cultures of Indonesia", p. 248.

trade and then, in the following year, take to sea again on their westward journey.[195] In the Samudera polity, the rulers began minting gold coins bearing Islamic inscriptions in the 13th century.[196] This must have had a commercial imperative

We also need to examine the Sumatran port-polity of Barus for what it tells us of Islamic traders in the 10th and 11th centuries. References to Barus/Fansur, famed as a port for camphor exports, date back to the 8th century.[197] Barus was also already well-known to the Arab geographers in the 10th century as the source of excellent camphor, the Fansuri camphor.[198] We can certainly thus assume that Islamic merchants traded through this port during its heyday in the 9th-11th centuries in their quest for camphor and other Sumatran products.[199] The 9th-11th century Islamic glass and ceramics excavated at the site also suggest linkages with the Middle East[200] and these correlate with the Chinese ceramics of the same period discovered there.[201] An important piece excavated in Barus is a glass seal of the 10th-11th centuries, likely deriving originally from Iran, and bearing a Kufic-style inscription "Allāh.Muhammad."[202] This and the other Middle Eastern trade products certainly suggest Islamic influence in and trade with west Sumatra during these centuries.

vii) The Peninsula

One of the polities to emerge in the peninsula during the period from 900 to 1400 was Tambralinga, known to the Chinese as Dan-ma-ling. Fukami, who consider the term San-fo-qi a regional/collective appellation notes Tambralinga as one of the polities of

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[195] Friedrich Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chï*, Taipei, Ch'eng-wen Publishing Company reprint, 1967, p. 114.

[196] Teuku Ibrahim Alfian, *Mata uang emas kerajaan-kerajaan di Aceh*, Banda Aceh, 1986.

[197] Under the early name Po-lu-shi and Po-luo-suo (sometimes obviously confused in Chinese texts with Bo-si or Persia) and later under the names Bin-su, Bian-shu and Bin-cuo for Pansur/Pancur. See Roderich Ptak, "Possible Chinese References to the Barus Area (Tang to Ming)" in Claude Guillot (ed.) *Histoire de Barus, Sumatra: Le Site de Lobu Tua, I -- Études et Documents*, Paris, Cahier d'Archipel 30, 1998, pp. 119-138.

[198] See G.R. Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material on South-East Asia*, pp. 92-93, 95-96, 114-15, 140-43. Jane Drakard has also studied these sources in her "An Indian Ocean Port: Sources for the Earlier History of Barus", *Archipel*, 37 (1989), pp. 53-82.

[199] The links between Barus and the various ports of the Middle East are discussed in Claude Guillot (ed.), *Histoire de Barus, Sumatra: Le Site de Lobu Tua, II -- Étude archéologique et Documents*, Paris, Cahier d'Archipel 30, 2003, "Chapter II - Conclusions historiques" pp. 45-46 and 60-62.

[200] Claude Guillot and Sonny Ch. Wibisono, "Le verre à Lobu Tua: Étude préliminaire" in Guillot (ed.) *Histoire de Barus I*, pp. 189-206; and Guillot (ed.), *Histoire de Barus, Sumatra: Le Site de Lobu Tua, II ,* Chapter V – Céramique du Proche-Orient", pp. 171-196.

[201] Marie-France Dupoizat, Chapter IV "Céramique chinoise", in Claude Guillot (ed.), *Histoire de Barus, Sumatra: Le Site de Lobu Tua II* , pp. 103-169.

[202] Claude Guillot (ed.), *Histoire de Barus, II*. See "Chapter VII –Verre", p. 268, Plate 58. See also Ludvik Kalus, "Le plus ancienne inscription islamique du monde malais?" *Archipel*, Vol. 59 (2000), pp. 23-24.

San-fo-qi, as recorded in Zhao Ru-gua's *Zhu-fan-zhi*.[203] It appears to have been centred on Nakhon Si Thammarat and was a maritime polity undoubtedly engaged in the exploitation of maritime trade.

