“Indianization” and the Establishment of Monsoon Voyaging in Maritime Southeast Asia: An Examination of Faxian’s Three Homeward Voyages

FUKAMI Sumio

I Introduction

In a previous paper (Fukami 2009), the present author showed that until the first half of the third century of the Christian Era (CE) there were few contacts between the Kingdom of Funan (扶南), located in what is now southern Vietnam, and India (referred to in Chinese as “Tianzhu” 天竺). Consequently, he argued, Funan’s first-century emergence as an independent state should be seen as the result not of Indian influence but of changing circumstances within the Southeast Asian region itself. To support his thesis, the author argued that, as late as the mid-third century CE, monsoon voyaging in maritime Southeast Asia had yet to become established.

*Faculty of International Studies and Liberal Arts, St. Andrew’s University

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Following upon this argument, the present paper will seek to establish a more precise timeline for the beginning of monsoon voyaging in maritime Southeast Asia, using as a guide the travels of the fifth-century Chinese Buddhist monk Faxian. In 412, Faxian returned to China via Southeast Asia following his trip to the “Western Regions” in search of Buddhist scriptures. This paper will suggest that Faxian’s account of his journey clearly indicates the role of the monsoon in aiding his return home, and that, consequently, not only was maritime voyaging using the monsoon well-established in Southeast Asia by Faxian’s time, but that it may be traced back to as early as the first half of the fourth century.

In another paper (Fukami 2001), the present author has set out a broad history of the maritime Southeast Asian region centring on the Malacca Strait up to the ninth century. Readers familiar with Japanese and wishing to consider the present argument in a wider context are invited to consult that paper.

II The Three Voyages of Faxian

Between the fourth and eighth centuries CE, a number of Buddhist monks left China for India in search of scriptures, and several of them left records of their travels. Among them, the most notable was Faxian, who left the city of Chang’an in 399 to take the overland route to India, and travelled widely in Central and South Asia before finally returning to China in 412. Faxian’s account of his journey, translated into English as *The Travels of Faxian or Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms* (See Faxian 1971. The account is also known as *Faxian zhuan* (法顯伝; Biography of Faxian) and as *Liyou Tianzhu Jizhuan* (歷遊天竺記伝; Record of Travels in India), is the oldest known travelogue of the Indian subcontinent. It has also come to be considered a precious source
of information on early Indian Buddhist culture. In this paper the author will suggest that Faxian's travelogue is significant from another angle: as the earliest existing historical record of monsoon voyaging in Southeast Asia. In support of this argument, we will first examine more closely the three ocean voyages that Faxian made in order to return to his home in China.

(1) From Tāmralipti to Sri Lanka

In 407, Faxian arrived in Tāmralipti (present-day Tamluk; transcribed in Chinese as Duomolidi 多摩利帝) at the mouth of the River Ganges, where he stayed for two years until 409, when he took ship for Sri Lanka (Shiziguo 師子国). The following is Faxian’s account of his voyage.

From here [Tāmralipti] I boarded a large merchant ship that set to sea in a southwesterly direction. Blessed with the reliable wind of early winter, we were able to reach Sri Lanka in only fourteen days and nights. According to the people of that country, from Tāmralipti to Sri Lanka is a journey of 700 “youyan (由延)”.

This passage is revealing for a number of reasons. First, though the distance from Tāmralipti to Sri Lanka is some 2000 kilometres as the crow flies, Faxian records that the journey took just two weeks, thanks to what he calls the “reliable wind of early winter”. There is no doubt that he is referring here to the northeast monsoon, which begins to blow in the tenth month of the lunar calendar. From his use of the words “fourteen days and nights”, we may also assume that his ship continued on its way overnight instead of anchoring at safe harbours en route. One last point may be noted: a voyage lasting fourteen days would mean at least some moonless nights en route, but the ship
was evidently able to continue its journey without the benefit of moonlight. We may thus safely conclude that, at the time of Faxian’s journey, ocean sailing using the monsoon had already become established along the eastern coast of the Indian subcontinent and the western Bay of Bengal.

