

Two Descriptions of Brunei in the Ming Period

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Chinese sources have played important role in the studies of the ancient history of Brunei. Since the period of the Southern Dynasties (420-589 A.D.) different transcription forms of a place name, namely Po Li 婆利, Bo Ni 淳泥, Fu Ni 佛尼, Po Lo J. 'f, Wen Lai 文莱 etc. and the descriptions of them had appeared repeatedly in the official and private Chinese historical documents. Of course the exact geographical positions of them were not always the same.¹ But most of the scholars agreed that all of them were in the northwestern part of Borneo Island and around Brunei Darussalam of the present day. Prof. Wolfgang Franke and Ch'en T'ieh-fan were suspicious that the different Chinese forms which we mentioned above could designate either Santubong 山都望 near Kuching 古晋 the capital of Sarawak 沙劳越 of Malaysia of the present day or Brunei.²

According the study of a Chinese Scholar the earliest description of Brunei in classic Chinese literature was in the Liang Shu 梁书 (History of the Liang Dynasty).³ Liang was one of the five southern Dynasties. It was started from 503-557 A.D. At that time many monks traveled from South China to India through maritime road and Brunei was one of the places where they usually landed. So from the point of view of written sources, we can say the relations between China and Brunei can be traced to the 6th century. The studies on Sino-Brunei relationship has been developed rather quickly since 1960s. The most important works which should be mentioned here are the works of Liu Zizheng 刘子政 namely Po Lo Zhou Shi Huan 婆罗洲史话 (A General History of Borneo Island)⁴ and the article of Lin Jiajing 林家驹

¹ Zhou Nanjing 周南京: Hui Gu Zhong Guo YuMa Lai Xi Ya Wen Lai Wen Hua Jiao Liu De Li Shi 回顾中国与马来西亚、文莱文化交流的历史 (A Study on the History of Cultural Exchange between China and Malaysia, and Brunei), in Zhong Wai Wen Hua Jiao Liu Shi 中外文化交流史 (History of Cultural Exchange between China and the Rest of the World), edited by Prof. Zhou Yiliang 周一良, published by He Nan Ren Min Chu Ban She 河南人民出版社. (People's Press of He Nan Province), 1987, p.399.

² Wolfgang Franke and Ch'en T'ieh-fan: A Chinese Tomb Inscription of A.D.1264, Discovered Recently in Brunei, in Brunei Museum Journal, 1972. This paper was translated into Chinese by Chen D'sheng namely 文莱发现公元一二六四年中文墓碑 and published in Gan su Min Zu Yan Jiu 甘肃民族研究 (Studies on Minorities in Gansu), 1982, No.4, pp.62-64.

³ See note (1), Zhou Nanjings paper, p. 399.

⁴ It was published in 1964.

Zhong Po Guan Xi Yu Hua Qiao 中婆关系与华侨(Sino-Brunei Relations and the Overseas Chinese)⁵ and a study on the descriptions of Kalimantan in Chinese sources made by Tian Shumao 田书茂.⁶

In this article we would like to discuss the relations between these two countries in the Ming period. The most exciting archaeological finding which has been done till now on this topic is the tomb of the Brunei king in China in 1958⁷. Six years ago Chinese scholar Shi Yuan 史原 gave a study on this tomb and also on the text of the tomb inscription.⁸ Meanwhile Ji Shijia 季士家 had different idea in the same study, he gave a paper and discussed with Shi Yuan.⁹

The descriptions of Brunei in Fei Xings 费信 Xing Cuo Sheng Lan 星槎胜览, (Travel with the Oars and Guided by the Stars) and of the Ming Shi 明史 (History of the Ming Dynasty) are well known by the scholars. So what we need to discuss here are the descriptions containing in the book of Huang Xingzeng 黄省曾 namely Xi Yang Chao Gong Dian Lu 西洋朝贡典录(Tributes from the Western Countries)¹⁰ and in the book of Zhang Xie 张燮 namely Dong Xi Yang Kao 东西洋考(Studies on the Eastern and Western Oceans).¹¹ Huang Xingzeng's book was written in around 1520 A.D. It was edited by Xie Fang 谢方 and published by Zhong Hua Shu Ju 中华书局 (China Press) in 1982. The main difference between Huang Xingzeng's book and the other Chinese navigation books of the early Ming

⁵ In Dong Nan Ya Li Shi Xue Kan 东南亚历史学刊(Studies on the History of Southeast Asia), published by Zhong Shan University, 1983, No.1.