It can be affirmed that this polity was a major power in the peninsula during the 12th and 13th centuries, after breaking away from a dominating San-fo-qi, and actually sending a mission to China in 1196.[204] Its importance appears to have grown during the 13th century, gaining control, according to the *Da-de Nan-hai-zhi* of 1304, over polities on the peninsula. Fukami suggests that by the late 13th century, it controlled polities along the east coast of the peninsula extending from Chaiya in the north down to Pahang in the south,[205] but by the middle of the 14th century it had lost its dominant position.[206]

Fukami, partly on the basis of researches by Sirisena, suggests that the Chandrabhanu, who is noted as the ruler of Tambralinga in the Chaiya inscription of 1230, was the same Chandrabhanu who attacked Sri Lanka in 1247 and then again in 1262 and ties this in with the question of the conversion of those parts of the peninsula tied to Tambralinga, to Theravada Buddhism. Was this a 13th century phenomenon or later? Fukami visits the possibility, on the basis of the Lanna chronicle *Jinakalimali*, that Thai Theravada came to Sukothai from Sri Lanka via Tambralinga/Nakhon Si Thammarat in the 13th century through the efforts of Chandrabhanu.[207]

The commercial role of the polity of Tambralinga and the trade boom it experienced in the 12th-13th centuries are also examined by Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h in his study of the Malay Peninsula.[208] He offers the increased appearance of Chinese ceramics in the peninsula during this period, including at Nakhon Si Thammarat and Satingpra, as evidence of increased trade with China.

In the sites of South Kedah which were being used from the 12th to 14th centuries, it is Sri Lankan coins which were found and not Chinese copper cash. Heng suggests that the numbers in which they are found indicates that Sri Lankan coins were the local currency in the area.[209]

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[203] See Fukami Sumio, "The Long 13th century of Tambralinga: From Javaka to Siam" in *The Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, Vol. 62 (2004), pp. 45-79.
[204] Fukami, "The Long 13th century of Tambralinga" p. 51.
[205] Which accords closely with a Thai-language text on Nakhon Si Thammarat. See David K. Wyatt, *The Crytsal Sands: the Chronicles of Nagara Sri Dharrmaraja*, Ithaca, Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1975, p. 84-85. This lists the dependencies of Nakhon Si Thammarat as Chumphon, Phattalung, Pattani, Saya, Kelantan and Pahang on the east coast of the peninsula, and Kraburi, Takuapa, Trang and Kedah on the west coast.
[206] Including Chaiya, Phattalung, Kelantan, Terengganu and Pahang. See Fukami, "The Long 13th century of Tambralinga" p. 52.
[207] Fukami, "The Long 13th century of Tambralinga" p. 57-59.
[208] Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h, The Malay Peninsula: Crossroads of the Maritime Silk Road, Leiden, Brill, 200. See Chapter 13- "The Commercial Boom in the Malay Peninsula in the 12th and 13th Centuries" pp. 391-441.
[209] Heng, *Export Commodity and Regional Currency,* p. 184.

viii) Philippines and Brunei

The burgeoning of trade in what are today referred to as the Philippine Islands during this earlier Age of Commerce period is evidenced in a number of spheres. Cut bullet-shaped gold pieces, conventionally known today as *piloncito* coins, circulated between the 9th and the 12th centuries. These were similar to those which circulated in Java over the same period.[210]

In the Song texts, Butuan (蒲端) appears from a date equivalent to 1001 C.E, and missions are recorded for the first decade of the 11th century. It is described as a small country to the east of Champa. An account of the polity, taken from the *Song hui-yao* has been translated by William Henry Scott.[211] This notes that the traders from Butuan brought to China camphor, tortoise-shell, cloves, mother-of-pearl and other aromatics. They took back from China gold and silver as well as flags and pennons. Butuan is indicated to have been a supplier of cloves to the Song in the 11th century, which suggests that it was a port on the route linking the southern Chinese ports and Champa with the spice islands in what is today eastern Indonesia.[212]

