

Fetchng Human Gall as an Offering For the King: Customs of Champa in late 16th century as depicted in Spanish documents

Bilis humano como ofrenda al Rey: Las costumbres de Champa a finales del siglo XVI según los documentos españoles y chinos

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Abstract The ancient Kingdom of Champa, known in ancient Chinese recorded as Linyi, became prosperous due to its pivotal location along the Chinese and Southeast Asian trade routes. Its status waned as the rise of Vietnam. During the 15th century, the people of Champa retreated to the north side of the Mekong River in Middle-south Vietnam, where they resisted the incursions of Cochinchina forces. As a result, when discussing the history of modern Vietnam, few references regarding Champa's historical development were found in Southeast Asian historical works since the 16th century. Nevertheless, the Kingdom of Champa still possessed considerable strength and experienced several revivals. In 1594, Champa even sent troops to Malacca to confront the Portuguese. It was not until the 1830s that Vietnam completely annexed Champa, where little attention was paid afterwards by most historians. By analyzing the contents of several Spanish letters and historical material that were associated with Champa, this article re-examines Spanish expeditions conducted in Southeast Asia since the 1590s, especially those in Indochina, where "private military forces" marched into Cambodia, Siam, and the Kingdom of Champa. In doing so, we have gained a better understanding of the interaction between Spain and Kingdom of Champa. Through cross-referencing Spanish and Chinese materials, we may be able to catch a glimpse of the silhouette of this ancient Southeast Asian kingdom.

Keywords: Champa, Cambodia, Philippines, Spanish, Boxer Codex

Resumen El reino de Champa, llamado Linyi en lengua china antigua, prosperó por su ubicación dentro de las rutas de comercio de China y el sureste de Asia. Con el crecimiento de Vietnam durante el siglo XV su poder disminuyó y la gente se retiró al norte del Río Mekong para resistir los ataques de las fuerzas de Cochinchina. Como resultado, es poco lo que puede encontrarse sobre la historia de Champa en obras referidas al sureste de Asia a partir del siglo XVI. Sin embargo, el reino de Champa mantuvo una fuerza notable, incluyendo una confrontación con Portugal en Malaca en 1594, hasta la década de 1830 cuando Vietnam anexó Champa completamente. Este artículo explica la interacción entre España y el reino de Champa a través de un análisis de cartas y documentos históricos españoles. Investiga las expediciones españolas en Asia del sureste a partir de los 1590, especialmente aquellas en las cuales "fuerzas militares privadas" marcharon sobre Camboya, Siam y Champa. Desde un estudio comparado de la historia española y china, intentamos profundizar el entendimiento de la historia del reino de Champa.

Palabras clave: Champa, Camboya, Filipinos, español, Código Bóxer

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The ancient Kingdom of Champa, known as Linyi in ancient Chinese records, became prosperous due to its pivotal location along the Chinese and Southeast Asian trade routes. Its status waned as Vietnam became increasingly powerful. During the 15th century, the people of Champa retreated to the north side of the Mekong River in Middle-south Vietnam, where they resisted the incursions of Cochinchina forces. As a result, when discussing the history of modern Vietnam, few references regarding Champa's historical development was found in Southeast Asian historical works since the 16th century.¹ However, the Kingdom of Champa still possessed considerable strength and experienced several revivals from time to time. In 1594, Champa even sent troops to Malacca to confront the Portuguese. It was not until the 1830s that Vietnam completely annexed Champa; after then, references concerning Champa had disappeared from Vietnamese history.²

In recent years, more and more archaeological discoveries and the appearance of new interpretations of documents relevant to the ancient civilization of Champa, studies of its language, literature, and history have once again aroused academic interest in Champa's history.³ However, existing first-hand records of Champa history and language are few and difficult to decipher, which hinders the research progress. Nevertheless, a number of Chinese sources offer an insight into Champa history before the 15th century, especially about the trade relationship between China and Champa. Studying Champa history after the 16th century, a time when Europeans began to enter Southeast Asia, requires a reliance on Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and

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¹ D. G. E. Hall, *A History of Southeast Asia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1955), pp. 195-202. Nicholas Tarling, *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia vol. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1999), pp. 252-260.

² Emmanuel Guillon, *Cham Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), pp.14-26.

³ Southeast Asia Community Resource Center. *Research on Champa and Its Evolution*. (Washington, DC: Southeast Asia Community Resource Center, 1994).

Japanese materials. Yet, a majority of the research during this period focuses mostly on Cambodia, which contains only supplemental references to the Kingdom of Champa. As a result, some articles described these research results as merely “a few casual studies and increase the threshold for the study of the topic.

The renowned historian C.R. Boxer worked on a 16th century Spanish record of Champan history, which was later named as the “Boxer Codex.”⁴ Boxer transcribed the record and translated it into English. However, it appears that scholars did not make further use of this Spanish resource.⁵ Some scholars have made use of these Spanish sources, but unfortunately, they have been unable to make use of Chinese sources from the Ming Dynasty to verify the authenticity of Spanish materials. Therefore, by analyzing the contents of several Spanish letters and other historical material relevant to Champa, this article re-examines Spanish expeditions conducted in Southeast Asia from the 1590s, especially those in Indochina, where “private military forces” marched into Cambodia, Siam, and the Kingdom of Champa. In doing so, we will gain a better understanding of the interaction between Spain and the Kingdom of Champa. Through cross-referencing Spanish and Chinese materials, we may be able to catch a glimpse of the silhouette of this ancient Southeast Asian kingdom.