⁶ Wo Guo Zai Ji Zhong De Jia Li Man Dan 我国载籍中的加里曼丹(Kalimantan in Chinese Historical Sources), in Shan Xi Da Xue Xue Bao 山西大学学报(Academic Journal of Shan Xi University), 1980, No.1.

⁷ See Ren Min Ri Bao 人民日报(People's Daily), 30 June, 1958.

This important finding was introduced to the scholars of Southeast Asia by Chen Yusong 陈育松 in his article Ming Bo Ni Guo Wang Mu De Fa Xian 明渤泥国王墓的发现 (The Finding of the Tomb of The Brunei's King in the Ming Period) , in Xin Jia Po Nan Yang Xue Bao 新加坡南洋学报. (Southeast Asian Studies of Singapore), vol. 16, 1960, No.1 and 2.

Also see Wang Yins 王引 introduction Bo Ni Guo Wang Mu 渤泥国王墓. (The Tomb of the King of Brunei), in Wen Bo Tong Xun 文博通讯, (Information about Relics and Museums) , 1982, No.5.

Robert Nicholl wrote an article according to the photos of the tomb: The Tomb of Maharaja Karna of Brunei at Nanjing, in Brunei Museum Journal, 1984.

⁸ Bo Ni Guo Wang Mu He Mu Bei Bei Wen Lue Kao 渤泥国王和墓碑碑文考略(The Tomb of the King of Brunei and a Study on the Text of His Tomb Inscription), in Fu Jian Lun Tan 福建论坛 (Social Sciences in Fu Jian), 1984, No.1.

⁹ Guan Yu Bo Ni Guo Wang Mu He Mu Bei Bei Wen Wen Ti 关于渤泥国王墓和墓碑碑文问题是 (On the problems of the Tomb of the Brunei's King and the Text of his Tomb Inscription), also in Fu Jian Lun Tan, 1984, No.5.

¹⁰ Edited by Xie Fang 谢方 and published by Zhong Hua Shu Jiu 中华书局 (China Press), 1982.

¹¹ Edited by Xie Fang and published by Zhong Hua Shu Jiu, 1981.

period is, there is a brief description on the Chinese envoys to Brunei in the Hong Wu 洪武 period (1368-1398 A.D.). Zhang Xie's book was finished in 1617 A.D. It is also edited by Xie Fang and published by Zhong Hua Shu Ju in 1981. His book contains a lot of descriptions of Southeast Asia both before and after the period of Admiral Zheng He's navigation. The descriptions of Brunei in these two books are quietly unknown by the former researchers. In order to explained our idea more clearly in the discussion we shall use some other Chinese materials which were written in the middle-late Ming or the early Qing period which are also not very familiar to most of the scholars out of China.

The description of Brunei in the Xi Yang Fan Guo Zhi is in the 6th paragraph of it namely "Bo Ni Guo" 渤泥国(Brunei Kingdom).¹² Meanwhile the descriptions of Brunei in the Dong Xi Yang Kao are two paragraphs. The first one of them which our author mistook for Da Ni 大泥 (Patani) and Ji Lan Dan 吉蘭丹 (Kelantan) and our editor Xie Fan in his preface already pointed this mistake, contains a general history of Brunei, descriptions of its geography , local products and the trade.¹³ All together about 2000 Chinese words. And the second of the two descriptions in this book is the paragraph of Wen Lai 文萊 (Brunei) which contains a general description, descriptions of geography, local products and the trade relations with Chinese merchants.¹⁴

Descriptions of the Missions
from the Ming China and Brunei
in the Xi Yang Chao Gong Dian Lu
and the Dong Xi Yang Kao

The author of Xi Yang Fan Guo Zhi said that at the time of the first emperor of the Ming Dynasty two Chinese officers called Shen Xu 沈序 and Zhang Jingzhi 張敬之 visited Brunei and carried an imperial edict.¹⁵ Perhaps the purpose of this mission was in order to

¹² See pp. 44-46.

¹³ See pp. 55-59

¹⁴ See pp. 102-104.