“Youyan” is the Chinese transcription of the Sanskrit word *yojana*, a unit of distance employed in ancient India. Though the length of the unit varied according to locality and period, in principle it referred to the distance that could be covered by an ox cart in one day. (Iwamoto Yutaka 1988: 715) Faxian’s words express his astonishment that a journey of 700 *yojana*, which overland would have required a journey of some two years, could be covered by ship in the short space of fourteen days.

(2) From Sri Lanka to Yepoti

In 411, after some two years’ sojourn in Sri Lanka, Faxian embarked on his second voyage.

Then I boarded a large merchant ship that was capable of carrying more than 200 people. Since the dangers of ocean voyaging are many, a smaller ship was tethered to its stern for use should the merchant ship suffer damage. [At first] we were blessed with a good wind, but after three days’ sailing in an easterly direction we encountered a storm. When our ship began to leak water, the merchants on board sought to transfer to the smaller ship, but the passengers already on that ship, fearing what would happen if so many people sought to board, promptly cut the hawser that linked the two ships, causing the merchants to fear for their lives...

After thirteen days at the mercy of this storm, we finally arrived on the shores of an island. As soon as the tide had ebbed, we inspected the
places where our ship was taking on water and, after repairing the leaks, immediately resumed our journey. In this part of the ocean, pirates are numerous, and should we have met with any of them none of us would have escaped unharmed...

Following some ninety days spent in this fashion, we arrived at the country called Yepoti. In this country, heretics and Brahmans flourish, but interest in the Law of Buddha is negligible. Despite having set sail with a brisk following wind, we are told, Faxian’s ship was buffeted by a storm for thirteen days. They were able to make landing at an island en route, where they repaired the ship’s leaks before fearfully setting off once more into an ocean plagued by pirates. After some ninety days they arrived at a country named Yepoti.

We may guess that the island where they patched up the ship’s leaks was one of the present-day Nicobar Islands, but of this we cannot be sure. As for the timeline of “ninety days”, the original Chinese text could also be read as “some nine or ten days” (九十許日), but here we will follow the standard interpretation of this passage (See Faxian 1971: 150) that the voyage required some ninety days’ sailing. The vagaries of Faxian’s voyage give the impression that monsoon voyaging was still far from being established at this time, but we will indicate later that such an impression would not be correct. As to the country that Faxian called “Yepoti”, let us first take a look at his third and
final voyage before turning to examine that country in more detail.

(3) From Yepoti to Guangzhou

Later in the year 412, after spending five months in Yepoti, Faxian took ship once more.

Five months after arriving in that country, I embarked on another large merchant ship. All in all there were some two hundred passengers, and we had provisions sufficient to last us for fifty days. The ship set sail on the 16th of the 4th month, with Faxian meditating on board. We sailed in a northeasterly direction, heading for the port of Guangzhou (広州). A little more than a month after we set sail, just as the night watch sounded the hour of two, we suddenly encountered a vicious wind accompanied by driving rain, and both merchants and passengers began to fear dreadfully for their lives...

After seventy days at sea, our provisions and our drinking water were almost gone. We resolved to take in sea water for cooking and to keep our remaining fresh water for drinking, but even so there was only enough for each person to have two sho [0.477 U.S. gallon], and very soon our water too was almost gone. The merchants began to discuss our situation, noting that “Usually we are able to reach Guangzhou in just fifty days. Much longer than fifty days has gone by, but we have not yet reached Guangzhou. Our ship must have been blown in a quite different direction.”
“Indianization” and the Establishment of Monsoon Voyaging ......