Background: Spanish Expansion into Indochina at the End of 16th Century

Supported by the Spanish Crown, Ferdinand Magellan was responsible for

⁴ < Relación de las costumbres del reino de Chanpa > , 《Boxer Codex》, fols. 303-305 , and C. R. Boxer, “A Late Sixteenth Century Manila MS”. *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (April, 1950), p. 34-49 , and 李毓中、José Luis Caño Ortigosa , 〈中西合璧的手稿：「謨區查抄本(Boxer Codex)」初探(The study for “Boxer Codex”: the Manuscript that Combines both Chinese and the West)〉, 《西文文獻中的中國(China in the Western Narratives)》(上海：復旦大學，2012)，頁 67-82。

⁵ “Relacion de las Costumbres del Reyno de Champa”, (ed.) C. R. Boxer, in *Papers Read at the Inauguration of the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, 16-18 Septembre 1968*. Lund, Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies, 1970, pp. 37-44.

commanding a Spanish fleet since 1519, which crossed the Pacific through the Magellan Strait into East Asia. In 1565, during King Felipe II's reign, an expedition force led by López de Legazpi established a stronghold at Cebu after efforts spanning for almost half a century. Subsequently, Andres de Urdaneta, an Augustinian missionary who took part in the expedition, discovered a route to return to the Americas via the Kuroshio Current. By taking advantage of this route, the Spanish were able to maintain a continuous flow of supplies from Mexico to their new outpost in East Asia. The expedition force expanded further north, and made Manila on the Luzon Island the new stronghold, which became the foundation of Spanish colonization of the Philippines for the next three centuries.

The Spanish relied on Manila to serve as the expansion base in East Asia. While broadening regional trade by means of American silver, thanks to merchants of various origins that were present in the area, the Spanish designated Manila as a base to gather information from Continental Asia. The Spanish planned to build channels of communication with China and Japan, while expanding southward, hoping to gain control over the spice-producing Maluku Islands.⁶ From the 1590s to early 17th century, certain adventurers in Manila wished to follow the examples of conquistadors Hernan Cortes's (who conquered Azteca in Mexico) and Francisco Pizarro (who plundered Inca). These adventurers dreamed of taking part in a new wave of Spanish expansion into Southeast Asia.

Near the end of 16th century, King Felipe II of Spain also assumed the

⁶ 李毓中，〈北向與南進：西班牙東亞殖民拓展政策下的菲律賓和臺灣(1565-1642)(Taiwan and Philippines under The Spanish policy of expansion en East Asian)〉，《曹永和先生八十壽慶論文集 (Essays in Celebration of the 80th Birthday of Prof. Yung-ho Ts'ao)》(臺北：樂學書局，2001)，頁 31-48。

Portuguese throne, thereby easing Spanish-Portuguese tensions, enabling Spanish-occupied Manila to stay focused on colonial expansion in East Asia. Meanwhile, the newly risen, ambitious Dasmariñas family organized 270 soldiers and sent them to Manila on May 31 1590, led by the family head Gomez Pérez Dasmariñas, the new governor-general of the Philippines.

During the rule of Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas as governor-general of the Philippines, an optimistic atmosphere ensued; people awaited further Spanish expansion. Their primary targets were the Maluku Islands, at the south of the Philippines. At the same time, when Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas was busy preparing the Maluku Island expedition fleet, an Indochina Portuguese activist Diego Bellose appeared as an envoy on behalf of the King of Cambodia,⁷ and delivered a letter to Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas requesting reinforcement from Spain to relieve Cambodia from Siamese threat. Preoccupied with his lust over the spices from the Maluku Islands, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas tactfully declined the Cambodian King's request by sending gifts. However, shortly after, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas fell into the hands of Chinese paddlers whom he mistreated, thereby ending his dream of becoming the conquistador of the Maluku Islands.⁸ After some twist and turns, his son Luis Pérez Dasmariñas succeeded him as the new governor-general of the Philippines.

Luis Pérez Dasmariñas was a governor-general who, like his father, dreamed of being a conquistador. Soon after his succession to the office, a number of Iberian opportunists who had explored Indochina,⁹ such as Blas Ruiz and his group who were

⁷ Gabriel de San Antonio, *Breve y Verdadera Relacion de los Sucesos del Reino de Camboxa, 1604* (en Roberto Ferrando, *Relaciones de la Camboxa y el Japón*(Madrid: historia 16, 1988), p. 49.

⁸ 張燮,《東西洋考(Dongxiyang Kao)》, (北京: 中華書局, 2000), 頁 89-91。

⁹ Miguel de Jaque de los Ríos de Manzanedo, *Viaje de las Indias Orientales y Occidentales*, 1606

once imprisoned by the Champan King, had returned to Manila and worked to persuade Luis Pérez Dasmariñas to join their cause. Several discussions went through and the Manila authorities finally decided to send a private expedition force to save the King of Cambodia from his predicament.

