

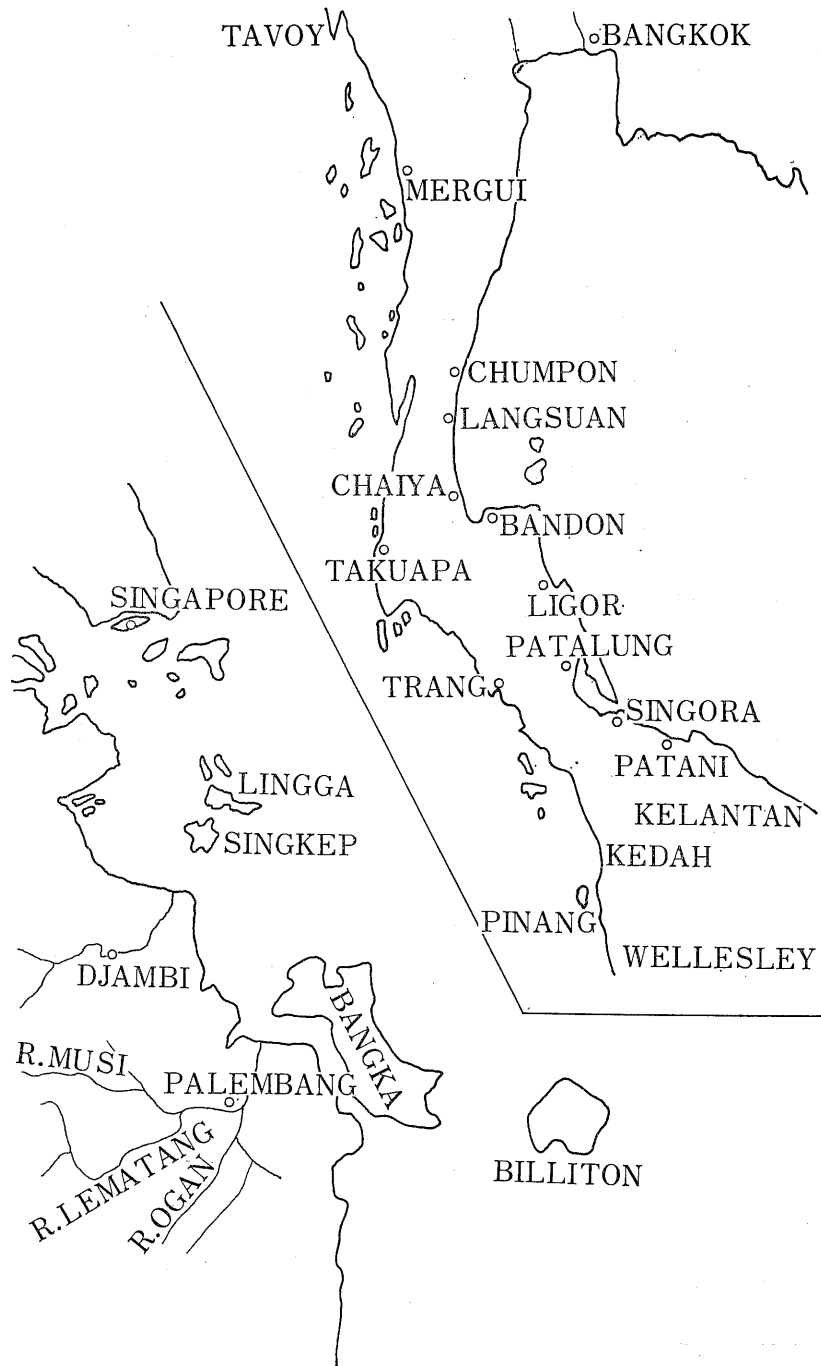
A Study of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土, an Ancient Kingdom in South-East Asia

By Rokurô KUWATA

It is recorded that the Sui 隋 dynasty had communications with a country called Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 in the south sea. The present writer supposed that this country could be identified with Shih-li-fo-shi 室利佛逝 (=Śrīvijaya), and expressed this assumption in the *Tōyō Gakuhō* 東洋學報, v. 9, no. 3, 1919, as 'Sekido-kō' 赤土考. Against it, K. Takakuwa 高桑駒吉 showed his country opinion in the *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌, v. 31 and 32, in a long treatise titled 'Sekidokoku-kō' 赤土國考. Despite his objection, the present writer felt no need of correcting his opinion, and wrote 'Sekido-kō hoi' 赤土考補遺 in the *Tōyō Gakuhō*, v. 10, no. 1, to point out questionable points in the treatise of K. Takakuwa. The many years since, however, have brought some minor alterations in the study. Though the conclusion was still the same, the present writer realized the necessity of making some amendments in 'Sekido-kō' 赤土考, so he wrote 'Sanbutsusei-kō' 三佛齊考 and 'Sanbutsusei hokō' 三佛齊補考 in the *Taihoku Teidai Shigakuka Kenkyū Nenpō* 臺北帝大史學科研究年報 (*Annual Report of the Historical Course of Taihoku Imperial University*), v. 3, 1936, and v. 5, 1938. These essays were also introduced in the *Nanpō Jinbun Kenkyūjo Ronsō* 南方人文研究所論叢 (*Journal of the Research Institute for South-East Asian Culture*), v. 1, 1945. The present English treatise is based on the second chapter of 'Sanbutsusei-kō' with some emendations newly made.