議言，常行時正可五十日便到廣州，爾今已過其多日，將無僻耶。)

Twelve days after this entry, the ship finally made landfall at Laoshan (牢山) on what is now the Shandong peninsula of east China, far north of their planned destination of Guangzhou. It had not been an easy voyage for Faxian. When the ship was being buffeted by the “vicious wind accompanied by driving rain”, for example, the Hindu Brahmans on board had begun to claim that the storm had been sent as a punishment for the ship’s having allowed a Buddhist priest to board, and Faxian had come close to being set off at one of the small islands along the ship’s route.

At the same time, the story of Faxian’s trials also provides vital clues that monsoon voyaging had become established practice in maritime Southeast Asia. For one thing, the ship’s departure date, the sixteenth of the fourth lunar month, suggests that the ship’s master had been waiting for the summer monsoon to begin blowing as it regularly did at that time of year. Even more important is the merchants’ assertion that “Usually we are able to reach Guangzhou in just fifty days.” It was on this assumption that the ship had been outfitted with only fifty days’ worth of provisions. The account makes clear that the journey between Yepoti and Guangzhou was seen as a fairly straightforward one involving fifty days at sea, and that the merchants on board the ship undertook the journey regularly.

(4) The Timing of Faxian’s Departure from Sri Lanka

Faxian’s entries concerning his first and third voyages, from Tamralipti and from Yepoti, indicate that the departures were timed to match the blowing of the winter and summer monsoons, respectively. In the case of his second voyage we are not told the date of his departure, but an estimate may be made on
the basis of the time that elapsed between his leaving Sri Lanka and his subsequent departure from Yepoti. After three days’ clear sailing, the ship was tossed about by a storm for thirteen days, stopped for perhaps one more day to make repairs, sailed for a further ninety days to Yepoti, and left that country five months later on the sixteenth day of the fourth lunar month. Adding up these figures, we can surmise that Faxian’s ship must have left Sri Lanka sometime around the end of the eighth lunar month.

The Japanese scholar Yajima Hikoichi, reconstructing the sailing season in the Indian Ocean on the basis of later Arabic materials, has established that east-west voyaging across the Bay of Bengal was common, making use of both the monsoon itself and the “monsoon currents” whipped up by the strong winds. While the winds were not as constant there as they were in the South China Sea, it is evident that the end of the eighth month of the lunar calendar coincided with the conclusion of the two-month “off” season for ocean voyaging, when sailing ships became able once again to make the easterly trip across the Bay of Bengal. By the tenth month, given favourable winds, a ship which departed at that time could be sailing through the Malacca Strait. (Yajima 1993: 15-19)

It is therefore likely that the “vicious wind” that assaulted Faxian’s ship and blew it off course for thirteen days was not a cyclone but a particularly strong off-season monsoon. In passing we may also confirm, on the basis of the above calculations, that Faxian’s journal entry did indeed mean “ninety days”, not “nine or ten days”, and that the standard interpretation of this entry is therefore correct.
“Indianization” and the Establishment of Monsoon Voyaging

III Yepoti and the Beginnings of “Indianization”

As the preceding argument has shown, Faxian’s three homeward voyages provide indisputable evidence that monsoon voyaging—long-distance ocean travel using both the monsoon wind and the monsoon current—had already become established in both the Bay of Bengal and the South China Sea. By the time of Faxian’s journey, the beginning of the fifth century CE, large merchant vessels capable of carrying more than two hundred passengers along with their wares were already plying both of those seas. We may assume that similar voyages to Faxian’s were being repeated annually, and that large numbers of merchants made the trip with regularity. Another indication that this was an important commercial and trading route is Faxian’s comment that the area of ocean they passed through after repairing the ship’s leaks was plagued by pirates.

Faxian’s journal of his travels is currently the oldest known documentation for the existence of monsoon voyaging in the Bay of Bengal and the South China Sea. The practice clearly began sometime between the second half of the third century and the early fifth century, but in the following section we will go further, and suggest that regular monsoon voyaging began no later than the middle of the fourth century CE.