The short fluorescence of this trade port in the trade between Southeast Asia and China suggests that it was taking advantage of the mercantilism of the Song prior to being replaced by Champa as the main supplier of these products to the Song ports. However, there is evidence that trade to the Philippines by Indic traders had a fairly long history. The writing systems were all Indic inspired and many of the trade terms derive from Sanskrit.[213]

D. Conclusions

This paper has argued that the four centuries from circa 900 C.E. to 1300 can be seen as an "earlier age of commerce" in Southeast Asian history. That is to say, it posits that the collocation of a number of changes external and internal to what is commonly referred to as Southeast Asia provided an environment where maritime trade boomed, and that this trade boom induced political, social and economic changes throughout the region. As Jan Christie notes, this "dramatic growth in the volume of sea trade in the 10th century, which continued at a high level until the mid-13th century," was partly in

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[210] Wicks, "Monetary Developments in Java between the Ninth and Sixteenth centuries," p. 55.
[211] William Henry Scott, *Filipinos in China before 1500*, Manila, China Studies program, de la sale University, 1989. see pp. 27-28 for translation and discussion on pp. 3-4.
[212] Roderich Ptak, "China and the Trade in Cloves, circa 960-1435" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 113 (1993), pp. 1-13. See chart on p.7.
[213] Juan R. Francisco, "Sanskrit in Philippine Languages: reflections on Pre-colonial Trade and Traffic", in K.S. Mathew (ed.), *Mariners, Merchants and Oceans: Studies in Maritime History*, Delhi, Manohar, 1995, pp. 43-56.

response to the opening of Chinese ports and a boom in sea trade in the Indian Ocean.[214] I have suggested that the changes in the region derived collectively from the economic revolution which occurred during the Song dynasty (960-1276) in China, the burgeoning of Islamic trade in Southeast Asia and southern China, and the increased role of Tamil merchants in the region.

But did this trade boom constitute an Earlier Age of Commerce? In considering this question, we can examine the generic changes it brought about to the polities, economies and societies of Southeast Asia during the 10th-13th century period under the following categories.

1. **The movement of administrative centres closer to the coast in order to benefit from and further control maritime trade.**

The trade boom encouraged the Viet polities to incorporate polities closer to the sea and to move their own bases of operations closer to the sea. This was true of both the Lý (1009-1225) and the Trần (1225-1400). We also see a similar process occurring in Java, where the Mataram capital shifted coastward into the Brantas Delta. This seems to have played a role in polity consolidation.

In the Menam Valley, in the 12th century, we observe the emergence of new polities near the coast, including Luo-hu (Lavo), Xian and Phetchaburi. We can reasonably assume that there sudden emergence at this time in a coastal location was aimed at drawing benefit from control over maritime trade.

Further down the peninsula, Tambralinga (Nakhon Si Thammarat) provides a useful example of how the booming maritime trade of the period allowed this initially minor port to throw off the control exercised by Srivijaya in the 10th century and establish its own dominance over coastal polities extending from Chaiya in the north down to Pahang in the south in the 12th and 13th centuries. However, with the end of the Earlier Age of Commerce in the 14th century, Tambralinga also lost its glory.

2. **The emergence of new ports as entrepots for the booming trade**

This certainly occurred along the southern coast of China, with new ports being established in the 12th century to exploit the booming maritime trade. We also observe the new port of Vân Đồn being established in Đại Việt in the 11th or 12th century as a channel through which to manage maritime trade between the Viet polity and the ports of southern China. In Champa, the new port of Thị Nai (modern Quy Nho'n) emerged in Vijaya, also in the mid-12th century, and it thrived on the trade between eastern Java and China, as well as through tapping the upland suppliers of forest products.

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[214] Jan Wisseman Christie, "Javanese Markets and the Asian Sea Trade Boom of the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries A.D.", *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient*, Vol. 41 No. 3 (1998), pp. 344-81.