¹⁵ Xi Yang Chao Go Dian Lu, p.46

inform Brunei that the Mongol-Yuan Dynasty had been taken over by the Ming. The author said that when they arrived there the king of Brunei let his throne taken away and ordered all the ministers to prostrate themselves in the court. The King said to the Chinese envoys that the (Ming) emperor was the lord of the whole world and was as his own father. The king presented gold knives and shells (金刀贝布) and cloths, but the Ming envoys refused. We could imagine that the king of Brunei at that time should be Muhammad Shah who later got a title from the Ming government.

According to .the Xi Yang Fan Guo Zhi in the 4th year of the Hong Wu 洪武 period (1371) the king of Brunei Ma Mo Sha 马谟沙 (Muhammad Shah) sent an envoy called Yi si Ma Yu 亦思麻逸 (Isma'l) to the Ming court. He presented credentials and letter which were decorated with gold and silver (金表银笺) and tribute the local products of Brunei.¹⁶ The Dong Xi Yano Kao cited a reference from Xu Wen Xian Tong Kao 续文獻通考 and said in the year of Xin Chou 辛丑 (1421) the King or Brunei sent his ministers to the Ming to tribute.¹⁷ We are suspicious in the date of this record. Perhaps it should be the same mission which we mentioned above and this date namely the year of Xin Chou should be a copy mistake or Xin Hai 辛亥 (1371). On this point we need to check the relative records of them in the Ming Shi Lu 明实录 and in the Xu Wen Xian Tong Kao later. The editor Xie Fang said no word about this date.

According to the Dong Xi Yang Kao in the 3rd year of Yong Le 永乐 period (1405) the Chinese emperor Ming Cheng Zu 明成祖 sent envoys to Brunei to confer the title of king upon the ruler of Brunei Ma Na Re Jia Na Nei 麻那惹加那乃 and to grant him a royal seal and an imperial edict.¹⁸

Our editor Xie Fang thought that the name of this king should be Ma Na Re Jia Na 麻那惹加那 and in his edition he treated the last syllable at his name namely the character “Nei” 乃 as an adverb.¹⁹ In another manuscript of the Xi Yang Chao Gong Dian Lu which used by Xie Fang in his prove-reading the name of the king was written as Ma Jun Re Jia Na 麻那惹加那. The editor already said the second syllable of this name 1 namely the character 11

¹⁶ Huang Xingzeng, p.45.

¹⁷ See p.56.

¹⁸ Huang Xingzeng, p.45.

¹⁹ See p.45, the third line.

Jun11 ~r should be a copy mistake of the character "Na" 那.²⁰ Meanwhile the name of the king in the Dong Xi Yang Kao which was also edited by Xie Fang was Ma Ye Re Jia Na Nei 麻那惹加那乃. We should point out the second syllable of name of this king here namely the shap of the character "Yie" is similar with that of the second character "Na" 那 of the form of the name of the king in the Xi Yang Chao Gong Dian Lu. So the question comes: which one of them is the right form?

We know that this king was Sultan Abd al-Majid Hasan. His name was reconstructed by Greonveldt as Maharaja Karna as it was cited by Robert Nicholl in his article "The Tomb of Maharaja Karna of Brunei at Nanking",²¹ and it was reconstructed as Manajekana by Mohammd Jamil al-Sufri.²² While instead of reconstruction Mrs Carrie Brown used a re-transcription form Ma-na-ja-chia-na²³ according to the Chinese pronunciation. So the problem of the reconstruction of the real name of the king is not yet solved. It needs a further study both from the sides of Sinology and the side of Malayaology.

The author of the Dong Xi Yang Kao said that at the 4th year of Yang Le period (1406) the king of Brunei (apparently should be sultan Abd al-Majid) sent an envoy called Wu Li Ge 勿黎哥, which should be the Chinese transcription form of the name Malik, to visit China and to tribute local products. The emperor of Ming granted the king and his wife (the queen) decorated silk fabric products.²⁴

The story of the Brunei king's visit to China in the Xi Yang Chao Gong Dian Lu and in the Dong Xi Yang Kao is the same as what Robert Nicholl cited from Groenveltdts translation of the 325th chapter of the Ming Shi 明史(History of the Ming Dynasty).²⁵ So we need not to discuss it in this paper.

Descriptions of the History of Brunei of the Middle and the Late Ming Periods

²⁰ See p.44, note (1)

²¹ Brunei Museum Journal, 1984.

²² Latar Belakang Sejarah Brunei, published by Offset Printing House, Brunei, 1990, p.9; and see footnote B.