1. Yepoti

Identification of the country referred to by Faxian as “Yepoti”, the starting point for his third voyage, is difficult since the name is not mentioned in any other text. Some scholars have drawn attention to the name’s similarity with the Sanskrit word Javadvipa (or its derivative Yavadvipa). Since dvipa is the
Sanskrit word for “island”, and the Sanskrit name refers to the island of Java, they suggest that Yepoti must have been located somewhere on Java. Unfortunately for this thesis, it was made clear in the very early days of research on this topic that the words “Javadvipa” and “Yavadvipa” do not necessarily refer to the island currently known as Java. (Krom 1931: 81–83) Furthermore, there is a strong likelihood that the word used to transliterate “Java” in Chinese texts, Shepo (闍婆), was used until at least the Tang Dynasty (618–907) to refer not only to the island of Java itself but to the entire Malacca Strait region. (Zhao Rukuo 1991: 90–91) Even if the original name of the country known as Yepoti was related to the name “Java”, that is, its location could have been anywhere in the vast region between the Malay Peninsula and the island of Java.

The small island where Faxian’s ship stopped to repair the storm damage suffered on his second voyage can be tentatively identified as being one of the present-day Nicobar Islands in the Indian Ocean. From there the ship embarked on a voyage of ninety days in order to reach Yepoti. Wherever Yepoti may have been, it is clear from Faxian’s account that the ship did not drift there by chance. Though there must surely have been many other ports that they could have put into on the way, they made no other stops until they reached Yepoti. From this we may surmise that Yepoti, being the departure point for ships travelling on to Guangzhou, was one of insular Southeast Asia’s most important ports for ships plying the trade routes between India and China, perhaps even the most important.

Concerning Yepoti’s internal situation, Faxian notes merely, as we have seen, that “In this country, heretics and Brahmans flourish, but interest in the Law of Buddha is negligible.” Whether “unorthodoxy” (外道) and
“Brahmanism” are two separate things, or whether Faxian is referring to Brahmanism as “unorthodoxy” is not clear from the passage, but whichever the case may be, there is no question that Hinduism was widely followed there. Since there were a number of Brahmans on Faxian’s Guangzhou-bound ship, we may also assume that China was a regular destination for them. Despite Faxian’s lament that in Yepoti “interest in the Law of Buddha is negligible”, for us the more important point is his revelation of the prevalence of Hinduism there, in other words the fact that Indian religions, representative of the high culture of India, had taken root in one of the most important maritime states of Southeast Asia.

We may therefore set out the following hypothesis: the establishment of monsoon voyaging in maritime Southeast Asia opened up an era in which sailing ships could undertake long-distance sea voyages with a degree of speed, safety and reliability hitherto unimaginable, leading to an explosion of local trade. This in turn led to the emergence of port-city states throughout maritime Southeast Asia, of which one of the most important (if not the most important) was Yepoti. We may further hypothesize that the existence of such a transportation infrastructure also made it possible for large numbers of Brahmans, representatives of the Hindu religion and carriers of the high culture of India, to travel to Southeast Asia, and for port-city states like Yepoti to absorb the cultural influences that they brought with them—the process that has come to be known as “Indianization”.

For evidence in Chinese materials of Southeast Asian port-city kingdoms other than Yepoti, we have to await the establishment in 420 of the Liu Song dynasty (劉宋朝, 420-479; also sometimes referred to as the Former Song dynasty 前宋朝), the first of the so-called Southern Dynasties (南朝), after
which date we find mention of tribute-bearing missions to that court. (Fukami 2001: 277–278) The foregoing discussion shows clearly that it was not the increase in tribute-bearing missions to the courts of southern China that gave a spurt to monsoon voyaging and led to the establishment of port-city kingdoms in maritime Southeast Asia (and consequent Indianization), but rather the opposite: tribute missions to China became practicable precisely because of the already-established transportation network described above.

