

“Sojourning Communities, Ports-of-Trade, and Agrarian-Based Societies in Southeast Asia’s Eastern Regions, 1000-1300”

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This paper addresses the developing international trade routes in the Philippines, Borneo, and the eastern Indonesian archipelago during the era of the Song and Yuan dynasties, c. 1000-1300. Most of the previous work on this topic has focused on the documentation supplied in the limited Song- and Yuan-era texts, which consist of the records of the Song merchant shipping offices (*shih possu*) at Guangzhou, Hangzhou, Quanzhou, and Mingzhou that record the assorted commodities imported and exported through the principle south China ports-of-trade; the Song and Yuan court records of tributary missions to and from Southeast Asia's courts (e.g., *Sung hui-yao chi-kuo*; *Sung shih*); and other texts by Chinese authors who provide their collected overviews and commentaries on the trade routes, the most notably of which is the perspective of the Song-era port superintendent Zhao Rugua (1225; *Zhufan zhi*) and the Yuan era accounts of Chen Dazhen (1304; *Dade Nanhai zhi*) and Wang Dayuan (1349; *Daoyi zhilue*). This paper's major contribution is its additional consideration of the archeological evidence derivative of Southeast Asian excavations over the past fifty years, the importance of the distribution and concentration of Chinese ceramics and epigraphic references as these provide local evidence that confirms or modifies the Chinese overviews and court records. The local evidence especially counters the Chinese affirmation of continuity among the regional polities that submitted to China's tributary system; the reality was instead periodic transition among several port-polity centers and early Chinese references to place must be considered regional or coastline inclusive rather than specific to a single and continuous port. This paper's concluding focus is on local networking and societal development that was reactive to new trading opportunities during an age that was foundational to the Ming era late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century "age of commerce" that preceded significant European entry into the Indian Ocean commercial realm (A. Reid, 1988, 1991).

An initial overview of the trade routes between China and eastern Southeast Asia provides a corrective view of a region that has been collectively categorized as continually peripheral to the main Indian Ocean maritime route that connected China to India (Laghd, 1989 and other "World Systems" theorists). Instead, study of China's import of the products from this "periphery" demonstrates how this previous marginal region became a major factor in the Song-Yuan era's trade, especially as the "Eastern Ocean" region responded to increasing Chinese and Western demand for Borneo and "spice island" ecological products. Archeological remains demonstrate local response, with the development of new coastal communities and upstream-downstream networking. The paper concludes with brief consideration of the maritime communities active during the Song and Yuan eras who became Southeast Asia residents, notably maritime diaspora that included "Arabs" and increasing numbers of Chinese sojourners in the eastern archipelago region.

## **I. Commodities and International Maritime Networks in the Eastern Indonesian Archipelago**

Roderich Ptak's recent papers on Chinese trade with the eastern Indonesian archipelago during the Song and Yuan eras are based in his analysis of the Chinese literary sources, and highlight the development of the Chinese and Western import of cloves from the Malukus, nutmeg from the Banda Islands, camphor from Borneo, sandalwood from Timor, and tortoise-

shells from a variety of eastern archipelago sources (Ptak 1983, 1991, 1993, 1998). Ptak establishes that these products were in demand in Song and Yuan China as medicinals and aromatics (*ting hsiang/hsiang-yao*) that were "fine articles" (*hsi se/chin-ch'ueh*) subject to government monopoly or "coarse goods" (*tsu se*) that were available for open market exchange. In the case of cloves and nutmeg, Ptak asserts that the China market demand was low in volume but high in price. There was more demand in volume for Maluku cloves and Banda nutmeg in India and the Middle East during the 1000-1300 era (Ptak, 1993: 6-8; 1998: 287-288). Since camphor was also a product of the Barus region of western Sumatra, Sumatra's camphor was more likely to satisfy the Western market demand. In contrast, China was the major consumer of Borneo's camphor (Han, 1985; Nichol, 1979; DYZL, 44, 55, 67, 93, 102, 123, 141, 148, 173, 240). In return for their supply of this variety of exotic goods, the local eastern archipelago suppliers received ceramics, copper and iron articles, textiles, assorted Western goods (e.g., Middle East glassware and beads), and Chinese and other coinage.