²³ Two Ming Texts Concerning King Ma-na-ia-chia-na of P'oni, in the Brunei Museum Journal, vol.2 (1974), co. 222-229.

²⁴ See p.102.

²⁵ Historical No-c.es on Indonesia and Malaya from Chinese Sources, Jakarta, 1960, pp. 111 -11 3; See Brunei Museum Journal, 1984, p.35.

According to the author of the Dong Xi Yang Kao, in the period of Wan Li 万历 (1573-1619) the king of Brunei died. He had no son. The members of his family fight each other for the crown. All of them were killed during the fight. So the people put his daughter on the throne.

In Brunei there was a local Chinese whose family name was Zhang 张, who had come from Zhangzhou of Fujian of China. He had been Na Du 那督. Our author explained that Na Du was a title of high ranking official. This title Na Du must be the title Datu or Datuk in Malay language. Our author said continually that this Na Du escaped during the fighting. After the queen was enthroned she sent envoys to call the Na Du back and granted him the title again. The daughter of the Na Du could enter the palace freely but she had mental disease. One day she told the queen that her father would rebel. The queen was very in fear and anxiety. She sent troops to surround the house of the Na Du. The Na Du committed suicide. After that the people of Brunei said that there was no evidence to show that the Na Du would rebel. The queen was regretful. She let the daughter of the Na Du be hanged and let the son of the Na Du to be an official.

In another place the author of the Dong Xi Yang Kao said that it was heard that at that time the king of Brunei was a native of Fujian of China. The ancestor of him had accompanied Admiral Zheng He during his navigation and had remained there to be a governor so that there were Chinese inscriptions near the palace. Many years ago they had been drove by the Portuguese and the Spainians. Here it means the Spanians. The people of that country had escaped to the mountain valley. They had put poison in the stream. Many Spanians had gone to Luzon. According to our opinion the legend of the king originated from Fujian of China here is unreliable, but the story about the Spanians been poisoned should be produced under some real background that the people of Brunei had resisted the invasion of the Spanians.

The author said continually that the king had short hair and wrapped with a towel decorated with gold. He wearied two swords. If he wanted out he went by foot and followed by more than 200 followers. The relatives of the king called Bang Qi Lan 邦奇兰. Our editor Xie Fang has no explanation of this term. According to our study this title should be a Chinese transcription of the Malay word “Pangeran” which means “prince” or “lord”. The author said that the ranking of the Bang Qi Lan was as high as the king himself. The king had

a gold seal the weight of which was 16 Liang 两 (Liang is a traditional Chinese unit for weight, 16 Liang is about half Kilo). The shape of the old inscription on it was like an animal. It was said that this seal was granted by the Chinese Yong Le emperor. The local people asked the king to affix his seal on their back when they got married. But the author thought that perhaps this seal was not casted in China, and the king fabricated the story of the seal in order to let the people respect him. According to our discussion of the missions from the both sides in the early Ming period, this seal might be the one which the emperor Yong Le gave to the Brunei king through the Chinese envoys. If our connection is true, the history of the royal seal told by the author should a real story although he himself was suspicious on it.

Historical Geography

The place names mentioned in the Dong Xi Yang Kao are followings:

1. Hill of Chang Ning Zhen Guo 长宁镇国. This is a Chinese Name which means “Ever Peace and Stabilizing the Country” The author of Xi Yang Chao Gong Dian Lu told the history of the name:

In the 6th year of the Yang Le period (1408) the king Ma Na Re Jia Na said to the Chinese emperor: "The territory of my kingdom all belongs to your majesty. Behind my capital there is a hill. I would like to ask your majesty to confer a name upon it." After the king died his son asked the emperor again. So the emperor Yang Le wrote a text by himself and sent two envoys accompanying the young prince bringing this text back to Brunei. This story is repeated by the author of the Dong Xi Yang Kao. The text for giving the name to this hill is still kept in the 325th chapter of the Ming- Shi.