2. Funan, Linyi, and the Beginnings of “Indianization”

Let us reexamine the process by which the earliest port-city kingdoms, Funan (扶南) and Linyi (林邑), underwent Indianization.

In the case of Funan, which is believed to have emerged as a state in or about the first century CE, the first clear evidence of Indian influences comes in the following statement: “In the first year of the Shengping (升平) period (357), King Zhu Zhantan (竺梅檀) sent greetings to the emperor and presented tribute of a trained elephant.” (升平元年王竺梅檀奉表献駝象) (Liang-shu 梁書, Biography of Funan 扶南国伝) The “Zhu” of this king’s name refers of course to the term used by China at that time to denote India, Tianzhu⁴, while “Zhantan” is presumably the Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit word “candana” meaning sandalwood.

It is also clear that Funan’s absorption of Indian influences was no temporary phenomenon, for the king that followed Zhu Zhantan, Qiao Chenru (僑陳如), and that king’s own successor continued the process. Concerning King Qiao Chenru, the Liang-shu’s Biography of Funan has the following to say:

[King Zhu Zhantan’s] successor King Qiao Chenru was a Brahman who had arrived in Funan from India. This king, willingly heeding a command
“Indianization” and the Establishment of Monsoon Voyaging……

from God that he should proceed to Funan, had travelled south until he reached Pan Pan (槃槃). The people of Funan, on hearing this news, were overjoyed and, after giving Qiao Chenru a warm welcome, chose him as their king. After becoming king, Qiao Chenru overhauled Funan’s state system and introduced the laws of India. (其後王僑陳如，本天竺婆羅門也。有神語曰，忩王扶南，僑陳如心悦，南至槃槃。扶南人聞之，舉國欣戴，迎而立焉。復改制度，用天竺法。)

It is clear from this account that, by the middle of the fourth century, Funan had already begun to systematically absorb the high culture of India. We can also surmise that transportation links and the transmission of information between India, Pan Pan (located in the middle of what is now the Malay Peninsula), and Funan were proceeding smoothly by this time. Finally, the statement that Qiao Chenru travelled “south” in order to reach Pan Pan is revealing. Given Faxian’s statement that he sailed “eastward” to get from Sri Lanka to Yepoti, it is evident that Qiao Chenru must have come not from South India but from somewhere in the northern part of the subcontinent\(^5\).

As for Linyi, located in the central part of what is now Vietnam, it is clear that by the time of King Fan Huda (范胡達; reigned 380–413) the high culture of India was already being absorbed by that kingdom too. An inscription in Sanskrit found at the ruins of ancient Mison can be reliably dated to this period, and the name of the king mentioned there, Bhadravarman, has been identified with the king whose name is transcribed in Chinese as Fan Huda. (Yamagata 2001: 244–245) We also read in \textit{juan} 36 of the sixth-century \textit{Commentary on the Water Classic} (水經注) that the city walls of Linyi had four gates; by the main gate, which faced to the east, there was an “ancient inscription in a foreign script” extolling the virtues of an earlier king named Fan Huda.
In the Liang-shu’s Biography of Linyi (林邑傳), it is stated that, following the death of Fan Huda, his son Fan Dizhen (范敵真) relinquished his throne and went to India.

Prior to these events, we also read in the Jin-shu’s Biography of Linyi of a tribute-bearing mission to the Jin emperor, said to have arrived during the reign of King Fan Wen (范文; reigned 336–349), that brought a letter of greetings to the emperor written in an Indian script (胡字) (遣使通表入貢於帝，其書皆胡字). In the Jin-shu’s Imperial Chronicles (帝紀), the tribute received from Linyi during the reign of King Fan Wen is recorded as “a trained elephant received from Linyi during the winter, the tenth month” (冬十月林邑獻駄象) of the sixth year of the Xiankang period (咸康六年; 340); presumably this entry is referring to the same events. In other words, Linyi had first been able to emerge as an independent state as a result of its connections with China, and for some time had been content to absorb Chinese cultural influences, but, by the time of the events described above, it was already beginning its realignment toward Indian culture.