Ptak tracks the developing eastern Indonesian archipelago trade routes during the 1000-1300 era as these were portrayed in the Chinese sources. He notes that the Song era literary documentation does not establish a numerically significant or direct Chinese presence in the eastern Indonesian archipelago, and that during that era multi-ethnic maritime sojourners – including but not dominated by Middle Easterners/Muslims ("Arabs") -- based in north Java, eastern Sumatra, northwest Borneo, and in the Cham region of coastal central and southern Vietnam were the major suppliers of eastern Indonesian archipelago "jungle" products to China's ports, notably Guangzhou (*Zhufan zhi*, Hirth and Rockhill, 63, 73, 77, 84, 89, 116, 133).<sup>1</sup> Instead eastern archipelago commodities from the Malukus, Banda, and Timor appear in lists of tributary goods presented as re-exports available at Java, Sumatra (Srivijaya), Vietnam (Champa), and Borneo (Po-ni) ports. By the Yuan era, however, Chinese merchants, most of whom were Chinese sojourners based in Southeast Asia's ports, were in direct contact with the eastern Indonesian archipelago. Southeast Asia-based Chinese sojourners joined other multi-ethnic seafarers in supplying eastern Indonesian archipelago products to the international marketplace. China's most important port during the Yuan era, Quanzhou, drew alternatively from a Sulu Sea route via the Philippines.<sup>2</sup> Ptak and others place focus on west coast Borneo as an even more prominent intermediary in Yuan era China's trade for eastern archipelago commodities, as also the source of eastern archipelago and Philippine regional products available and exported from Cham ports along the Vietnam coast (see Wade paper).

The development of this alternative market contact via the Sulu Sea route to the eastern archipelago changed Chinese understanding of the international trade routes, in terms of "Small Western Ocean" (*Xiao Xiyang*), "Small Eastern Ocean" (*Xiao Dongyang*), and "Big Eastern Ocean" (*Da Dongyang*) categorizations. These inclusive references first appear in the Yuan-era *Dade Nanhai zhi* (1304). Here the first "ocean" consisted of the Gulf of Siam, eastern Sumatra, and Sri Lanka, and led to the markets of India and the Middle East; the second was based in the Philippine Sulu Sea region; the third was the coastline of Borneo, the Java Sea and Java, the Flores and Banda Seas, the Celebes Sea, the Makassar Straits, Banda, and Timor. The prominence of this new "Eastern Seas" network is confirmed in the *Dade nanhai zhi* (1349/50), which distinguishes between the "Western Ocean" (*Xiyang*) the region west of the Singapore Strait, and the "Eastern Ocean" (*Dongyang*) that lay to its east. In the Yuan era view the "Western Ocean" was still the most important, politically and economically, although the exotic products of the "Eastern Ocean" were in greater demand among Chinese consumers. Thus the Yuan references give the eastern regions and their products greater equity than is the case in the

<sup>1</sup> As Wade discusses in his paper, Song restriction on overseas voyages by China-based seafarers contributed to this dependency on Southeast Asia-based sojourners.

<sup>2</sup> Chen Dazhen lists the Malukus, Banda, and beyond as Chinese destinations (Brown, 1978, 53/Ptak, 1983, 16).

Song-era sources, and are more detailed in their delineation of the eastern sea regions that were the product sources than is also the case in the subsequent Ming-era sources, which are almost exclusively focused on the western regions, due to differing Ming political and economic ambitions. [Ptak, 1998, 271-277, and *passim*; Wade, 2005].