On January 19, 1596, with Juan Juárez Gallinato as the commanding general accompanied by Diego Beloso, Blas Ruiz, some one hundred and twenty Spanish troops, Japanese Catholics, and Filipinos, the team boarded two *juncos* and a *fragata* and advanced toward Indochina in the hope of acquiring new territories.¹⁰ Imitating the conquistadors of the South Americas, where Father Vincente de Valverde followed the marching army, this Spanish expedition force also had clergymen among its ranks: Father Alonso Ximenez, Father Diego de Aduarte, and Friar Juan Deza.¹¹

The fleet turned south after leaving the Manila bay, sailing west-southwest to cross the South China Sea in route to Cambodia. Unfortunately, the fleet soon encountered a storm, forcing Blas Ruiz's ship to drift near Hainan Island; the ship then navigated along the Vietnamese shore until it reached Mekong River, the naval entrance to Cambodia. According to Miguel de Jaque de los Ríos de Manzanedo, the ship landed on the "glorious Apostle Saint Matthias's Day," which would be February 24, 1596.¹² Moreover, Diego Beloso took twenty days to arrive at the destination.¹³

(Spain: Ediciones Epuela de Plata, 2008), p. 72.

¹⁰ Gabriel de San Antonio, *Breve y Verdadera Relacion de los Sucesos del Reino de Camboxa, 1604* (en Roberto Ferrando, *Relaciones de la Camboya y el Japón*(Madrid: historia 16, 1988), p. 54 ; Miguel de Jaque de los Ríos de Manzanedo, *Viaje de las Indias Orientales y Occidentales*, 1606 (Spain: Ediciones Epuela de Plata, 2008), p. 77.

¹¹ Others people include Juan Mexía Salido, Diego Mexía Peralta, Juan Bautista de Mondragón, Pablo Garrucho, Pedro Sevil, Miguel Aguado, Pedro Basurto, Miguel Iaque de los Ríos , Gabriel de San Antonio, *Breve y Verdadera Relacion de los Sucesos del Reino de Camboxa, 1604* (en Roberto Ferrando, *Relaciones de la Camboya y el Japón*(Madrid: historia 16, 1988), pp. 54-55.

¹² Bernard Philippe Groslier, *Angkor et le Cambodge au XVI siècle: d'après les sources portugaises et*

In contrast, fleet commander Juan Juárez Gallinato's ship drifted further southward to Singapore due to the storm, and did not arrive in Cambodia until mid-May of that year. Yet, he was not greeted with good news: his subordinates Blas Ruiz and Diego Beloso were involved in a conflict with Chinese Merchants in Cambodia. The crew of less than 100 Spanish soldiers was up against 3,000 Chincheo Chinese merchants. After taking down 300 Chincheo Chinese, the Spanish crew retreated with their plunder from Churdumuco.¹⁴ Nevertheless, fleet commander Juan Juárez Gallinato refused to accept the group's defense that the Chinese provoked them first, and Gallinato no longer kept them in company. Instead, Gallinato ordered his fleet to retreat from Cambodia. The Spanish descended the Mekong River on July 10 and arrived in modern day southern Vietnam, an area then known as Champa and Cochinchina.¹⁵

Champa in Late 16th Century Spanish Documents

After reviewing Spanish historical materials, it is evident that the Spanish relied on three sources to gain information concerning Champa: one source was Diego Beloso's testimony to Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, the governor-general of that time. When Diego Beloso, who was then serving as an emissary for the Cambodian King,

espagnoles / avec la collaboration de C. R. Boxer (Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1958), p. 41.

¹³ Miguel de Jaque de los Ríos de Manzanedo, *Viaje de las Indias Orientales y Occidentales*, 1606 (Spain: Ediciones Epuela de Plata, 2008), p. 82-88.

¹⁴ Miguel de Jaque de los Ríos de Manzanedo, *Viaje de las Indias Orientales y Occidentales*, 1606 (Spain: Ediciones Epuela de Plata, 2008), p. 87.

¹⁵ Miguel de Jaque de los Ríos de Manzanedo, *Viaje de las Indias Orientales y Occidentales*, 1606 (Spain: Ediciones Epuela de Plata, 2008), p. 109.

arrived in Manila in 1593, he testified that he and Gregorio de Vargas were once deceived by the King of Champa and were captured as slaves in Champa for some time.¹⁶ Secondly, a group of people, including Miguel de Jaque de los Ríos de Manzanedo and Gabriel de San Antonio, who followed Blas Ruiz into Cambodia in 1596, had heard Blas Ruiz mention several Champan social customs.¹⁷ The third source of information was the Boxer Codex mentioned earlier in this article. The Boxer Codex was a handwritten document, reportedly made by Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas's family, which contained drawings depicting many Southeast and Northeast Asian ethnic groups. A report known as *Relationships of the Customs of the Kingdom of Champa* was included at the end of the Boxer Codex, which is the most detailed report to date concerning the social situation of 16th century Champa.