From the foregoing we can conclude that, by the middle of the fourth century CE, both Funan and Linyi had begun the process of absorbing the high culture of India. Behind these cultural developments was the establishment of monsoon voyaging, allowing us to imagine how not only merchants but also purveyors of cultural influences such as Brahmans from India could journey freely throughout maritime Southeast Asia, promoting the process of acculturation that we call “Indianization”.

3. The Appearance of Carved Inscriptions

The earliest known carved inscriptions from Southeast Asia consist of just
one or two words inscribed onto a piece of tin or other metal. Dating back to sometime between the first and third centuries CE, they are most likely of Indian origin. Longer inscriptions carved into pieces of stone first began to appear in various parts of Southeast Asia between the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth. Among the oldest of them, apart from the inscription mentioning King Bhadravarman that was introduced above, are the following three: (Karashima 2001: 318-320; Ramesh 2002)

1. The Vocanh inscription (Central Vietnam);
2. The seven King Mūlavarman inscriptions (East Kalimantan);
3. The five King Pūrnavarman inscriptions (Western Java). [The Pūrnavarman inscriptions have been translated into and annotated in Japanese: see Iwamoto Yutaka 1981]

In addition to these, the following five inscriptions have also been found, dating to either the same time or to the fifth-sixth centuries:

4. The three Buddhist inscriptions at the ruins of Lembah Bujang [see Iwamoto Sayuri 1996: 9, 26-28];
5. The Prasat Pram Loven and Trap Da inscriptions at Thapmuoi in the Mekong Delta [see Ishizawa 1982: 62-63];
6. The Nak Ta Damban Dek and Vat Bati inscriptions at Ta Keo, also in the Mekong Delta [see Ibid.];
7. The Vat Lung Kau inscription at Champasak, near Vat Phu [see Ibid: 64];
8. The inscriptions found at Sithep on the River Namsak, a tributary of the Chaophraya. [see Ibid.]

What may be called the “wholesale appearance” of carved inscriptions in various parts of Southeast Asia coincided almost exactly with the timing of Faxian’s return to China in the early years of the fifth century. In such a
context, the “ancient inscription in a foreign script” at Linyi extolling the virtue of King Fan Huda was almost certainly not an isolated phenomenon. On the contrary, it seems clear that, by the turn of the fifth century, the ripples from the absorption of Indian culture that had begun in the middle of the previous century were spreading more and more widely through maritime Southeast Asia.

It can readily be imagined that far more inscriptions must have been made in Southeast Asia than those that are currently known, and it is to be hoped that, as the current economic and social development of the area gathers speed, more and more of them will come to light.

4. The Development of Sri Lanka

The preceding argument suggests strongly that monsoon trading was already securely established in maritime Southeast Asia by the middle of the fourth century CE. What kind of historical background caused the discovery of how the monsoon’s potential could be harnessed for trading, who made the discovery, and under what circumstances, must be left to future research. Needless to say, the role of India will figure largely in that research. In the meantime, it would appear that, at least as late as the third century, the period of trade relations between India and ancient Rome, monsoon voyaging had yet to become established in the Bay of Bengal. Nor is there any mention of trade relations with the Southeast Asian region in the Ancient Tamil Sangam literature that flourished in South India until the third century, though we find references there to the brisk trade between Rome and the South Indian ports. (Karashima 2007: 48–61)

In this context, the role of fourth-century Sri Lanka is significant. According
to the Japanese scholar Shitomi Yûzô, Sri Lanka had already become the Indian Ocean’s most important commercial hub a century before Faxian’s sojourn there. By the fourth century, the South Indian region, especially the island of Sri Lanka, had replaced the ports of northwest India as the hub for long-distance trading in the Indian Ocean. Thanks to this commerce, products flowing from an eastward direction such as silk, aloe, cloves, clove trees, and sandalwood had already become trade items of Sri Lanka. (Shitomi 1999: 152–153)