In Java, the shift of the capital to the Brantas River delta also saw new ports emerge at the modern Japara, at Tuban and at Gresik. In Sumatra, ports like Kota Cina emerged and lasted only for the period of the Earlier Age of Commerce, over perhaps the 12th to 14th century.

Some of these ports would have been the earliest urban centres in the areas they were established. Also, given their linkages to the subcontinent, the Middle East, the China coast as well as the port cities of the rest of Southeast Asia, these new ports would likely have experienced a hybridity and cosmopolitan nature perhaps unprecedented in global history up until that time.

3. Population expansion

The southern coastal regions of China saw huge population increases during this period, as did Đại Việt. This was, admittedly, partly a result of the agricultural innovations, but in part it must be attributed to the booming economies which thrived on the burgeoning maritime trade. Increased population almost inevitably promoted labour specialisation and the development of handicraft production.

4. Increased Maritime Links between Societies

What is obvious, but very difficult to quantify is the great increase in the maritime interactions between societies of southern China, Southeast Asia itself and the societies of the subcontinent. All evidence suggests that new trade routes were being opened and new links being created by societies which had earlier not been so linked. The growing links between Đại Việt and southern China, the direct links between the Butuan and the Song, and between the various ports of the eastern seaboard of the peninsula suggest that this must have been a time of great cultural flux.

5. The introduction of new religions

The burgeoning of Muslim trade activities in both Southeast Asia and southern China over these several centuries meant a slow but very obvious growth in Islamic communities in these areas. The region around Quan-zhou saw great Islamic influence and conversion, while toward the end of the Earlier Age of Commerce, we observe the first Southeast Asian Islamic rulers appearing in Sumatra, not coincidentally, in polities intimately tied with the maritime trade routes.

Another religious phenomenon was the introduction of the Theravada Buddhism into the region, particularly through links with Sri Lanka. It is suggested that Tambralinga was to play quite some role in the Theravada-ization of the peninsula.

6. Increased Monetization

The increase monetization of economies and trade is an obvious characteristic of this period. We see economies in Java, the Philippines and the peninsula adopting coinage

based on fixed weights of precious metals, which gave rise to the "sandalwood" flower coinage which were used from 900 to 1300, struck in silver, gold and electrum

The increase in money supply by the Song was also to have profound effects on neighbouring economies, with copper cash becoming a major element in many Southeast Asian economies. Song cash had become the major currency of Đại Việt by the 12th century, and was a major component of the Champa economy in the 11th-12th centuries. By the 11th century, pressure from Javanese and Balinese markets for quantities of even smaller denomination coinage than that provided by the silver coinage also led to large-scale imports of Chinese copper coinage.

7. Development of Ceramic Industries

One of the major commodities to be carried by the ships involved in the burgeoning maritime trade was ceramics, and it was in this area that China enjoyed a marked technological advantage. To feed the increased demand for Chinese ceramics in Southeast Asia, more and more kilns were opened or further developed in the provinces along the Chinese coast.

In addition, the influence of Chinese ceramic design and technology was felt through many of the societies of Southeast Asia during the period. The ceramic industries of Đại Việt, Angkor and Java were all essentially changed through either copying the Chinese ceramic forms or importing Chinese labour to produce local copies.

The Cambodian ceramics of the 10th century onwards are so similar to those of Guang-dong that researchers agree that there must have been intimate links between the respective producers. In the area of what is today Thailand, the kilns of Si-Satchanalai developed and began to produce export wares over this period.

In Java, by the 11th century not only were shapes of professionally-made pottery beginning to imitate those of the imported Chinese ceramics, but Javanese potters seems to have moved away from traditional paddle-and-anvil technique and adopted the potting wheel.