Due to the influence of people like Diego Beloso and Blas Ruiz, the Spanish impression of the Kingdom of Champa was mostly negative; for instance, Miguel de Jaque de los Ríos de Manzanedo gave the following description on Cham people: "These Chams are brutes for often offering human sacrifices to their local deities." The Boxer Codex believed that "Chams are brave and developed a habit of looting their neighboring nations. As a result, they [Chams] are all corsairs." While this statement may be an exaggeration, the Champa benefited greatly from the northeast and southeast trade routes thanks to their geographical location, occurrences of Chams

¹⁶ A.G.I.(Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla), Filipinas 6, R.7, N. 106.

¹⁷ Miguel de Jaque de los Ríos de Manzanedo, *Viaje de las Indias Orientales y Occidentales*, 1606 (Spain: Ediciones Epuela de Plata, 2008), p. 110 ; Gabriel de San Antonio, < Descripción del reino de Champa, y costumbres de los naturales >, *Breve y Verdadera Relacion de los Sucesos del Reino de Camboxa, 1604(en Roberto Ferrando, Relaciones de la Camboya y el Japón* (Madrid: historia 16, 1988), pp. 62.

raiding other parties near their coastline were also high (for their government had only lose control over its subjects). Further, seafarers would warn each other to avoid this area.¹⁸ Tong Xi Yang Kao, a geography book published in the 45th year of the reign of the Wanli Emperor of the Ming Dynasty (1617), also advised against trading with Champa: “Merchant ships arrived at its shore, and the merchants offered fruits and money to the king. The king would receive the guests with banquets. The locals were vicious and sly, leading to unfair trade results, therefore few were willing to go and trade there.”¹⁹

However, another factor also may have caused the Spanish to develop a negative impression on the Chams: many Chams gradually converted from Hinduism to Islam. As Gabriel de San Antonio noted, “The locals [Chams] hated Castilians [Spanish] and believed prophecies made by the Moro [Moor], that there would be a king Mahoma [Muhammed], and many would embrace the new faith [Islam].” This opinion concurred with the findings of historical research.²⁰

As one can well imagine, for a nation who had resisted Islamic influence over the Iberian Peninsula and throughout the Mediterranean Sea for centuries, the Spanish Catholic’s were inherently hostile towards Muslims. Thus, it was unlikely for them to develop a favorable impression on Muslim Chams and their king. Consequently, it was not surprising that governor-general Luis Pérez Dasmariñas sent a letter to the Spanish king on December 6, 1595, describing the Champan king as “a vicious,

¹⁸ Nicholas Tarling (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp.256-259.

¹⁹ 張燮原著，謝方校釋，《東西洋考 (Dongxiyang Kao)》(北京：中華書局，2000)，頁 30-31。

²⁰ Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 133.

dangerous tyrant who was treacherous and full of evil deeds.”²¹ It was obvious that the general Spanish opinion concerning the Champan king were unfavorable. In the aforementioned letter, Luis Pérez Dasmariñas even suggested that while the Spanish aided Cambodia against Siam, an extra army with as few as 200 or 300 Spanish with 500 locals should be more than enough to seize and conquer Champa.

However, the expeditionary force led by Gallinato in 1596 ultimately made a hasty retreat from the Southeast Asian mainland and returned to Manila; the 1598 expeditionary force led by Luis Pérez Dasmariñas drifted to a small island known as El Pinal located near Canton, China, and was therefore unable to advance on Cambodia. Those two military failures broke Luis Pérez Dasmariñas’ dream to conquer Champa.

Customs of Champa as Depicted in Chinese and Spanish Documents

Spanish military operations conducted in Indochina in 1596 mainly concerned Cambodia. As the Spanish forces only made contacts with Champa while they entered and left Cambodia, there are few Spanish documents concerning Champan customs. The main source of information on Champan customs was the Boxer Codex. To gain a better understanding of these Spanish materials, the author will make use of the Boxer Codex, categorizing its content into gall acquirement, the legal system, the custom of a wife following her husband to his death (sati), and drinking habits. This article will focus on these four topics, with support from relevant Chinese materials and modern day research.

a. Fetching galls

²¹ A.G.I., Filipinas 18B, R.5, N. 45.

Fetching human galls had always been an unusual and incomprehensible custom of the Chams, where Chinese visitors who bore witness often took note of it in their writings. For example, the famous traveler Zhou Daguan of the Yuan Dynasty described the process of Chams fetching human galls in his work titled *Zhenla Feng Tu Ji* (the literal translation: “The Customs of Cambodia”): “The last time they took galls was in August, for the Champan ruler demanded a container full of human galls, which could contain thousands of it. As evening approached, many Chams were deployed in the cities and villages. When they encountered travelers in the night, Chams would rope them on the head, then use daggers to cut open their right flanks and fetch their galls from within. After obtaining enough galls, the Chams would present the collection to their ruler. They collect galls from all kinds of people except the Chinese, for in one year when a Chinese gall was collected and stored among other galls, galls in the entire container became rotten and thus unusable. In recent years such gall fetching practices were cancelled; instead, formal officials responsible for the task were appointed, who lived inside the north gate.”²²

Reports from the large-scale, state-sponsored overseas journeys, conducted during the Ming Dynasty, Yongle period, have depicted many foreign customs deemed as strange and unusual. The Champan practice of fetching human galls was also included in these reports. For example, an excerpt from *Xiyang Chao Gong Dian Lu* (the literal translation: “Tributary Records of the Western Ocean Nations”) stated: “Their king picked fortunate days to undergo the bath ceremony, where human galls, offered by his subordinates, were used as complement. This scene was described as