As noted, during the Song era, except for Borneo, China received eastern archipelago products from south Sumatra (Srivijaya), Java, and Vietnam (Champa) port-polity intermediaries. The 1225 *Zhufan zhi* overview is substantiated in the records of the diplomatic missions to the Song court, in which the noted specified port-polities presented eastern archipelago products that were readily available at their ports. In Zhao Rugua's account these major marketplaces in turn networked with Borneo (*Po-ni*), which sub-networked with Butuan (*Puduan* in northern Mindinao) and Mindoro/Southwest Luzon (*Ma-yi*) in the Philippines, as also the eastern archipelago via southern Borneo and the Java Sea.

The Borneo coastline was a continuing if not a more direct factor in Yuan-era trade. Po-ni provided access to eastern archipelago products that arrived by way of the Sulu Sea region via the Philippines, which was itself in direct contact with the China marketplace rather than depending exclusively on Borneo as its trade intermediary. Alternatively, China might receive eastern archipelago products by way of the Java Sea, via a new south Borneo intermediary realm the Chinese knew as Tanjongpura.<sup>3</sup>

## II. Brunei and the Song/Yuan Era Eastern Archipelago Trade

West coast Borneo became a prominent product source as also intermediary port during the Song era. Zhou Rugua (1225) acclaims the Po-ni coast to be the source of rhinoceros horns, benzoin, camphor, tortoise shells, beeswax, and lakewood; its imports were porcelain, jewelry, cosmetics, silks, Middle Eastern glass, gold, silver, and tin. The first four exports were used in antipyretics, diuretics, amalgemics, and tonics (D. Reid, 1987, 118, 184). In his account the Po-ni coast had become a gateway to the "East Sea Route" (*Jiao-guang*). Sojourning merchants left Champa by the northeast monsoon and crossed to Po-ni, where they might travel on to the Philippines, to southwest Luzon, Mindoro, or Batuan, or were satisfied to acquire Philippine and eastern Indonesian archipelago products in Po-ni's port. Historians and archeologists debate whether any Song-era China-based traders ever went to Po-ni and beyond, or if they were content to acquire "Eastern Sea" products at the noted Champa, Srivijaya, or north coast Java mainline ports, where overseas diaspora, inclusive of Southeast Asia-based Chinese sojourners, acted as their intermediaries.

Scholars also speculate on the site of Po-ni. Based on the analysis of local deposits of Chinese ceramics and other accompanying archeological evidence, current consensus is that the Po-ni polity identified in Song and Yuan records periodically shifted. There is general agreement that during the Song era Sarawak coast port-polities were dominant, and in the Yuan and following Brunei river mouths, notably at and around Kota Batu, were Po-ni (Osman 1997; Wisseman Christie 1985). The earliest Chinese evidence of their Po-ni relationship is the *Song Shi* record that in 977 two Muslim envoys were emissaries of the "King of Po-ni" (Wong, 1977, 56, cross-referencing the *Song Shi* and *Song Hui Yao*). The envoys presented 20 *taels* of "Borneo camphor"; 160 *taels* of "second rate Borneo camphor"; 220 *taels* of "third rate Borneo camphor",

<sup>3</sup> The products of the eastern archipelago might equally have reached China directly via Mindoro in the Song era, but there is no Song-era literary proof of this direct connection. See Wade, 1993, 82-85ö Cembrano in Brown, ed., 71. Ptak speculates that the direct route to the Philippines sources became necessary when from the 1280s the Cham coastline became politically unstable (Ptak, 1998, 279; see also Wade's conference paper); the *Song huiyao* states that Butuan was "under" Champa -- but Mindoro is half-way between Butuan and Champa; was it equally "under" Champa?.

5 pieces of “Borneo camphor planks”; 100 pieces of turtle shells; 3 pieces of white sandalwood; and 6 ivory tusks (Wong, 1979, 80-81).