The first recorded instances of tribute from Sri Lanka to China are presumably the events noted in the Liang-shu’s Biography of Shiziguo (師子国伝), where we read that “early in the Yixi period [405–418] of the Jin dynasty, [Shiziguo] first sent some jade statues.” (晉義熙初，始遣獻玉像) The event is not mentioned by the Jin-shu itself, but the Liang-shu’s dating of the tribute to the early Yixi period would place it prior to Faxian’s visit to Sri Lanka.

IV Conclusion

Faxian’s account is the first historical source to offer clear evidence of the establishment of monsoon voyaging in maritime Southeast Asia, revealing that, by the beginning of the fifth century CE, large merchant ships capable of carrying up to 200 passengers along with their goods were traversing the region on a regular basis. We can also guess that, thanks to this development, pre-existing port-city kingdoms like Funan and Linyi on the mainland of the Indochinese peninsula were joined by numerous new ones located in insular Southeast Asia, all of which had been “Indianized”, meaning that they had absorbed the higher cultural influences emanating from India.

The “Indianization” of the earlier port-city kingdoms, Funan and Linyi,
would thus seem to offer us a clue as to the timing of the establishment of monsoon voyaging in the maritime Southeast Asian region. Funan emerged as a state sometime in the first century (in other words, prior to the advent of Indian influences) as a result of developments within the Southeast Asian region itself, and Linyi did so during the following century on the basis of its relationship with China. The fact that both of those states showed signs of Indianization in the mid-fourth century suggests strongly that the establishment of monsoon voyaging must have taken place previous to that, probably in the first half of the fourth century. (It is also possible that the process was a gradual one spanning the years between the late third and early fourth centuries.)

The establishment of monsoon voyaging in maritime Southeast Asia meant that the entire maritime Asian region, from the Arabian Sea to the South China Sea, had been linked by the monsoon. This in turn led, during the fourth century, firstly to Sri Lanka becoming the Indian Ocean region’s primary commercial centre, and secondly to the appearance of numerous new port-city kingdoms within insular Southeast Asia, such as Yepoti, alongside the pre-existing kingdoms of Funan and Linyi.

Notes

1) In his earlier paper the author, following the orthodox view, dated the visit of Suwu (蘇物) to India to the decade of the 220s. It has now been established that Suwu left Funan sometime between 239 and 248, and returned there sometime between 243 and 252. (See Watabe 1985)

2) For the present paper, the author relied upon both Faxian’s original text (No. 2085 in vol. 51 of Taishô Shinshû Daizôkyô 『大正新修大藏経』) and Nagasawa Kazutoshi’s annotated translation (See Faxian 1971). Faxian’s text was translated into English by the eminent 19th-century Sinologist James Legge under the title: A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms (New York: Dover Publications, 1965).
3) The figure of 700 is also mentioned in Yijing’s subsequent account of his own return trip from Tāmrālipti to Kedah (on the Malay Peninsula), where he notes that “To get from this place [Tāmrālipti] to Sri Lanka, one must sail in a southwesterly direction, a journey said to encompass 700 stages.” (從斯向師子洲，西南進船。傳有七百駛) (Yijing’s annotation in vol. 5 of his Genben-shuoyiqieyoubu Baiyijiemo (義浄: 『根本說一切有部百一羯磨』卷 5 割注; No. 1453 in vol. 24 of Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō, page 477c).

4) While the Biography of Funan in the jin-shu (晉書) also gives the name of this king as Zhu Zhantan (竺梅檀), the same book’s Imperial Chronicles (帝紀) section pertaining to the first year of the Shengping period mentions that a “King Tianzhu Zhantan of Funan sent tribute of trained elephants.” (扶南天竺梅檀獻騏象).