2. Sheng Shan 圣山 (Holy Mountain). The author of the Dong Xi Yang Kao said that the mountain was known by the local people of Brunei as the first mountain of the world. This name also appears in a paragraph of the description of the navigation course from Luzon to Brunei in the Zhi Nan Zheng Fa 指南正法 (which means the right way of using compass) where the author said that the. Mountain Sheng Shan was as high as the sky. And against the foot of the Sheng Shan there was two islands which was called Wu Yu 五屿 (means Five Islands?). Meanwhile in the Shun Feng Xiang Song 顺风相送 (which means sent by the Mosoon), there are the

to and fro navigation courses between Siam and the south of Kalimantan, and the navigation course from Luzon to Brunei, and the navigation course from Quanzhou of China to Brunei in which the name of Sheng Shan was repeatedly mentioned.²⁶

3. Chang Yao Yu 长腰屿 (Island of Lang Waist) There is no explanation about this name in the text of the Dong Xi Yang kao. We can find this name not only in the navigation course from Luzon to Brunei of the Zhi Nan Zhen Fa but also in many other navigation courses of this book and of the Shun Feng Xiang Song. The editor Xie Fang thinks that it should be situated in the Strait of Singapore.²⁷ But according to our opinion there should be two different Chang Yao Yu (Island of Lang Waist). The first was the one which was situated in the Strait of Singapore as Xie Fang suggested. It appears in the Shun Feng Xiang Song p. 37, 38; 46; 55, 56; 62, 63; 64, 65 and in the Zhi Nan Zheng Fa p. 173,174; 183; 186,187; 192,193; 194, 195. Meanwhile another Chang Yao Yu (Island of Long Waist) was in Brunei which appears in the Shun Feng Xiang Song, that is in the navigation course between Siam and the south of Kalimantan (p.83,84); in the navigation course from Tioman of Pahang to Brunei which is said that north to the port of Brunei was Chang Yao Yu (Island of Long Waist) (p.85); in the navigation course between Luzon and Brunei which shows that the distance between Chang Yao Yu (Island of Long Waist) and Brunei is shorter than that between Sheng Shan (Holy Mountain) and Brunei (p.89,90); and also in the Zhi Nan Zheng Fa, that is in the navigation course between Luzon and Brunei (p.165).
4. Mao Wen La 毛文蜡. There is no explanation in the Dong Xi Yang Kao. But we can find it in the Shun Feng Xiang Song, that is in the navigation course from Tioman of Pahang to Brunei, but the name became Mao Hua La, which is described that when ships arrived in Brunei they should anchor in the port of Mao Hua La 毛花蜡 p.85; and in the navigation course from Quanzhou of China to Brunei, where the author said that Mao Hua La was another name of Brunei; and in the Zhi Nan Zheng Fa, that is in the course between Luzon and Brunei, where the author also said that Mao Hua La was Brunei (p. 165). So we suggest considering the possibility that Mao Wen La or Mao Hua La should be in the Ming

²⁶ Liang Zhong Hai Dao Zhen Jing 两种海道针经 (Two Navigation Books), edited by prof. Xiang Da, published by Zhong Hua Jiu, 1982; see p. 83, 84, 90, 92, and 164.

²⁷ See Liang Zhong Hai Dao Zhen Jing, index p.237.

and the early Qing period which were used by the private merchants and navigations from generation to generation.

5. Li Yu Tang 鯉魚塘 (Pond of Carp). There is no further information about this place in the Dong Xi Yang Kao. Fortunately we can find it in the Shun Feng Xiang Song, that is in the navigation course between Luzon and Brunei, where it was call Li Yu Yu 鯉魚屿 (Island of Carp), which is the first island when ship departed from the port of Brunei and the next island along the course was Chang Yao Yu (Island of Long Waist) (p.90,91) and also in the Zhi Nan Zheng Fa, that is in the navigation course from Luzon to Brunei, where this island is also called Li Yu Yu as that in the Dong Xi Yang Kao.
6. Fu Na Zhao Mao 浮納招廟 (Fu Na Zhao Temple). The author of the Dong Xi Yang Kao explained that the three gods of this temple had been officers of engineers, finance and storehouses. They were buried here after they had been killed in a war. Because the temple got its income from the land where it situated, so merchants must slaughter ox and cook chicken and offer jasmine flowers, red flower and other things such as comb to sacrifice after their ships arrived. If someone in the ship who did not make worship to this temple he would be ill. When merchants of Brunei wanted to trade with the other people they would also offer flowers to make worship to the temple. After they got profit from the trade they brought two cocks with knives on their feet and let them fight each other in front of the tomb. After the cocks were killed they used them to sacrifice the gods.²⁸ Are there any other sources which mentioned this temple? Where is it? Any way this temple needs to be identified. (...)