The *Song Shi* account, consistent with the other cited Chinese records that purposely provide information useful for navigation, reported that Po-ni was separated from Java by 45 days journey, from Srivijaya by 40 days, and 30 days voyage from Champa. The point was that Po-ni goods were arriving in China’s marketplace via these three primary port centers. The role of the intermediaries is further demonstrated in the *Song Shi* account of an 1156 Srivijaya tributary presentation that included 9 pieces of plum flower shaped “Borneo camphor,” 200 taels of “Borneo camphor planks,” as also 117 *katis* of cloves (from the Malukus), 127 *katis* of nutmeg (from Banda), and 10,750 *katis* of sandalwood (also an eastern archipelago product, likely from Timor). In a following 1178 Srivijaya mission the Chinese court received 4 pieces of “plum-flower shaped Borneo camphor planks weighing 14 *katis*,” 210 *katis* of nutmeg, 210 *katis* of benzoin, 150 *katis* of turtle-shell, and 1570 *katis* of sandalwood (Wong, 1979, 80-83 ).

Zhou Rugua asserts that the Po-ni port had a population of 10,000, who populated a “city” surrounded by timber walls, and was also defended by a “defense force of 150 ships.” Its king wore Chinese silks on special occasions; he and his elite regularly wore gold jewelry and imported cloth from Java (batik?) that contained gold threads (Hirth and Rockhill, 1911, 155-158). Zhou Rugua enumerates the local riverine systems subordinate to Po-ni, with the note that the populations among these places traded with Po-ni in small boats and dressed and had diets similar to Po-ni’s. Among these were *Hsi-fung-kung* (River Serudong?) , *Shih-miao* (Sibu?) , *Hu-lu-man-tou* (Martapura?), and *Su-wu-li* (Matan?), all sub-regional ports of the west and south coast of Borneo.

While these locally networked Po-ni ports remained the same, the wider Borneo realm reported in the 1304 *Nanhai zhi* had changed, due to the new prominence of an as yet unidentified polity on the southwest Borneo coast that the Yuan era sources knew as *Tanjongpura*. In the early fourteenth-century account Po-ni’s trade realm was now focused to the north, on the Philippines- Sulu Sea network. Po-ni’s domain included southwest Luzon (*Ma-lei-lo*), Mindaro (*Ma-yi*), Butuan (*Pu-tuan*), Sabah (*Sha-hu-chung*), Sarawak (*Ya-chen*), and the Sarawak pirate liar of *Ma-na-lo-nu*. In the Yuan sources *Tanjongpura*, not Po-ni, was preeminent over the southern route to the eastern archipelago. *Tanjongpura*’s networked realm consisted of *Lun-tu* and *Sha-lo-kou* in western Kalimantan, Banjarmasin (*Pien-nu-hsin*), Sulawesi (*Pin-ti-hsien*), Makassar (*Meng-chia-chien*), Maluku (*Wei-lu-ku*), and Banda (*Pan-tan*). (Wong, 1979).

A Chinese tombstone inscription dated 1264, discovered in the Brunei estuary, which commemorated “Master Pu” (“Abu”), provides a vital local window on Po-ni’s thirteenth-century networking. The tombstone was recovered at a Muslim cemetery at Jalan Tutong in the Kota Baru area, near the Kedayan tributary river of the Brunei River. Since the tombstone was not consistent with other tombstones in this cemetery, archeologists assume that the tombstone was moved from its original site in the Kota Baru area (associated with earlier archeological remains of the China trade) to its recovery site, which is not (Frank and Chen, 1973; Osman, 1993). This tombstone takes on special significance, because its beneficiary was a Chinese official from Quanzhou, an emissary to the Po-ni court, descended from the powerful Pu merchant clan.