8. Development of Textile Industries

Another of the major commodities traded extensively through the maritime trade of this age was textiles. Market demand obviously induced change and copying of the most successful textile technologies and designs of both the Indian and Chinese handicraft specialists appears to have been common in the Southeast Asian economies. Java is an obvious example, but the Chams and the Khmers were certainly affected by this trend. Of java, Christie informs us that in the 10th to 13th centuries, a series of innovations occurred in the Javanese textile industry, paralleling those occurring in south India. Looms were modified by the 10th century to produce finer cloth, and during the 10th and 11th centuries, the patterns on valued textiles began to duplicate those of India from the same period

9. Development of Cash-cropping

While obviously not as highly-developed as it was to become under the later Age of Commerce, there is evidence that commercialized growing of rice and pepper marked at least the Javanese economy as a result of the growing markets opened by this new phase of maritime interactions. The double cropping of rice was likely intended for export, and by the 12th century Java had supplanted southern India as China's major supplier of pepper. Some of this would have been grown regionally.

10. Maritime Trade related Warfare

It has been suggested that, following the emergence of Angkor in the 9th century, the was frequent conflict with Champa was predominantly over access to China trade products and control of ports (remembering that much of what is today the southern Vietnamese coast was at this time subject to the Khmer polity of Angkor).

In the Straits of Malacca, attacks on Srivijaya were initiated by Java in the 10th century and then by the Cholas in the 11th century. The important location of the polity on the maritime trade routes was undoubtedly what induced these attacks.

11. New Modes of Consumption

The new wealth derived from the maritime trade, as well as access to commodities previously unavailable, would certainly have prompted changes in consumption patterns. While much of this will necessarily be lost to us through a dearth of sources, at least in Java, there is evidence that increased revenue was ploughed not into temple construction, but into trade-related businesses and consumption of foreign luxuries.

12. Emergence of New Mercantile Organisations

While we lack documentary evidence for what was happening among the mercantile elite during this period, at least for Java, Christie does provide us with some evidence that new forms of collecting port taxes were instituted and it appears that there was no royal monopoly on trade. Instead, privileges were assigned to highly-capitalised merchants and merchant associations (*banigrāma*). These merchant associations appear in inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries and appear to have had royal sanction and to be linked to the *abakul* wholesalers, who were purchasers and wholesalers of agricultural produce. The Indian name suggests that these merchants had close links with the ports of southern India. It is quite possible that the system derived from the intimate state-merchant structures which characterised the Chola empire.

* * *

The various facets of change over the 10th to 14th century noted above suggest that we truly can truly consider this to have been much more than simply a trade boom. It was a period of great political, economic and social change, deriving from that trade boom, and it is truly deserving of an epithet such as the Earlier Age of Commerce. It is apparent from observing both the Chinese and Southeast Asian evidence that the second half of the 14th century was a period of stagnation, possibly deriving from the years of warfare in China, or from the Yuan efforts to tightly manage the trade.

That brings us to the issue of how this Earlier Age of Commerce relates to the later Age of Commerce detailed so fully by Anthony Reid. Was the Earlier Age of Commerce a period of a very different nature to that seen in the 15th-17th centuries, or was it merely its initial stage? That is a question which needs to be studied.

Appendix 1 -- Envoys and others with Li "Surname" from Maritime Polities to China 10th-early 12th century

Date (C.E.)	Name	Proposed Reconstruction	Polity Affiliation	Source and Remarks
960	Li Shu-ti 李庶帝	Ali Shadi	San-fo-qi	*Song Shi* juan 489
962	Li Li-lin (李麗林) Li Ya-mo (李鴉末)	Ali Leyli Ali Ahmad	San-fo-qi	*Song Shi* Juan 489
963	Li Ban 李 半 (alt: Lie Mie 李咩)		Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa
968/9	Li Ban 李半 Li Bei-qiang 李被琼		Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa *Song Shi* gives second name as Li Bei-cuo (李被磋)
971	Li He-mo (李何末)	Ali Mohammad	San-fo-qi or the Arab lands	*SHY* FY 7 *Yu Hai* juan 154
971/72	Li Nou (李 ?)	Ali Nur	Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa Deputy king of Champa
977	Envoy Li Pai (李牌); deputy envoy Li Ma-na (李麻 那), and administrator Li Tu (李屠)	Ali Bahij (?)	Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa
979/980	Li Mu-zha-duo (李木吒哆	Ali Muzaffar	Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa
980	Li Fu-hui 李甫誨		San-fo-qi (A merchant)	*Song Shi* juan 489
986	Li Chao-xian (李朝仙)		Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa Possibly a Viet or Chinese