Researches on Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 are scarcely found until Huang Shêng-ts'êng 黃省曾, a scholar in the Ming 明 period, who assumed it to be on the western coast of South India. Later, Chang Hsieh 張燮 advanced the identification of Ch'ih-t'u with Hsien-lo 暹羅 (Siam). This identification was followed exclusively by many scholars since then. In the southern part of the Malabar coast, north of Cape Comorin, there is Red Cliffs (*Hobson Jobson*, p. 758), which is mentioned in Fei Hsin's 費信 *Hsing-ch'a-shêng-lan* 星槎勝覽, and between Small Ko-lan 小葛蘭 (Quilon)⁽¹⁾ and Kan-pa-li-t'ou 甘巴里頭 (Cape Comorin) in the chart (so-called Chêng Ho's

(1) T. Fujita 藤田豊八, *Daishō-Katsuran-kō* 大小葛蘭考, *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌, v. 25, no. 2, 1913, and *Tōzai Kōshōshi no Kenkyū* 東西交渉史の研究, v. 1, *Nankai-hen* 南海篇, pp. 79-93. The *Nankai-hen* is one of the two collections of T. Fujita's writings. It deals with the south sea and was edited in 1937.



鄭和 chart) of the *Wu-pei-chih* 武備志, v. 240. Fei Hsin 費信 did not refer to the Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 country of the *Sui-shu* 隋書. But Huang Shêng-ts'êng 黃省曾 identified the red earth mentioned in the *Hsing-ch'a-shêng-lan* 星槎勝覽 with the Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 country of the *Sui-shu* 隋書. He considered that K'o-chih 柯枝 (Cochin) was the ancient Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 country. Without doubt the identification of Huang Shêng-ts'êng 黃省曾 is wrong. Regarding Chang Hsieh's 張燮 identification seen in his *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao* 東西洋考, v. 2, entry Hsien-lo 暹羅, the basis of his argument that Hsien-lo 暹羅 (=Siam) is in the south sea and corresponds to Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 and P'o-lo-ch'a 婆羅剎 in the ancient history is based only on the evidence that Hsien-lo 暹羅 and Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 were both Buddhist countries. His identification is not trustworthy. It is easily understood that Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 is neither Hsien-lo 暹羅 nor some country in the Malay Peninsula, once we consider the route which the envoys of the Sui 隋 dynasty took for Ch'ih-t'u 赤土.

Here are some pertinent extracts from the *Sui-shu* 隋書.

- a) Ch'ih-t'u 赤土, an offshoot of Fu-nan 扶南, is located in the south sea, and is reached by a hundred and odd days' journey by ship. The country is called Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 after the red soil of its capital.
- b) There are P'o-lo-la 婆羅剎 on the east, P'o-lo-sha 婆羅沙 on the west, Ho-lo-tan 訶羅旦 in the south, and on the north a vast sea.
- c) The family name of its king is Ch'ü-t'an 瞿曇 (Gautama), and the personal name Li-fu-to-sai 利富多塞. Since his father became a priest, Li-fu-to-sai succeeded him to the throne. His reign has lasted 16 years. He has three wives, all of whom were princesses of the neighbouring countries. The king lives in the Sêng-ch'i 僧祇 castle.
- d) After Yang-ti 煬帝 of the Sui 隋 dynasty mounted the throne, he collected men who could communicate with the countries of the most distant regions. In the third year of Ta-yeh 大業 (A.D. 607), Ch'ang Chün 常駿 and Wang Chün-chêng 王君政 applied for the mission. The emperor was very pleased and bestowed on each of them a hundred *p'i* 匹 of silk and a suit of clothes. The emperor presented 5,000 *tuan* 段 (half *p'i*) to the king of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 through these two envoys.
- e) In the tenth month of that year, the envoys embarked at Nan-hai-chün 南海郡 (Canton) for Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 and the favourable wind brought them to Chiao-shih 焦石 mountain in twenty days. They anchored at Ling-ch'ieh-po-pa-to 陵伽鉢拔多 island which to the west faced Lin-i 林邑 (Champa, South Vietnam). A temple stood on the island. They travelled further southwards and arrived at Shih-tzū-shih 獅子石. From there on, islands appeared one after another. After a few days' journey, they saw mountains of the Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須 country on the

west, and went south to reach Chi-lung-tao 鷄籠島. They reached the frontier of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土. The king of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 dispatched a Brahman Chiu-mo-lo 鳩摩羅 (Kumâra) with thirty ships to welcome them with music. The ship of the Sui 隋 envoys was pulled by a chain of gold. In about a month, they arrived at the capital of the country.

- f) On their departure, the king of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 sent Na-hsieh chia 那邪迦 (Nâyaka) to offer products of the country, a chin-fu-jung-kuan 金芙蓉冠 (golden lotus crown), lung-nao-hsiang 龍腦香 (camphor) and a golden box in which the credentials engraved on tâla-leaves of gold were kept. They set sail for home, seen off by Brahmans with perfumes, flowers and music. Just then green fishes jumped out of the water. In ten odd days, they reached the southeast of Lin-i 林邑, and went on sailing along the mountains till they got to Chiao-chih 交趾 (Hanoi). In the Spring of the sixth year,⁽²⁾ the Sui 隋 envoys and Nâyaka were granted an audience with the emperor of the Sui 隋 dynasty at Hung-nung 弘農. (The above-mentioned occur in the *Sui-shu* 隋書, v. 82).

- g) Ch'ang Chün 常駿 was sent to Ch'ih-t'u 赤土, and brought a lo-chi 羅刹⁽³⁾ with him on Ching-yin 景寅⁽⁴⁾ of the third month, the fourth year of Ta-yeh 大業.

The king of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 dispatched an envoy to offer products of the country to the emperor; (the envoy arrived) on Hsin-ch'ou 辛丑 of the second month, the fifth year of Ta-yeh 大業.

The king of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 sent another envoy to offer products of the country to the emperor; (the envoy arrived) on Hsin-mao 辛卯 of the sixth month, the sixth year. (The above-mentioned occur in the *Sui-shu* 隋書, v. 3).