The Pu family had come to China from Arabia via the “south seas”, probably from Southeast Asia. Pu Kaizong migrated to Quanzhou, and was able to obtain an official rank, likely due to the value of the goods he imported, and thus established his family. At least two of his sons served as prefects. The third was Pu Shougeng (d. 1296), who by the mid-1270s was serving concurrently as Superintendent of Maritime Trade and *Zaofushi* , “Master of Pacification,” a term used to designate local military commanders. (See So, 2000, 107-110, Appendix B, 301-5). Shougeng’s prominent role reflects the wider acceptance of the Quanzhou Muslim community in the early Yuan and at end of Song; the family assumed a critical role in the surrender of Quanzhou to Mongols, and they were subsequently rewarded with leadership positions in Quanzhou and the wider Fujian region during the early Yuan era, and dominated

Quangzhou's foreign trade for over thirty years. Pu Shougeng was in charge of many public and private ships, including a ship wrecked at Houzhou, 10 km from Quanzhou, discovered in 1973 (Green, 1983; Zhuang, 1991, 344).

A contemporary Chinese reference is valuable as a cross-reference to the tombstone inscription, in its provision of the background on the deceased's biography:

During the Shao Ding regime of the Song Dynasty (1228-1233) there was a Jin Shi (successful candidate in the highest imperial examinations) named Pu Zong-min, assistant sub-perfect in Wen Ling, who was promoted to Chief Censor in Beijing. In 1236, he was commissioned as an envoy to [Vietnam]; In 1238, he was sent to Champa; in 1247, he was reassigned to Po-ni, where he subsequently died at his post. He had three sons: the eldest named Ying, the second was Jia and the third name Lie. Ying went to Po-ni, Pu Jai served in Quangzhou as the official in charge of foreign trade [over the Western Ocean, Xi Yang]. For five generations the Pu served with distinction as envoys in Quangzhou (Zhan Cheng), as the official in charge of trade. At the end of the Song dynasty the Pu family rebelled, Pu Shou-geng sailed to live in the Philippines; it is said he went to Ma Yi (Mindoro) and also said to Pudian (Batuan).<sup>4</sup>

In addition to the tombstone's definitive evidence of early thirteenth-century diplomatic and commercial networking between Po-ni/-Brunei and China, it also raises issues relative to the level of interaction between Po-ni and Quangzhou, and how this relationship might have supported the development of Islam in Brunei. The tombstone's "Master Abu," who would seem to have been a member of the Muslim community of Quanzhou, implies the transmission of Islam from China to Brunei, as opposed to earlier suggestions of Arab merchants visiting Brunei or Muslim merchants of Middle Eastern heritage from Champa as the source (Ptak, 1998, 281-4; Hirth and Rockhill, 159, note 13, et. al, Wade's paper as well). Another local tombstone dated 1301, discovered in 1984, reinforces the Quangzhou connection since it is similar to contemporary Quangzhou tombstones, and seems to have been shipped to Brunei from China (Matassim and Suhaili 1987). In addition to providing further evidence of Po-ni's role in the contemporary China trade, this tombstone takes on added significance in that it is believed to mark the grave of the Po-ni monarch, possibly the first Brunei sultan (Jibah and Hassan, 1987; Chen 1992).

### III. Local Response

There are equally ample Song and Yuan era ceramics remains at Butuan and other Philippine sites (e.g., Cebu, Luzon, Mindoro), and the Song era Chinese dynastic records also acknowledge China's contact with the Philippines. The *Song shi* reports that Pudian (Batuan, the site of the most substantial Song and Yuan era ceramic remains), a small country situated east of Champa, was a polity subject to Champa. It sent its initial mission to the Chinese court in 1003, which consisted of the Pudian king's minister and his assistant, who presented red parrots and other native products, including tortoise shells. The envoy, *I-su-han*, was again sent by the "king" in 1007 with a formal memorial requesting equal status in court protocol with that of Champa's ambassador. This request was denied because Pudian was considered to be "under" Champa, one of China's longstanding tributary states. In 1011 a new Pudian ruler with the Indic name *Sri Bata Shaja* sent another envoy, *Likan-hsieh*, with a memorial engraved on a gold tablet.