990	Li Zhen(李臻)	Ali Zain (?)	Champa	name *SHY* FY 4: Champa
993	Li-a-wu (李亞勿)	Ali Ahmad	The Arab lands	*SHY* FY 7:
995	Li Bo-zhu (李波珠) Li He-san (李訶散) Li Mo-wu (李磨勿)	Ali Bashir (?) Ali H+asan Ali Mahmud	Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa
997	Li Bu-liang (李補良)		Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa
999	Administrator Li Gu-lun (李姑倫)		Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa
1003	Li Jia-pai (李加排) (Wu-tuo) Li Nan-bei (無陁李南悲)		San-fo-qi	*SHY* FY 4: San-fo-qi
1003	Li Yi-han (李? 罕)		Butuan	*SHY* FY 4: Butuan
1008	Li Mei-di (李眉地)	Ali Badi	San-fo-qi	*SHY* FY 7: Possibly same person as the Ya-li Bai-di mentioned under date 1011 in Appendix 3
1011	Li Yu-xie (李于燮)	Ali Yusup	Butuan	*SHY* FY 4: Butuan
1029	Li Pu-sa (李菩薩)		Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa
1030	Li Pu-sa (李菩薩)		Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa
1071	Li Pu-sa (李蒲薩)		Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa

1105	Li-zhan-pa (力占琶)	Ali Champa (?)	Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa

SHY = Song Hui-yao

Appendix 2 -- Envoys and Others with Pu "Surname" from Maritime Polities to China 10th-12th century

Date (C.E.)	Name	Proposed Reconstruction	Polity Affiliation	Source and Remarks
960/61	Pu He-san (菩訶散)	Abu Hasan	Champa	*SHY* FY4 Champa
961	Pu Mie (蒲蔑)	Abu Mat = Abu Mahmud ?	San-fo-qi	*Song Shi* juan 489
972	Pu He-san (菩訶散)	Abu Hasan	Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa
975	Bu Luo-hai (不囉海)	Abu……	The Arab lands	*SHY* FY 7:
976	Pu Xi-mi 蒲希密	Abu Hamid	The Arab lands	*SHY* FY 7:
976	Pu Tuo-han (蒲陁漢)	Abu ….	San-fo-qi	*Song Shi* juan 489
977	Pu Ya-li (蒲亞里)	Abu Ali	Bo-ni (Brunei)	*SHY* FY 7:
977	Pu Lu-xie (蒲盧歇		China/Bo-ni	*Song Shi* juan 4
977	Pu Si-na (蒲思那) Pu Luo (蒲羅)	Abu Sina Abu Nur	The Arab lands	*SHY* FY 7:
983	Pu Ya-tuo-luo (蒲押陁羅)	Abu Abd Allah	San-fo-qi	*SHY* FY 7:
986	Pu Luo-e (蒲羅遏)	Abu Nur (?)	Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa. Led 100 members of clan to Hai-nan
988	Pu Ya-tuo-li (蒲押陀黎)	Abu Abd Allah	San-fo-qi	*SHY* FY 7:
990	Pu He-san (蒲訶散)	Abu Hasan	Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa
992	Pu Ya-li	Abu Ali	Java	*SHY* FY 4: She-