²²周達觀著，夏鼐注，《真臘風土記 (Zhenla Fengtuji)》(北京：中華書局，2000)，頁 177。

‘guts throughout the body,’ and the royal family would drink the galls with wine.”²³ *The Xiyang Fan Guo Zhi* (the literal translation: “The Annals of Foreign Nations in the Western Ocean”) stated: “During the New Year Festival, the [Champan] king would mix human galls with water and bathe from it. Chiefs would gather and offer [galls] as tributary presents.”²⁴ In addition, the *Shuyu Zhouzi Lu* (the literal translation: “The Comprehensive Record of Foreign Nations”), published in 1583, described that: “The tribal chief would collect raw human galls and add them to wine when crossing the year and drink it with the family. On the day of celebration, [he would] immerse himself with bile in the bath; generals offer human galls as congratulatory gifts, praising the chief as guts throughout the body.”²⁵

In contrast, the Portuguese, who arrived in Southeast Asia in the 16th century, did not include descriptions of this custom in their *Suma Oriental* when discussing the general situation of Champa. However, some Spanish who travelled to Indochina at the end of 16th century were deeply impressed by this practice: “It was a hunt customary to locals. The king and his wives-often more than a hundred-would deliver an express order to their subjects: Until they managed to fill two gold basins with human galls (which must be from people of their own nation and not foreigners) and present them to the king, they should not return. These citizens followed the order and fetched galls from all the women and adults they encountered on the roads. They would tie the victims to tree trunks and cut out their galls, and in its place, they smear the wound with a little local herb. When this mission is done, they would present the

²³黃省曾著，謝方校注，《西洋朝貢典錄校注 (Xiyang Chaogong Dianlu Jiaozhu)》(北京：中華書局，2000)，頁 7-8。

²⁴鞏珍著，向達校注，《西洋番國志 (Xiyang Fanguozhi)》，(北京：中華書局，2006)，頁 3。

²⁵嚴從簡著，余思黎點校，《殊域周咨錄 (Shuyü Zhouzilu)》(北京：中華書局，1993)，頁 266。

galls to the king...”²⁶

Comparatively, 17th century Chinese materials mentioned Chams fetching human galls; one document, *Dongxi Yang Kao* (the literal translation: Researches on East and West Oceans”) stated: “In the old times, when celebrating the new year, [Chams] would collect raw human galls and infuse them with wine for drinking, and also for bathing, calling this ‘guts throughout the body’.”²⁷ It was said that for those who fetched human galls, they collected galls not only for their offering to the king, but also for the sake of washing elephants’ eyes. They ambushed travelers on the roads, and chopped those who were caught off guard open for their galls. It was said that if the victims became aware of the attack, their galls would break and thus rendered useless. [Chams] put the galls into cauldrons and cooked them, where Chinese galls would always float on the top, which were deemed more precious than other galls. During May and June, merchants who have to travel would keep high vigilance on their trips.”²⁸ Although five hundred years have passed, foreign testimonies condemning the Cham custom of fetching human gall continues to remain vivid. The only difference being that the value of Chinese gall rose from what *Zhenla Feng Tu Ji* described as useless to the precious status mentioned in *Dongxi Yang Kao*. Why did this occur? How can we comprehend the change? Perhaps the attitude of the Chams to the Chinese had changed from “disgust” to outright “hostility,” meaning that the practice of extracting human galls had undergone a significant change. We may be able to find an explanation from anthropological case studies.

²⁶ Boxer Codex, fol. 304v-305.

²⁷張燮原著，謝方校釋，《東西洋考 (Dongxiyang Kao)》(北京：中華書局，2000)，頁 25。

²⁸張燮原著，謝方校釋，《東西洋考 (Dongxiyang Kao)》(北京：中華書局，2000)，頁 30-31。

b. The legal system

When the Iberians (the Spanish) arrived in Northeast and Southeast Asia during the Age of Discovery, they were always concerned with, and made observations about, the legal systems used by the nations and peoples in this area. Related works include Gaspar da Cruz's *Tractado em que se cõtam muito por estêco as cousas da China* ("A Treatise of China") and Martín de Rada's *Relacion de las cosas de China que propriamente se llama Tabybin* (Relation of the things of China, which is properly called Taybin); such works include considerable narration on China's legal system.²⁹

Compared to Spanish materials, the early Ming Dynasty records mention the Champan legal system and emphasize methods of punishment; for example *Xiyang Chao Gong Dian Lu* described the following: "There were five styles of punishment set: the first was hitting the criminal's back with canes. The second was cutting off the criminal's nose; the third was fastening a sharpened stick to a boat, which would then impale the criminal's back and stick out of his mouth; the boat will float on the water for a while, serving as a grim warning to others. The fourth was branding the face of those who committed adultery. The fifth was cutting off the hands of thieves."³⁰ *Xiyang Fan Guo Zhi* similarly noted that "According to the national law, those who committed misdemeanors were subject to flogging with canes, while those who committed felonies were to have their noses cut off. Those who steal were to have their hands cut off. Men and women who committed adultery were to have their faces

²⁹ C. R. Boxer. *South China in the Sixteenth Century, being the narratives of Caleote Pereira, Fr. Gaspar da Cruz, O.P., Fr. Martin de Rada, O.E.S.A. (1550-1575)* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1953).