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<sup>4</sup> From the *Xi Shan Za Zhi*, a Ming-era source by Cai Yongjian – cited in Osman, 1993, and derived from work of Prof. Zhuang Wi Ji of Amoi University. Osman suggests that the tombstone was set up 16-17 years following his death by his two sons Ying and Jia.

This time the Song court honored the envoy with a military title, “The Charished Transformed General,” which was equal to that given to Champa’s envoy. The Song court decreed that thereafter Paduan no longer had to depend on Champa as its commercial middleman (Scott, 1984, 66-7, 72). As in the case of Borneo, the favored Paduan port-site in Batuan shifted among several archeological sites, although Terusan Kupang is the source of the most prominent Song-era ceramic deposits (Brown, 1989). While the association of *Paduan* with a Batuan site is generally agreed, the Song and Yuan-era references to *Ma-yi* are debated, as to whether this is referential to Luzon or Mindoro coast sites. Ptak’s study of the Yuan-era eastern archipelago maritime networks registers his rightful summation that the archeological evidence, especially the ceramic deposits scattered throughout the region, is highly problematic and leads to this type of inconclusive speculation (Ptak, 1993, 283-4).<sup>5</sup>

While debate over the surviving archeological evidence in the Philippines as elsewhere in the eastern archipelago region has been intense, the archeologists and anthropologists working on these archeological sites have had the most to say about local response to the Song/Yuan era maritime contacts and their consequences. Their focal concern is the tracking of Chinese ceramics beyond the ports-of-trade into their upstream hinterland. The majority of the regional ceramic concentrations whether on the coast or in its upstream have been “grave furniture” associated with burials, which supports the contention that coastal populations, a mixture of *orang asli* (Malays and other ethnicities), networked under the leadership of *datu* (“chiefs”) who dominated river mouth access to their upstream hinterlands (*barangay* networks) (Hutterer, Junker, Bellwood and Omar, Gunn). As the trade developed prior economic, political, and social relationships formalized, which in turn reinforced the flow of ecological products out of the hinterland and upstream forests and mountains to the coastal ports. Anthropologists argue that the new trading opportunities reinforced a shift from prior egalitarianism, with new cultural emphasis on titles (e.g., Indic and/or Muslim) and material objects (e.g., gongs, porcelain, metal objects, and glass beads) distinguishing warriors and elite from other locals. These imports were imperishable symbols of a foreign and unknown world.

Let us briefly review two archeological examples from west coast Borneo. The first is from Sarawak, where 1950s excavations highlighted Song era ceramic deposits in Niah cave burials (Harrisons). Since these deposits were not far from the coast, and may have been burials of coastal dwellers, the retrospective reviews of these excavations have discounted them as providing insufficient documentation of upstream networking. In contrast, however, 1950s and 1960s recovery of heavy iron slag concentrations on the coast at Santubong indicate that there was a local iron industry, which provided iron for local consumption rather than for export. The point here is that the coastal trade either induced the secondary development of the local iron industry or that existing local industry, and pre-existing coast-hinterland networks, were foundational to the transfer of exotic jungle products (e.g., camphor) to the Sarawak coast during the Song era (Harrison and O’Connor, 1969; Wisseman Christie 1985, 82-85).

The second example derives from the Song-era Brunei ceramic evidence. As noted, the current concensus is that the Sarawak coast was “Po-ni” in the Song era rather than the Brunei coast. However, the heavy concentrations of Song-era ceramics in the Brunei river estuary document the Brunei region’s continuing prominence as a secondary trade center. During the Song era Terusan Kupang is thought to be the most prominent among several documented Brunei port sites. What is most interesting is the density of Song-era ceramics at Bintudoh, a site some thirty miles in the upstream, which substantiates the hinterland penetration of the trade (Omar and Shriffuddin, 1987; Osman, 1997).

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<sup>5</sup> One must read Ptak’s discussion with care, as he mixes his discussion of Ming-era ceramic evidence, notably the new significance of Thai and Vietnamese ceramics in the Ming era, in his characterization of Yuan-era networking.