	(蒲亞里)			po
993	Pu Xi-mi (蒲希密)	Abu Hamid	The Arab lands	*Song Shi:* Da-shi (Master of ship) 舶主
995	Pu Ya-tuo-li (蒲押陁黎)	Abu Abd Allah	The Arab lands	*SHY* FY 7 (Master of ship) 舶主 See Kuwabara I p. 78
998	Pu Ya-ti-li (蒲押提黎)	Abu Abd Allah	The Arab lands	*SHY* FY 4:
1004	Pu Jia-xin 蒲加心	Abu Kassim	The Arab lands	*SHY* FY 7
1008	Pu Ma-wu Tuo-po-li (蒲麻勿陁婆離)	Abu Mahmud Tabriz	The Arab lands	*Xu Zi-zhi-tong-jian chang-bian* juan 69.9a (Master of ship) 舶主
1008	Pu Po-lan (蒲婆藍)	Abu Burhan	San-fo-qi	*SHY* FY 7 San-fo-qi
1011	Pu Ma-wu Tuo-po-li (蒲麻勿陁婆離)	Abu Mahmud Tabriz	The Arab lands	*SHY* FY 7
1015	Pu Jia-xin 蒲加心	Abu Kassim or Abu Hasan	Zhu-lian (Chola)	*SHY* FY 7
1017	Pu Mou-xi (蒲謀西)		San-fo-qi	*SHY* FY 7
1019	Pu Ma-wu Tuo-po-li (蒲麻勿陁婆離) Pu Jia-xin (蒲加心)	Abu Mahmud Tabriz Abu Kassim or Abu Hasan	The Arab lands	*SHY* FY 4 And FY 7
1028	Pu Ya-tuo-luo-xie (蒲押陀羅歇)	Abu Abd Allah	San-fo-qi	*SHY* FY 7
1033	Pu Ya-tuo-li (蒲押陁離)	Abu Abd Allah	Zhu-lian (Chola)	*SHY* FY 7
1053	Pu Si-ma-ying (蒲思馬應)	Abu Ismail (?)	Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa
1055	Pu Sha-yi	Abu Sayeed	The Arab lands	*SHY* FY 7

	(蒲沙乙)			
1060	Pu Sha-yi (蒲沙乙)	Abu Sayeed	The Arab lands	*SHY* FY 7
1068	Pu Ma-wu (蒲麻勿)	Abu Mahmud	Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa
1073	Pu Ma-wu (蒲麻勿)	Abu Mahmud	The Arab lands	*SHY* FY 7:
1086	Pu Ma-wu (蒲麻勿)	Abu Mahmud	Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa
1087	Pu Xia-xin (蒲霞辛)	Abu H+usayn	Champa	*Luan-cheng-ji* (欒城集) 28.6a
1137	Pu Ya-li (蒲亞里)	Abu Ali	Unknown	*SHY* See Kuwabara I p. 56

SHY = Song Hui-yao

Appendix 3 -- Other Envoys with Islamic Names from Maritime Polities to China 10th-11th century

Date (C.E.)	Name	Proposed Reconstruction	Affiliation or sent by	Source and Remarks
977	Ge-xin (哥心)	Kassim	Bo-ni (Brunei)	*SHY* FY 7
977	Mo-he-mo (摩訶末)	Mohammad	The Arab lands	*SHY* FY 7:
997	Ya-tuo-luo-pan-si (押陀羅潘思)	Abd Allah Parsi (?)	Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa
988/89	Hu Xuan (忽宣)	Husayn	Champa	*SHY* FY 4: Champa. Led 300 members of clan to Guang-zhou
1008	Ma-he-wu (麻訶勿)	Mohammad	San-fo-qi	*SHY* FY 7
1011	Ya-li Bai-di (亞里白地)	Ali Badi	San-ma-lan-guo (possibly Zamboanga)	*SHY* FY 4 Possibly same person as the Li Mei-di mentioned in Appendix 1

1017	Ma-si-li 麻思利	Masri	Arab merchant	under date 1008 S*HY* Shi-bo-si section
1088	Hu-xian	Husayn	San-fo-qi	*Wen-xian tong-kao* juan 332

SHY = Song Hui-yao