In the list of books seen in the *Chiu T'ang-shu* 舊唐書, v. 46, and *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書, v. 58, the *Ch'ih-t'u-kuo-chi* 赤土國記 which was edited by Ch'ang Chün 常駿 and others was recorded, but the list of books in the *Sui-shu* 隋書, v. 33, has no reference to it. The reason why the *Ch'ih-t'u-kuo-chi* 赤土國記 was omitted in the *Sui-shu* 隋書 may be traced from the fact that Volume 33 of the *Sui-shu* 隋書 was edited by Ch'ang-sun Wu-chi 長孫無忌 and others, and Volumes 3 and 82 were edited by Wei Chêng 魏徵.

Now, according to the route which the Sui 隋 envoys Ch'ang Chün 常駿 and others took, they are thought to have gone south along Vietnam.

(2) 'Sixth year' should be 'fourth year', for Ch'ang Chün 常駿 and others are considered to have returned home in the third month of the fourth year of Ta-yeh 大業.

(3) Lo-ch'a 羅刹 (rakshasa) is correct.

(4) Ching-yin 景寅 is a substitute for Ping-yin 丙寅. This is because they used the alternative character in order to avoid using the similar character which appeared in the name Tai-tsu Yüan-huang-ti Ping 代祖元皇帝壽.

T. Fujita explains their route precisely in his *Rógashúkoku-kó* 狼牙脩國考. And the present writer's opinion concerning their route can also be found in his *Sekido-kó* 赤土考 in the *Tóyó Gakuhó* 東洋學報, v. 9, no. 3. Further inquiry may, therefore, be unnecessary. The Sui 隋 envoys say that they saw the mountains of Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須 on the west. If we can make clear the location of Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須, that of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 will be focussed. In other words, the study of Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須 is the key to the study of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土. T. Fujita presented his research work on Lang-ya-hsiu 狼牙脩 in 1913, and the present writer's *Sekido-kó* 赤土考 followed in 1919. The latter owes much to the former.

There have been a few scholars who doubted the identification of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with Hsien-lo 暹羅; Tsou Tai-chün 鄒代鈞, P. Pelliot, T. Fujita 藤田豊八 and Ting Ch'ien 丁謙. T. Fujita writes in his *Rógashúkoku-kó* 狼牙脩國考, "Anyone who thinks that Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 is Hsien-lo 暹羅, is only following the false identification of a Ming 明 scholar, neglecting a close inquiry into the matter recorded in the *Sui-shu* 隋書. Although I have another identification in mind, it is unnecessary here to present it." Personally, the present writer has always felt sorry for not having had any opportunity to know his identification of it. Ting Ch'ien 丁謙 doubts the identification of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with Siam as P. Pelliot does, and yet he does not go further than to place it roughly in the middle part of the Malay Peninsula.

The scholars of Ming 明 period identified Lang-yu-hsü 狼牙須 (cf. T. Fujita, *Tózai Kóshó-shi no Kenkyú* 東西交渉史の研究, p. 23) with Hsi-lan 錫蘭 (Ceylon) simply because of its similarity to the ancient name of Ceylon, Lanka. Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須 seems to be the same as Lang-ya-hsiu 狼牙脩 in the *Liang-shu* 梁書, Lang-chia-shu 郎迦戌 in the *Nan-hai-chi-kuei-nei-fa-ch'uan* 南海寄歸內法傳, Ling-ya-ssü(-chia) 凌牙斯(加) in the *Chu-fan-chieh* 諸蕃志, and Lung-ya-hsi-chiao 龍牙犀角 in the *Tao-i-chih-lüeh* 島夷志略. Other similar examples are 'Lengasuka'⁽⁵⁾ in a poem which was dedicated by a poet Prapañca to Hayam Wuruk (A.D. 1350-1389) of the Majapahit dynasty in Java; and 'Ilangaçogam'⁽⁶⁾ in an article which recorded the merits of Râjendra Choladeva (A.D. 1012-1042), the king of Chola in South India, when he made an expedition of conquest to the east; and 'Lankasuka',⁽⁷⁾ the ancient royal castle recorded in 'Marong Mahavamsa', the *Keddah Annals*. Judging from the Chinese sources, it is evident that Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須 was in the Malay Peninsula. For instance, in the biography of Tao-lin 道琳, in

(5) P. Pelliot, *Deux Itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^e siècle*, B. E. F. E. O. IV, 1904, p. 343, note 2. T. Fujita, *Rógashúkoku-kó* 狼牙脩國考, *Tóyó Gakuhó* 東洋學報, v. 3 (1913), no. 2, p. 226, and *Nankai-hen*, p. 33.

(6) G. Coedès, *Le Royaume de Çrtvijaya*, B. E. F. E. O., XVIII, 1918, p. 11-13. G. Ferrand, *L'Empire Sumatranais de Çrtvijaya*, extrait du *J. A.*, 1922, p. 45.

(7) J. Low, *The Keddah Annals*, 1908, p. 14, notes p. 37.

Volume 2 of the *Kao-sêng-ch'uan* 高僧傳 by I-ching 義淨, a passage reads, "Passing the Copper Pillar (erected by Ma-yüan 馬援, a general of the Han 漢 period), we reached Lang-chia 朗迦, and then we passed Ho-ling 訶陵 (Java), and a country of naked people." In the entry Fo-lo-an 佛囉安 of the *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志, there is a passage which reads, "The surrounding countries are P'êng-fêng 蓬豐 (Pahang), Têng-ya-nung 登牙儂 (Trengganu), Ling-ya-ssü-chia 凌牙斯加⁽⁸⁾ (Lankasuka, Kedah), Chi-lan-tan 吉蘭丹 (kelantan)." These passages show that Ling-ya-ssü-chia 凌牙斯加 was among the countries in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula.