³⁰ 黃省曾著，謝方校注，《西洋朝貢典錄校注 (Xiyang Chaogong Dianlu Jiaozhu)》(北京：中華書局，2000)，頁 5。

branded. For serious criminals, wooden boats were made, and the boats were set to float on water; a hard, sharpened stick was to be set on the boat, and the criminal was then ordered to sit on the stick. The criminal would die as the stick penetrates the body and comes out of the mouth, where the boat was left for public exposure.”³¹ *Shuyu Zhouzi Lu*, which was published at the end of 16th century, recorded Champan punishments in a manner resembling the sources mentioned above: “Fetters were prepared for those serving sentences in prisons; minor offenders received flogging by cane sticks, ranging from fifty, sixty to a hundred hits. For those sentenced to death, they were tied to trees by ropes, spears were thrust into their throats, which then penetrated their heads and killed them. Murderers or robbers who killed others were to be trampled over by elephants or swept by elephant trunks to the ground, where the elephants were trained to do so. Men and women who committed adultery were imprisoned to atone for their crimes.”³²

Spanish historical materials recorded that: “...those condemned to death are executed with great barbarity. Some were sentenced to be trampled to death by elephants, others are flogged to death, and still some are tortured for two or three days, during which time parts of their bodies were cut off or clipped with pincers until they die. And for very trifling and common offences, they cut off their feet, arms, or ears; all offenders were punished this way, and not with mere flogging, fines, or imprisonment.”³³ Reference to elephants trampling those condemned to death appeared in both the Spanish material and *Shuyu Zhou Zi Lu*. The other kind of

³¹ 鞏珍著，向達校注，《西洋番國志 (Xiyang Fanguozhi)》，(北京：中華書局，2006)，頁 3。

³² 嚴從簡著，余思黎點校，《殊域周咨錄 (Shuyü Zhouzilu)》(北京：中華書局，1993)，頁 266。

³³ Boxer Codex, fol. 303v.

punishment, such as cutting off ears and limbs, was common practice all over the world at that time and was mentioned in both sources. However, the execution method of piercing the prisoner's throat or neck by sharpened wood or other objects did not appear in Spanish sources.

Furthermore, several sources discussed the unique Champan way of delivering judgments in court. *Xiyang Chao Gong Dian Lu* mentioned that: "Oddities of this country: one being crocodiles participating in lawsuits...the country has large ponds where crocodiles lived within. When a lawsuit could not settle, the two parties involved were to send their representative to cross the pond, each riding an ox. The party at fault should be devoured by the crocodiles, while the just party should be able to cross the pond multiple times without interference from the crocodiles."³⁴ A similar account also existed in *Xiyang Fan Guo Zhi*: "There was a great pond that was connected to the sea, where crocodiles lived in it. Whenever the citizens encountered a complicated lawsuit, where officials found it difficult to judge, they would order the parties involved to cross the pond by riding water buffaloes. The crocodiles would always come out to eat those who were unjust, while those who were just were able to cross the bond more than ten times without facing [any] harm. This was the most unusual."³⁵ A book named *San Cai Tu Hui*, published by Wang Qi in the thirty-sixth year of Wanli Emperor's reign in Ming Dynasty (1609), also depicted the local custom of relying on crocodiles to make judicial judgments. "...if there was a deceptive lawsuit where the officials could not reach a decision, [parties involved]

³⁴黃省曾著，謝方校注，《西洋朝貢典錄校注 (Xiyang Chaogong Dianlu Jiaozhu)》(北京：中華書局，2000)，頁5。

³⁵鞏珍著，向達校注，《西洋番國志 (Xiyang Fanguozhi)》，(北京：中華書局，2006)，頁4。

were ordered to cross the crocodile pond; the crocodiles would eat the wicked, but were afraid of eating the just and avoided them.”³⁶ While the Chinese documented the mentioned method of leaving the judgment to the crocodiles’ preference, Spanish materials reported on the practice of inspecting testimonies given in court by means of fire and boiled oil.

With regards to the legal process, the Spanish materials included a number of observations: “The justice of this people is peculiar, for they have no fixed criminal code, but only their personal opinions. When the case is a serious one, they investigate it with two witnesses (testigo)... and the judges of these matters are the king and those who administer the land, who are four mandarins... For this reason, all affairs in this kingdom are decided summarily.”³⁷ This indicates that in Champa, just like in other Southeast Asian nations, the king continued to exercise great influence over legal procedures and judgments.³⁸ Distinctively, the Spanish material mentioned four officials who assisted the king during court hearings. The Chinese historical record titled *Dongxi Yang Kao* (published later) did not contain any references to Champan legal system.

c. Sati

The Spanish Catholics usually preferred burials when it came to funeral arrangements, and were less familiar with the practice of sati, which involves widows immolating themselves on their husband’s funeral pyre. Thus, when the Spanish

³⁶王圻，《三才圖會 (Sancai Tuhui)》(臺北：成文，1974)，頁 825。

³⁷ Boxer Codex, fol. 303.