#### IV: Developing Maritime Diaspora in the Song-Yuan Era

The “Eastern Ocean” evidence cited in this paper, notably the acknowledgment in Yuan literary sources that Chinese sojourners were then prominent in the eastern Indonesian archipelago, and the support of this view in local epigraphic evidence, is relevant to consideration of developing Indian Ocean diaspora. Indian Ocean diaspora were the product of the movements of commercial commodities, confrontations between alien cultures, formation of plural societies, dual loyalties, and multiple affiliations, and demonstration of early globalization. Well-documented fifteenth-century Indian Ocean maritime diasporas, identified by their spatiality, distances traveled, itineraries, temporality, fixity, rootedness, and sedentary qualities, were clearly products of earlier Song and Yuan era sojourning, but the Song and Yuan era sources are too vague, and archeological sources still overly controversial to allow detailed discussion at this time.

Today's multidisciplinary studies of diasporas commonly accentuate the process of a population's dispersion in space, place, and time. Therein, "place" is an anchor point, a settlement spot where a number of people have gathered "temporarily" or "permanently" -- with the implication that "permanently" is really temporary, and subject to better opportunities elsewhere, or an ultimate return to the ethnic homeland. Diasporic studies address original cores ("homelands") and "secondary cores," where a number of migrants stay, but are likely candidates for subsequent dispersal and re-migration. Thus this study is place centered, depicting network-based spaces with porous boundaries that are changeable in association with intra-diasporic contexts and events. The developing Indian Ocean diasporas populated conceptual activity spaces in which individuals, families, and varieties of political and socioeconomic networks derived from places of origin as well as destinations (Hall, 2006).

This study identifies Chinese who by the Yuan era were committing to a Southeast Asian residence, as demonstrated by some form of local allegiance, whether by permanent settlement, taking local names, intermarriage with locals and the engendering of mixed-blood families, religious conversions, and/or long-term integration and incorporation into an indigenous society. Most early Chinese in Southeast Asia were maritime sojourners, inclusive of pirate bands, who may or may not have had a single permanent base of operation/residency, but spent most of their time traveling from place-to-place according to the seasonality of the Asian monsoons. Such a sojourner or sojourning community might live in one place for a period of time, as for example waiting for the change in the monsoon winds, and thus have a network of residencies and loyalties (wives, families) among several “homes,” in Champa, Srivijaya, north Java, or Borneo.

These sojourners regularly networked with their extended family members in the major regional ports-of-trade, as in the above example of the Pu family that was based in Quanzhou, but networked throughout the Indonesian archipelago, in Vietnam, Champa, Po-ni, Ma-yi, and Pudian. The declining fortunes of the Muslim community in Quanzhou in the mid-fourteenth century likely increased the likelihood of foreign residence among previous Quanzhou Chinese Muslims (Chaffee, 2006, Wade paper).

Are such sojourners better considered Southeast Asian, despite their non-Southeast Asian bloodlines? And at what point are such individuals assimilated? Such revisionist views contrast with the prior commonplace assumption that diaspora members maintained some degree of loyalty to their homeland, ethnicity, family roots, etc., rather than being fully integrated into their new place of residence, and that overseas Chinese might temporarily settle regionally, but inclusively desired to repatriate to China if the opportunity afforded itself. This view would seem to be that of the Chinese source cited above, which reports that the noted Pu family members settled in the Philippines. The Yuan era evidence of regional networking in the “Eastern Ocean” suggests that overseas Chinese acculturating into Southeast Asian societies, or negotiating relationships with their neighboring communities, were the source of subsequently stable pluralistic communities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and contributed to an Indian

Ocean trade boom that set the stage for European entry in the post-1500 era. Indeed, Ptak asserts that by the Ming era China-based sojourners rarely went to the eastern archipelago but instead depended on Chinese who had settled on the Borneo coast to act as their intermediaries (Ptak, 1998).

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