It is said that the ruins of Lankasuka, according to the *Keddah Annals*, are near Kúbon Balei which is four or five miles to the east of the Keddah Peak (Gunong Jérai).⁽⁹⁾ And at Bukit Murriam which is slightly to the south of Gunong Jérai, a slate was found, on which Buddhist inscriptions were engraved. H. Kern estimates them to be those of the fifth century.⁽¹⁰⁾ *A History of Malaya*⁽¹¹⁾ by R. O. Winstedt reports that the slate mentioned above was discovered under the floor of a 10 to 12 feet square ruin near Bukit Meriam. As the floor is small, this ruin seems to be a hermitage of a Buddhist priest. R. O. Winstedt says that the word Langkasuka now survives only as the name of a tributary to an upper reach of the Perak river,⁽¹²⁾ but at Sungai Batu, not far from Kuala Merbok and at the foot of Kedah Peak, there have been found a statue of Durga triumphing over Mahishahura⁽¹³⁾ in the form of a bull, the head of Nandi Shiva's bull and a yoni, while on the peak itself is an unidentified structure of cut granite and bricks that have been carried 4,000 feet up a mountain that has abundance of sand-stone. He also reports that in the north of Province Wellesley, a stone which looks like a pillar was found, on which the same poem as the second one on the slate was engraved together with a phrase, "(the gift) of Buddhagupta, the great sailor, whose abode was at Raktamrttika" beside the poem. Also, according to Winstedt, James Low discovered in the ruins of an ancient temple in Wellesley, a small coffee pot, a bronze dish with a Sanskrit inscription, and at Cherok Tokun a stone engraved with the same form of characters as seen in the inscription of Buddhagupta. On the shore near Kuala Selinsing, Winstedt adds,

(8) In this record, chia 加 alone is set down. This character is omitted in *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 69, but correctly it is Ling-ya-ssü-chia 凌牙斯加, supplementing Ling-ya-ssü 凌牙斯 previous to chia 加.

(9) T. Fujita, *Rôgashûkoku-kô* 狼牙脩國考, chap. 7, *op. cit.*

(10) G. Coedès, *Le Royaume de Çrivijaya*, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

(11) R. O. Winstedt, *A History of Malaya*, *J. Mal. Br. R. A. S.*, XIII, Part 1, 1935, pp. 19-21. Its Japanese annotated translation was published in 1943 by the Taiheiyô Kyôkai 太平洋協會 under the title *Marai-shi* マライ史.

(12) R. J. Wilkinson, *A History of the Peninsular Malays*, with chapters on Perak and Selangor, Singapore, 3rd edition 1923, p. 15. He assumes it to be a branch stream of the Patani river.

(13) Manishahura is an error. (R. O. Winstedt, *ibid.*, p. 21)

hundreds of bracelets in stone and in blue glass, some pottery and cross-hatched pottery stamps were discovered,⁽¹⁴⁾ and at Kuala Selinsing a Pallava seal of about the seventh century with an inscription of 'Sri Vishnuvarmasya' was found from a hole in a root of a fallen tree. The following year, B. Ch. Chabra wrote '*Identification of Śrī Viṣṇuvarman*' in *Journal of the Greater India Society*, v. II, no. 1, and reported that it had chanced to be discovered at Tanjong Rawa Kuala Selinsing, Perak, and that it had been originally attached to a ring. The ring has not been yet. found The inscription is 'Śrī Vishnuvarmasya', and judging from its form of writing it is estimated to be approximately of A.D. 600. Regarding the name of the king, 'varmasya' was thought to be the possessive form of 'varmaṇaḥ'. He was sometime regarded to be descended from Ravivarman of the Kadamba dynasty (3rd-6th centuries) or from Kṛṣṇavarman (c. A.D. 800), and was sometime supposed to be Viṣṇugopa or Viṣṇugopavarman (c. A.D. 340) in the Pallava dynasty. B. Ch. Chabra, however, identified him with Viṣṇu, the king of Śailendra whose name was engraved in the B surface (after A.D. 775) of the Ligor monument. There are several obscure parts in the B surface of this monument, as are mentioned afterwards, but if Viṣṇu should be the name of the king, his opinion is worth considering.

Looking into Chinese sources, the *Chun-fan-chih* 諸蕃志 and *Sung-shih* 宋史 say in their entry San-fo-ch'i 三佛齊, "In script, they use foreign (Indian) letters 番書 (fan-shu 梵書 in the *Sung-shih* 宋史), and the king's ring is used as a seal." According to R. J. Wilkinson, Cherok Tokun is near Bukit Mertajam, and the rock inscriptions belong to various ages. They are worn down to a great extent, and the oldest one is of the fifth century, the second oldest is of the sixth century.⁽¹⁵⁾

The above-mentioned historical sources do not directly touch the problem of Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須, but relate to the region equivalent to Chieh-t'u 羯荼 of I-ching 義淨, Ko-lo 箇羅 of the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書, Kaṭāha and Kaḍāra of Indian inscriptions, Kalah of Mohammedan writers, and suggest how old its culture is. Regrettable as it is that none of them refers to Lankasuka, its existence in ancient times is proved by the Chinese sources. Chinese came to know Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須 from the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula, as is seen in the Chinese sources such as the *Sui-shu* 隋書 and *Kao-sêng-ch'uan* 高僧傳. Hence the supposition of T. Fujita that the domain of Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須 ranged from Patani on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula to Kedah on the western coast. On the chart of the *Wu-pei-chih* 武備志, v. 100, Lang-hsi-chia 狼西加 is located to

(14) The commonest types of glass-beads are opaque yellow, opaque blue, opaque green, clear blue, clear yellow, dark red, and orange paste with dark red striations. One type has "a core of non-translucent yellowish paste, plated with gold-leaf which is covered with clear yellow glass."