³⁸ Anthony Reid. *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 137-138.

arrived in East Asia, they found the Hindu custom of cremation and the practice of sati inconceivable. Below is an observation as recorded in a Spanish document:

They look upon their great ones and their ancestors as gods, to whom they pray for everything they want. They have another custom invented by the [Champan] Devil himself, which is that when any leading personage dies, they cremate the body. After it has been kept for eight or ten days until they have made the necessary preparations in accordance with the quality of the deceased, they burn it [the body] in the field. When such a person dies, all the household servants and family members are seized and are kept until the last day. They will burn the body of their master or mistress, and then they throw themselves alive into the flames, taking with them all the things with which they served them in this life, so that they can serve them therewith in the other. for they have this erroneous belief among others, throwing everything into a huge bonfire or fire-pit, which they have for this purpose and which serve as their sepulchers and graveyards.³⁹

Reference to similar burial practices could also be seen in Chinese sources, such as *Xiyang Fan Guo Zhi* that stated: “When a wealthy or privileged man was about to die, they often make their beloved concubines or maid servants pledge that they will follow him to his death. Once the master passed away and his funeral proceeded, firewood was gathered to burn the master’s body. When the fire grew strong enough, after wearing flowers and draping five-colored handkerchiefs over their body, his concubines would jump up and down and wail loudly; then they would jump into the blazing pyre and burn down with their master. This was a funeral ceremony.”⁴⁰ *Dongxi Yang Kao* merely mentioned that Champa practiced cremation at funerals and

³⁹ Boxer Codex, fol. 305.

⁴⁰ 鞏珍著，向達校注，《西洋番國志 (Xiyang Fanguozhi)》，(北京：中華書局，2006)，頁9。

would collect the remains into utensils and sink them.”⁴¹ On the contrary, *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* (Complete Annals of Great Viet) mentioned that when Champan king Jaya Sinhavarman III passed away, local customs decreed that the queen, who was princess Huyền Trân of Vietnam, should accompany her husband to death. In order to prevent this outcome, Vietnam sent a rescue team to Champa to retrieve the princess: “October in winter, dispatch minister Trần Khắc Chung and military official Deng Wenru to bring princess Huyền Trân and her heir Do Ye back to Vietnam...when the Champan king died, [Chams] advocated that the queen should enter the altar of fire and join her husband. Realizing this, the [Vietnamese] emperor who was concerned the princess’s safety, sent Trần Khắc Chung as leader of a condolence team to negotiate with the Chams. Trần told the Chams that in order to have the queen cremated, rather than practice religious ceremonies, they should instead conduct an evocation ceremony on seashore to call back her spirit from heaven; once her spirit returned, all preparations for cremation should be complete and the princess would then enter the altar of fire. The Chams agreed to the terms, yet Trần [conveniently] seized a small boat and returned [back to Vietnam with the princess].”⁴²

When the Portuguese writer Tomé Pires wrote his *Suma Oriental* at the end of 16th century, he did not mention this custom in the part about Chams; rather he mentioned the following concerning his travels to Java: “When the king died, his many wives and concubines would burn themselves alive, and so would certain citizens. This was done not only for the rulers, but also for other important persons.

⁴¹張燮原著，謝方校釋，《東西洋考 (Dongxiyang Kao)》(北京：中華書局，2000)，頁 25。

⁴²「越」吳士連，陳荊和編校，《大越史記全書 (Dayue Shiji Chuanshu)》(東京：東京大學東洋文化研究所附屬東洋學文獻センター刊行委員會，1984)，卷 6，頁 389。

This [custom] was practiced by heretics, but those Javanese who had become Moors (who were Muslims) did no such practice. Instead of self-immolation, certain women instead chose to drown themselves, accompanied with music and dancing of their choice. When their husbands died, the most related women and men of privilege would succumb to daggers, same as those of status who chose to die for the king. Common people would either drown themselves in the sea or self-immolate.”⁴³ The sentence, “This was practiced by heretics, but those Javanese who had become Moors did no such practice,” indicates that during the 16th century, Southeast Asia was undergoing a religious transformation from Hinduism to Islam. Yet in the Kingdom of Champa, where conversion to Islam had only just began, funeral practices still seemed to be influenced by Hindu customs.

d. Drinking habits

Regarding the drinking habits of Chams, both Chinese and Westerners were deeply impressed. *Xiyang Chao Gong Dian Lu* recorded that: “They drink liquor from the pottery. To build such a container of wine, rice was cooked and mixed with medicines, which was then sealed in the container. The appearance of maggots indicated the wine’s ripeness. To drink from it, [they would] cut a branch of bamboo that was three feet long, empty the interior of the bamboo and insert it into the container. People would sit around the container and add water depending on the wine’s concentration. They would take turns to sip from the container, and would stop

⁴³ Francisco Rodrigues Tomé Pires, Armando Cortesao edited, *The Suma oriental of Tome Pires : an account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515 and The book of Francisco Rodrigues : rutter of a voyage in the Red Sea, Nautical Rules, Almanack and maps, written and drawn in the East before 1515* (New Delhi : Asian Educational Services, 1990), p.176.