Description of the Trade in Brunei

Described by the Dong Xi Yang Kao

We already mentioned that the descriptions of Brunei in the Dong Xi Yang Kao are in two places. The author said in the first place that there were a lot of Chinese in Brunei. When the Chinese ships arrived the Chinese should tribute money as the merchants from other countries. At the beginning they (means local people of Brunei) had invited Chinese merchants for dinner and after they invited less and less and finally they stopped this kind of

²⁸ Dong Xi Yang Kao, p. 103.

invitation. If the Chinese sold their goods to the people the king of Brunei dare not to gather tax from them. But if the Chinese merchants sold their goods to Hong Mao 纒 (Dutch), every 100 Jin (a traditional Chinese unit of weight, about half Kilo) of raw silk which was produced in the valley of Tai Hu 太湖, the Chinese merchants should pay tax as much as 3 pieces of silver coins and the Dutch should pay tax as much as 5 Jin of silk. The tax of other kind of goods gathered from the Chinese merchants is the same. If the Chinese merchants bought products of Brunei they should also pay tax.²⁹

In another place the author said that the process of trade there was like that: after Chinese ships arrived the merchant first tribute Chinese local products to the king. The officers Da Ku 大庫 (Grand Official of Storehouses), Er Ku 二庫 (the Second Official of Storehouses), Da Pan 大判 (Grand Judge), Er Pan 二判 (the Second Judge) and Chen Guan 秤官 (Official in Charge of Weight) of Brunei were responsible for trade. It was difficult for the merchants' ships to get out of the port. It was usually better for them to go together. Sometimes before the business was finished they should sail the ships out of the port beforehand.³⁰ It is not clear here what kind of difficulties the Chinese merchants had during that time when they wanted to sail their ships out of the Brunei port.

Some Words about the "Abu" family in Brunei

The Dong Xi Yan Kao said that in the 2nd year of Tai Ping Xing Guo 太平兴国 period (977 A.D.) the king of Brunei Xiang Da 向打 sent envoys to the Song China. A merchant called Pu Lu Xie 蒲庐歇 was the guide of this mission.³¹ This description must be a copy from the descriptions of the Tai Ping Huan Yu Ji 太平环宇记, the Zhu Fan Zhi 诸蕃志 and the Song Shi 宋史, which mentioned in the same year the king of Brunei Xiang Da sent envoys called Shi Nu 施努 (Sina?), Pu Ya Li 蒲亚里 (Abu 'Ali?) and Ge Sin 哥心 (should be pronounced Ge Sim, perhaps it is a Chinese transcription form of Qasim) together with a merchant called Pu Lu Xie 蒲庐歇 ('AbdAllah) to visit China. Friedrich Hirth considered that

²⁹ See p.59.

³⁰ See p. 104.

³¹ See P.104.

the first name of Pu Ya Li and Pu Lu Xie should be Arabic “Abu”, which means “father”.³² In 1974 when Wolfgang Franke visited Brunei he found a Chinese inscription in memory of a Chinese official of Quanzhou of Fujian of China, whose family name was also "Pu" (Abu). The inscription was established in 1264 A.D. by his son.³³ We know that in the late years of the Southern Song period (1127-1276) a Muslim merchant called Pu Shou Geng 蒲寿庚 had a strong power in Quanzhou. Perhaps this official was a member of his family. If it is true the spreading of Islam in Brunei can be traced to the 10th century and we can imagine that the earliest Muslims in Brunei must have close relationship with the Muslims in Quanzhou of China.³⁴

³² Die Insel Hainan nach Chao Ju-Kua, in Bastian-Festschrift, (off-print), Berlin 1896, p.5, note 1; see the paper of Wolfgang Franke and Ch'en T'ieh-fan, p.93 and p.96, note (26); Zhu Fan Zhi, written by Zhao Rukua in 1225 A.D., edited by Feng Chengjun, published by Zhong Huang Shu Ju, see p.76-78, and note (9).

³³ See note (2).

³⁴ About the activity of the Muslims in Quanzhou Chinese scholar Song Xian 宗山 峴 gave a very good study titled Gu Dai Quanzhou Yu Da Shi Shang Ren 古代泉州与 大食商人 (Ancient Quanzhou and the Arabic Merchants), in Hai Jia Shi Yan Jiu 海外史研究 (Studies on Maritime Road) , No.1 of 1988, pp.215-225; the author had different ideas in reconstruction of the personal names which we mentioned above, for example he thought that “Pu” should be Ibn of Arabic.