(15) R. J. Wilkinson, *A History of the Peninsular Malays*, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

the south of Sun-ku-na 孫姑那 (Singora). Lang-hsi-chia 狼西加 seems to be around Patani.

Now, provided that Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須 was in the middle of the Malay Peninsula, where did the Sui 隋 envoys reach when they saw the mountains of Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須 on the western side of their ship and sailed southwards further? They reached Chi-lung 鷄籠 island and then reached the frontier of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土, and were escorted by the messenger Chiu-mo-lo 鳩摩羅 (Kumâra) sent to welcome them, and reached its capital in about a month. This phrase 'in about a month' does not make sense, if it was from the frontier that they travelled about a month to reach its capital. Previously the present writer simply concluded it to be false. Yet at the beginning of Ch'ih-t'u-ch'uan 赤土傳 of the *Sui-shu* 隋書, a passage reads, "Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 is in the south sea, and a hundred days' journey brings us there." It took them more than three months. Compared with this figure, it may not be false that they reached there 'in about a month'. If this be true, how should we understand the passage asserting that in returning home, they reached the southeast of Lin-i 林邑 after ten odd days' sailing? Thus the number of days it took them to reach Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 becomes doubtful again. Moreover, they must have sailed with the monsoon, for they went south in the tenth month and returned in the third month of the next year. The *Kao-sêng-ch'uan* 高僧傳 of I-ching 義淨 says, "Sailing for about a month, we reached Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 island." (v. 2, entry Biography of Ta-chin 大津), and "Sailing with the east wind for a month, we reached Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 country." (v. 2, entry Biography of Wu-hsing 無行). And in the entry San-fo-ch'i 三佛齊 of the *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志, a passage reads, "In the Winter, with the monsoon, you sail a little more than a month and then come to Ling-ya-mên 凌牙門, where one third of the passing merchants (put in) before entering this country (of San-fo-ts'i)" (F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 60). Ling-ya-mên 凌牙門 is Linga island, like Lung-ya-mên 龍牙門 in the *Tao-i-chih-lüeh* 島夷志略 and *Wu-pei-chih* 武備志. T. Fujita's identification of the above-mentioned two names with Singapore is a doubtful hypothesis (*The Geibun* 藝文, v. 4 no. 4, 1913, and *Tôzai Kôshô-shi no Kenkyû* 東西交渉史の研究, Part I, Nankai-hen 南海篇, 1932, p. 54). There is a high mountain of 3920 feet, which attracts travellers on board with its beauty.⁽¹⁶⁾ Ling-ya 凌牙 or Lung-ya 龍牙 is a transcription of Sanskrit *liṅga*, for the shape of the mountain resembles a *liṅga*, as described on the chart of the *Wu-pei-chih* 武備志. So, it is also possible that the Chinese sailors compared the top of the mountain with a bird-cage, and named the island Chi-lung-tao 鷄籠島.

The present writer identifies Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 of Sui 隋 with Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 of T'ang 唐. At the beginning of Nan-man-ch'uan 南蠻傳 of the

(16) A. J. Findley, *A Directory for the Navigation of the Indian Archipelago and the Coast of China*, 1889, p. 208.

Sui-shu 隋書, it reports, "During the years of Ta-yeh 大業 (A.D. 605-616), more than ten countries offered tributes, and now most of them cannot be heard of and only four are recorded." The four countries recorded there are Lin-i 林邑, Ch'ih-t'u 赤土, Chên-la 真臘 and P'o-li 婆利. Besides these four countries, Tan-tan 丹丹 and P'an-p'an 盤盤 are added there as tributaries. Yet, other countries can be supplied by the *T'ung-tien* 通典, *T'ai-p'ing-huan-yü-chi* 太平寰宇記, *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan* 太平御覽 and others. Except for Ch'ih-t'u 赤土, these countries were known also in the T'ang 唐 period. And the opposite case is that of Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 which was familiar in the T'ang 唐 period but unknown in the Sui 隋 period. According to I-ching 義淨, Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 was at that time one of the big countries in the south sea, along with Ho-ling 訶陵. And it is noteworthy that he lists various countries in the south sea from the west, and writes, "The people of these countries are conforming to the Hsiao-ch'êng 小乘 (Hinayâna) Buddhist principle, while in Mo-lo-yu 末羅遊 there are a few who conform to the Ta-ch'êng 大乘 (Mahâyâna) principle." At that time Mo-lo-yu 末羅遊 (Djambi) was a country combined with Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 (Palembang) in Sumatra. And Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 of the *Sui-shu* 隋書 is also a big Buddhist country. These facts allow us to guess that Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 is identical with Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝. Moreover, the identity of the surroundings of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with those of Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 makes it more reliable.