5) Yijing also describes the Malacca Strait (together with the entire Malay Peninsula) as being located in a southerly or southeasterly direction from Tāmrālipti at the mouth of the Ganges. In his account of his journey, Yijing tells of travelling north from Kedah (羯荼) in order to reach the Andaman and Nicobar Islands (裸人国), and from there describes Tāmrālipti as being to the northwest. (“From Kedah, some ten days’ travelling in a northward direction brought us to the Andaman and Nicobar Islands... From here, after another two weeks’ voyage northwestward, we finally reached the Kingdom of Tāmrālipti.”) (從羯荼北行十日余, 至裸人国... 從茲更半月許, 望西北行, 遂達耽摩立底国) (Yijing 1942: 138-142.)

Describing his return journey, Yijing describes Kedah as lying southeastward of Tāmrālipti: “From here [Tāmrālipti], we travelled by ship for two months toward the southeast before reaching Kedah.” (從斯〔耽摩立底〕両月汎舶東南到羯荼国). (See the citation given in note 3 above.)

In his description of the journey of another Buddhist monk of the Tang period, Wuxing (無行禪師), Yijing describes Nāgapattinam on the Coromandel Coast of South India as lying west of Kedah: “After fifteen days they reached Kedah. At the end of the winter, they changed to another ship and sailed west for thirty days to the city of Nāgapattinam. From here they put to sea once more, and in

—— 39 ——
two days they reached Sri Lanka (師子洲) .” (到羯茶国。至冬末, 轉船西行, 經三十日, 到那伽鉢亶那。從此汎海二日, 到師子洲) (Yijing 1942: 174.) 6) These products are listed in sixth-century materials. Aloe is mentioned in the “Records of Foreign Nations” (Zhufanzhi 諸蕃志) as being grown in the Arabian Peninsula and in Africa (Zhao Rukuo 1991: 300), so it is odd that it should be mentioned here as a “product from the East”. It has been impossible to identify the nature of the “clove trees” (丁字の木) that are listed alongside cloves.

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“Indianization” and the Establishment of Monsoon Voyaging......

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Materials in Other Languages
"Indianization" and the Establishment of Monsoon Voyaging in Maritime Southeast Asia: An Examination of Faxian’s Three Homeward Voyages

Fukami Sumio

Faxian’s account is the first historical source to offer clear evidence of the establishment of monsoon voyaging in maritime Southeast Asia, revealing that, by the beginning of the fifth century CE, large merchant ships capable of carrying up to 200 passengers along with their goods were traversing the region on a regular basis. We can also guess that, thanks to this development, pre-existing port-city kingdoms like Funan and Linyi on the mainland of the Indochinese peninsula were joined by numerous new ones located in insular Southeast Asia, all of which had been “Indianized”, meaning that they had absorbed the higher cultural influences emanating from India.

The “Indianization” of the earlier port-city kingdoms, Funan and Linyi, would thus seem to offer us a clue as to the timing of the establishment of monsoon voyaging in the maritime Southeast Asian region. Funan emerged as a state sometime in the first century (in other words, prior to the advent of Indian influences) as a result of developments within the Southeast Asian region itself, and Linyi did so during the following century on the basis of its relationship with China. The fact that both of those states showed signs of Indianization in the mid-fourth century suggests strongly that the establishment of
monsoon voyaging must have taken place prior to that, probably in the first half of the fourth century. (It is also possible that the process was a gradual one spanning the years between the late third and early fourth centuries.)

The establishment of monsoon voyaging in maritime Southeast Asia meant that the entire maritime Asian region, from the Arabian Sea to the South China Sea, had been linked by the monsoon. This in turn led, during the fourth century, firstly to Sri Lanka becoming the Indian Ocean region’s primary commercial centre, and secondly to the appearance of numerous new port-city kingdoms within insular Southeast Asia, such as Yepoti, alongside the pre-existing kingdoms of Funan and Linyi.