adding water when the taste became too weak. If the moon was out, they would sing as they drank.”⁴⁴ *Xiyang Fan Guo Zhi* recorded that: “The wine was made by mixing rice and medicines in a sealed container, where people then wait for it to ripen. When drinking, the number of guests and hosts were first counted and long chunks of bamboo were then inserted into the container. People would sit around and take turns to rise and sip from it. Water was added when the wine was near depletion, and the drinking only ended when the taste became too thin.”⁴⁵ *Shuyu Zhou Zi Lu* recorded that: “When brewing wine, mix rice with pills and place the mixture in a container, seal it the proper way. Preserve it for long periods. A container that had maggots living by its dregs was deemed as containing excellent wine. When the seal was broken for drinking, long segments of bamboo that may be three to four feet long were stuck into the container. About five people would sit around it; they would take turns sip on the bamboo according to the water level, suck wine, and add water when the wine depleted. The drinking ended when the wine became tasteless, or those still with taste would be re-sealed for later usage. (It was also said that they don’t know how to brew wine manually and thus only drank coconut wine)⁴⁶

Obviously, Champan wine was brewed from rice. People would sit around and sip with bamboo tubes; when little wine remained, water would be added and drinking would continue until the wine became tasteless. This detail was included in *Dongxi Yang Kao* in the early 17th century; the information may have been transcribed from *Xiyang Fan Guo Zhi*, or perhaps the information circulated among the Chinese was

⁴⁴黃省曾著，謝方校注，《西洋朝貢典錄校注 (Xiyang Chaogong Dianlu Jiaozhu)》(北京：中華書局，2000)，頁 6。

⁴⁵鞏珍著，向達校注，《西洋番國志 (Xiyang Fanguozhi)》，(北京：中華書局，2006)，頁 3。

⁴⁶嚴從簡著，余思黎點校，《殊域周咨錄 (Shuyü Zhouzilu)》(北京：中華書局，1993)，頁 266。

more or less the same, explaining why Chinese records concerning Champan drinking habits were rather similar.⁴⁷

As for the Spanish records, information on Champan drinking habits formed part of their complaints on how unpalatable Champan food was. It read “These people do not eat anything properly cooked, but only in raw or putrid condition. In order to digest and consume these foods, they are great drinkers of very strong spirits, which they drink little by little and very frequently, thinking it no disgrace to fall down from drinking too much. But rather, when the great ones and the king have to discuss any weighty matter, they first gather round eating all together and drink their fill, and then they decide what to do about the matter, and execute it infallibly.”⁴⁸ However, there was no mention of Champan brewing methods or the unique drinking habit of sipping from bamboo. Nevertheless, for the Spanish who drank with the Champa aristocracy, Champa’s wine was regarded as strong.

From the above, we find that records of Champa customs left by the Spanish contained largely similar descriptions to Chinese sources, even though certain details or areas of focus differed somewhat. This lends authenticity to accounts of the unusual custom of extracting human galls as an offering to the Champa king. In legal terms, the focus in Chinese accounts is on the use of crocodiles to make judicial judgments. On the other hand, Spanish accounts contain more descriptions of judicial procedures. However, the harshness of the punishments meted out on Champa's people left a deep impression on both the Spanish and the Chinese. Regarding the custom of the wife following her husband to his death and Champa drinking habits,

⁴⁷張燮原著，謝方校釋，《東西洋考 (Dongxiyang Kao)》(北京：中華書局，2000)，頁 24。

⁴⁸ Boxer Codex, fol. 303.

the two accounts are largely similar. However, the descriptions show that the Chinese were drinking with ordinary Champa citizens, while the Spanish were drinking with Champa notables.

Conclusion

For Spanish living in the Philippines at the end of the sixteenth century, news of Champa, Cambodia, and Siam was brought by Spanish and Portuguese adventurers in Indochina. For the Dasmariñas clan who was actively trying to expand Spanish power in East Asia, these adventurers provided new targets for conquest. However, the military expeditions were compromised by the recklessness of Blas Ruiz and Diego Beloso, leading to military conflict with the Chinese in Cambodia. This episode led to expeditionary force commander Juan Juárez Gallinato's decision to withdraw his forces from Cambodia out of concern that Blas Ruiz and Diego Beloso would not obey his command thereafter. As a result, the Spanish lost the opportunity to establish a new continental stronghold in Southeast Asian.

On the other hand, while the attempted Spanish conquest of Cambodia failed, it had the unanticipated side effect of increasing contact between the Spanish and Champa people, leaving some valuable written records. As well as verifying the Chinese historical documents on Champa, the Spanish records confirm the authenticity of seemingly unbelievable stories concerning the Champa custom of extracting human galls. Although we are still unable to explain the historical background or reasons behind this strange custom, a comparison between the Chinese and Spanish sources provides us with a deeper understanding of the culture and customs of the late sixteenth century Champa kingdom. It is also hoped that the

records left by members of the 1596 Spanish expeditionary force to Cambodia on Champa will be able to restore the last scene of this vanished kingdom.

Champa



《三才圖書 (Sancai Tuhui)》



Boxer Codex