The surroundings of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 mentioned in the *Sui-shu* 隋書 are "P'o-lo-la 婆羅刺 on the east, P'o-lo-sha 婆羅沙 on the west, Ho-lo-tan 訶羅旦 on the south, and on the north a vast sea." P'o-lo-la 婆羅刺 on the east must be P'o-li 婆利 (Bali island, east of Java) which appears in the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書, where it is stated: "Ho-ling 訶陵 is also called Shê-p'o 社婆 or Shê-p'o 闍婆. It is in the south sea and there is P'o-li 婆利 on the east." The entry Huan-wang 環王 kingdom in the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書 reports, "On the east of P'o-li 婆利 lies Lo-ch'a 羅刹." In the *Sui-shu* 隋書, its pên-chi 本紀 reports, "The Sui 隋 envoys reached (or brought) Lo-chi 羅刹." But judging from the sentences "In the third year of Ta-yeh 大業, Ch'ang Chün 常駿 reached the Lo-ch'a 羅刹 country" (the *T'ai-p'ing-huan-yü-chi* 太平寰宇記, v. 177) and "The Lo-ch'a 羅刹 country has been communicating with Chung-kuo 中國 (China) since Ch'ang Chün 常駿 was dispatched there in the third year of Ta-yeh 大業" in the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan* 太平御覽, v. 788, it is likely that chi 刹 in the *Sui-shu* 隋書 was correctly ch'a 刹, for 刹 was also written 蜀 in another book, and 蜀 bears much resemblance in shape to ch'a 刹. Therefore, Lo-chi 羅刹 must be lo-ch'a 羅刹 (Skt. rakshasa 'demon'). Accordingly, P'o-lo-la 婆羅刺 turns out to be P'o-li 婆利 and lo-ch'a 羅刹. Moreover, the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書 says, "In the fifth year of Chên-kuan 貞觀 (A.D. 631), the king of Lin-i 林邑, T'ou-li 頭黎 offered huo-chu 火珠 (lens for making a fire). His envoy came here together with those from P'o-li 婆利 and Lo-chi 羅刹", while the *T's'ê-*

fu-yüan-kuei 冊府元龜, v. 970, says, "In the fifth year of Chên-kuan 貞觀, the king of Lin-i 林邑 offered huo-chu 火珠. The envoy says that he got it in the Lo-li 羅利 country. P'o-li 婆利 sent an envoy who came together with the envoy of Lin-i 林邑 and presented products of the country." Here is a contradiction in the list of the countries. Lo-li 羅利 is not found in any other books, so it should be replaced by Lo-chi 羅颯. The reason why the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書 places Lo-ch'a 羅刹 to the east of P'o-li 婆利 (Bali island) is that the region to the east of Bali island was not yet influenced by the Hindu culture and was quite unfamiliar to the ears of the editors, and not that Ch'ang Chün 常駿 and others extended their travel to the east of P'o-li 婆利 (Bali). 'Chih-lo-chi 致羅颯' means either 'brought lo-ch'a 羅刹 (Skt. rakshasa 'demon')' since Ho-ling 訶陵 (Java) offered sêng-ch'i-nu 僧祇奴 (negroes) during the T'ang 唐 period, or (the Sui 隋 envoys) 'reached Lo-ch'a 羅刹 (or 颯, 颯)', interpreting *chih* 致 as *tao* 到 for 'arrive'. The country of Lo-ch'a 羅刹, however, may be mentioned here not to exactly identify itself, but to roughly indicate the demons' region, including Ch'ih-t'u 赤土.

P'o-li 婆利, P'o-lo 婆羅 or other analogous names should be examined according to the needs and purposes of researches. P. Pelliot maintains that Ma-wu 馬五 island to the east of Chu-po 諸薄 in the entry Fu-nan 扶南 of the *Liang-shu* 梁書 is a miswriting of Ma-li 馬立, *i. e.* Bali island. On the other hand, T. Fujita writes that it must be Wu-ma 五馬, a transcription of 'gaumedi', which is the native name in the Molucca islands of chi-shê-hsiang 鷄舌香, *i. e.* ting-hsiang 丁香, based on a passage of the *Wu-shih-wai-kuo-ch'uan* 吳時外國傳 that Wu-ma 五馬 island produces chi-shê-hsiang 鷄舌香. Chi-shê-hsiang 鷄舌香 or ting-hsiang 丁香 are cloves, the special product of the Molucca islands.⁽¹⁷⁾ P'o-li 婆里 island in I-ching's writings is generally considered to be identical with Bali, while P'o-la 婆刺 described as "(There are) Chü-yu 俱遊 (Gaya) on the west (of To-mieh 多蔑), P'o-la 婆刺 on the north, and Chên-t'ou-huan 真陀洹 (Burma?)⁽¹⁸⁾ on the east" in

(17) T. Fujita, *Yôchô Shichô Shikajô ni tsukite* 葉調・斯調・私詞條につきて, *Shigaku Zasshi*, v. 38 (1927), no. 7, p. 638, and *Nankai-hen*, p. 685.

(18) We have Nou-t'ou-huan 耨陀洹 which resembles Chên-t'ou-huan 真陀洹. The *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書, v. 222, pt. 2, entry Ho-ling 訶陵, reports that T'ou-huan 陀洹 is a tributary of To-ho-lo 墮和羅 (Siam) and is also called Nou-t'ou-huan 耨陀洹. T'ou-huan 陀洹 offered tribute to China, according to the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜, v. 970, in the seventeenth year of Chêng-kuan 貞觀 (A. D. 643), while the *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要 reports that Nou-t'ou-huan 耨陀洹 offered tribute in the eighteenth year of Chêng-kuan 貞觀, and is located to the northeast of To-ho-lo 墮和羅, and that it is a five months' journey by ship from there to Kuang-chou 廣州. The conditions of T'ou-huan 陀洹 set down in the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書 are the same as those in the *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要. Nou 耨 like chên 眞 may be a transcription of the Sanskrit śrī, while T'ou-huan 陀洹 may denote Tagaung in Burma. T. Yamamoto 山本達郎 suggests in his treatise *Dawarakoku-kô* 墮和羅國考, *Shirin*, 史林, v. 28, no. 4, that To-mieh 多蔑 is a transcription of Tamil in South India, and T'ou-huan 陀洹 is that of Dagon, an ancient name of Rangoon in Burma.

the entry To-mieh 多蔑 (Tamil) of the *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要, v. 100, seems to be Po-t'ou-li 波托利 or P'o-lo-li-fu-to-lo 婆羅利弗多羅 (Pāṭaliputra). Ming-mieh 名蔑 that occurs in the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書, v. 222, chap. 2, is a miswriting of To-mieh 多蔑.

The present writer once assumed P'o-li 婆利 in the *Liang-shu* 梁書 to be Bali island. Yet, judging from its text, which states: "It is 55 days' travel from the east to the west of its domain, and 20 days' travel from the north to the south. The people of this country say that the consort of Pai-ching-wang 白淨王 was born there", it seems to be found in India. Regarding the P'o-li 婆利 country, the *Sui-shu* 隋書 says, "It is reached, setting sail from Chiao-chih 交趾 (Hanoi) and passing through Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 and Tan-tan 丹丹. It is four months' travel from the east to the west of its domain and 45 days' travel from the north to the south." The statement is very similar to that of the *Liang-shu* 梁書. It cannot be identified with Bali island. If it should be Bali island, Shê-p'ò 闍婆 (Java) must come after Ch'ih-t'u 赤土, but in fact comes Tan-tan 丹丹. The *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜, v. 968-969, reports that Tan-tan 丹丹 offered the tributes in the sixth month, the third year of Chung-ta-t'ung 中大通 of the Liang 梁 dynasty (A.D. 531); in the tenth month, the 13th year of T'ai-chien 太建 of the Ch'ên 陳 dynasty (A.D. 581); and in the tenth month, the third year of Chih-tê 至德 (A.D. 585). The *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書 reports that the Tan-tan 單單 country offered their native products during Ch'ien-fêng 乾封 (A.D. 666-667) and Tsung-chang 總章 (A.D. 668-669). On the same matter, the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜 informs us that it occurred in the seventh month of the first year of Ch'ien-fêng 乾封; and in the third year of Tsung-chang 總章. Tan-tan 單單 and Tan-tan 丹丹 must, therefore, be the same country. If P'o-li 婆利 is located in India, Tan-tan 丹丹 should be located between Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 and India. Between them also is San-mo-tan-tan 三摩咀咀 (Samatata) mentioned in the *Ta-t'ang Hsi-yü-chi* 大唐西域記 and in the *Kao-sêng-ch'uan* 高僧傳, v. 2, of I-ching 義淨. This country was located in the delta of the Ganges river, and was conquered by Samudragupta. His conquest is recorded in the inscription on his monument. Viewed thus, the route as described in the *Sui-shu* 隋書, that is, passing Chiao-chih 交趾, Ch'ih-t'u 赤土, Tan-tan 丹丹 as far as P'o-li 婆利 can be understood. The *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書 says, "Tan-tan 單單 is located to the southeast of Chêng-chou 振州 and to the west of To-lo-mo 多羅磨." To-lo-mo 多羅磨 seems to be Taruma nagara in West Java, or perhaps To-lo-po-ti 墮羅鉢底 (Dvaravati) in Siam. In the *Nan-hai-chi-kuei-ch'uan* 南海寄歸傳, v. 1, Tan-tan 咀咀 island appears among the islands in the south sea, but this island is quite different from the above-mentioned island, just as the following countries are alike in name, but quite different in fact: P'en-p'en 盆盆 occurring in the *Nan-hai-chi-kuei-ch'uan* 南海寄歸傳 and Po-p'en 渤盆 appearing in the *Kao-sêng-ch'uan* 高僧傳 as a country to

the north of Ho-ling 訶陵 (Java) differ from the P'an-p'an 盤盤 country (in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula, Ligor?) which is reported in the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜, v. 970, to have been tributary to China from the Liang 梁 period until the sixth month, the 22nd year of Chên-kuan 貞觀 of the T'ang 唐 period, or until Yung-hui 永徽 according to the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書, v. 222, chap. 2. Those referred to as Tan-tan 坦坦 and P'en-p'en 盆盆 (or Po-p'en 渤盆) in I-ching's 義淨 writings are small islands and differ from Tan-tan 丹丹 (or Tan-tan 單單) and P'an-p'an 盤盤 which often offered tributes to China.

The P'o-lo-sha 婆羅沙 country to the west of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 is identical with P'o-lu-shih 婆魯師 appearing in the passages of I-ching's 義淨 *Kao-sêng-ch'uan* 高僧傳, v. 2, where it is stated: "Two priests of Hsin-lo 新羅 sailed in the south sea, and died in the P'o-lu-shih 婆魯師 country which was located to the west of the Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 country" and of his *Nan-hai-chi-kuei-ch'uan* 南海寄歸傳, where it is stated: "Enumerating from the west, there lie P'o-lu-shih 婆魯師 island and Mo-lo-yu 末羅遊 island". In the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書, entry Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝, it is stated: "Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 is divided into two countries. The western country is styled Lang-p'o-lu-sü 郎婆露斯". This is the same country that was reported as Langabâlûs, a country of naked people by Ibn Khordâdzbeh and Suleyman during the reigns of Wu-tsung 武宗 and Hsüan-tsung 宣宗 about the middle of the ninth century. By Langabâlûs, they indicated the Nicobar islands which they reached in ten to fifteen days from Sirandib (Ceylon), and from which they reached Kilah (Kedah) in about six days. The name of Langabâlûs had long been used after the first mentioning. Although this was a country of uncultivated naked people, it occupied an important position in the communication routes. The *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* 酉陽雜俎, v. 18, reports, "Lung-nao-hsiang 龍腦香 is produced in the P'o-li 婆利 country. The people call it ku-pu-p'o-lü 固不婆律. P'o-lü-hsiang 婆律香 is also produced in Po-sü 波斯 (Persia) There are two kinds of trees of it, a fat and a slender one. The latter produces P'o-lu-kao-hsiang 婆律膏香. Some say the slender one produces lung-nao-hsiang 龍腦香 and the fat one P'o-lü-kao 婆律膏." However, since lung-nao-hsiang 龍腦香 trees do not grow in Bali island, we cannot identify P'o-li 婆利 mentioned above with Bali island. This is a misunderstanding of the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* 酉陽雜俎, since the *Pên-ts'ao-kang-mu* 本草綱目, v. 35, reports, "Su Kung 蘇恭 says lung-nao 龍腦 is dry resin in roots of the tree and P'o-lü-hsiang 婆律香 is pure resin under the roots, the name of which is after the P'o-lu 婆律 country where it was once produced." Su Kung 蘇恭 lived during the years of Hsien-ch'ing 顯慶 in the T'ang 唐 period, and revised and enlarged the *T'ang-pên-ts'ao* 唐本草. P'o-li 婆利 in the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* 酉陽雜俎 must be mistaken for the P'o-lü 婆律 country here, since they are alike in name. Regarding Po-sü 波斯 in the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* 酉陽雜俎, B. Laufer insisted on

identifying it with Po-ssü 波斯 in the south sea, distinguishing it from Po-ssü 波斯 in West Asia.⁽¹⁹⁾ His hypothesis does not seem acceptable. The passage in the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* 酉陽雜俎 must have suggested only that camphor had been imported or conveyed by the people of Po-ssü 波斯 (Persia). Now, P'o-li 婆利 is a country which actually existed, while P'o-lü 婆律 did not. The name of P'o-lü 婆律 was only imagined from ku-pu-p'o-lü 固不婆律, indicating a country of (ku-pu-) p'o-lu (固不) 婆律. Chieh-pu-lo-hsiang 羯布羅香 trees, according to the *Hsi-yü-chi* 西域記, entry Mo-lo-chü-ch'a 秣羅矩吒, grow in Mt. Mo-lo-yeh 秣羅耶 (Malayagiri). Chieh-pu-lo 羯布羅 is a transcription of Sanskrit karpûra as well as ku-pu-p'o-lü 固不婆律. T. Fujita supports this explanation made by Fr. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill on page 194 of '*Chau Ju-kua*'.⁽²⁰⁾ In a Sanskrit dictionary, we also have 'bâluka' apart from 'karpûra'. 'Karpûra' may be clipped and a suffix added to it and turned into 'bâluka', as in 'Indra'-'Indraka', 'Gupta'-'Guptaka', 'Gopi'-'Gopika', 'Kâla'-'Kâlîka', etc.⁽²¹⁾ If 'bâluka' is the clipped form of 'karpûra', it is like the case of P'o-lü 婆律, the shortened form of ku-pu-p'o-lü 固不婆律. Yet, some insisted that P'o-lü 婆律 could be identified with Barus, a port on the western coast of Sumatra, only to be contradicted by T. Fujita and others. The Malayan 'Kapor barus' is made by the association of Barus and camphor. Although it was already reported in the *Liang-shu* 梁書 that the Lang-ya-hsiu 狼牙脩 country produced P'o-lü-kaio 婆律膏 (balsam), I-ching 義淨 simply reported in his *Nan-hai-chi-kuei-ch'uan* 南海寄歸傳, v. 3, "In the south sea lung-nao 龍腦 is produced a little", and Su Kung 蘇恭 gave the imagined name P'o-lü 婆律 to the productive country of P'o-lü-kaio 婆律膏. The statement concerning P'o-li 婆利 in the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* 酉陽雜俎 is also doubtful, and the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書 alone reported that Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 produced much gold, mercury and lung-nao 龍腦.

Notwithstanding the unfamiliarity of the Chinese people about where camphor was produced, almost all the Mohammedan writings concerning the south sea reported that camphor was produced in Djâwaga, or Zabag which was governed by Mahârâja. Moreover, they specified the names of the places of production. These were quite unknown to the Chinese people of the T'ang 唐 period. For example, Ibn Khordâdzbek (A.D. 844-848) said, "A gauche et à deux journées de Kilah est l'île de Bâlûs, habitée par des anthropophages. Elle produit du camphre excellent, des bananes, des cannes à sucre et du riz" (G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages*, p. 27). Ibn al-Fakîh (A.D. 902) said, "le girofle, le bois de sandal, le camphre, la noix muscade, (provient) du Djawaga—pays situé du côté de sud, dans

(19) B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 468-487.

(20) T. Fujita, *Rôgashûkoku-kô* 狼牙脩國考, *Tôyô Gakuhô*, v. 3, no. 2, p. 264, and *Nankai-hen*, pp. 29-30.

(21) C. Akanuma 赤沼智善, *Indo Bukkyô Koyûmeishi Jiten* 印度佛教固有名詞辭典, 1931.

le voisinage de la Chine—d'un pays (du Djawaga) appelé Fančûr" (*ibid.* p. 65). And Mas'ûdî (A.D. 943) said, "Elles (iles nommées er-Râmîn) sont abondantes en mines d'or et voisines du pays de Ẕančûr (correctly Fančûr), célèbre par son camphre" (*ibid.* p. 97).⁽²²⁾ Ẕančûr (Kansour in *Les Prairies d'or*, T. 1, p. 338) is a miswriting of 'Fančûr'. Sulaymân (A.D. 851) spells a certain plant 'fančûra', and Avicenne (A.D. 980–1037) calls a kind of camphor 'fančûri',⁽²³⁾ which means 'kâfûr' produced in Fančûr. Later on, Ibn Sa'îd (A.D. 1208 or 1214–1274 or 1286) and Abûlfidâ (A.D. 1273–1331) spell 'Pančûr' for 'Fančûr'. In Chinese sources, Fančur as a place of production of camphor is first mentioned in the *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志, v. 2, (A.D. 1225). The passage is mentioned as follows: "Nao-tzû 腦子 (or camphor) comes from Po-ni 渤泥 (or Fo-ni 佛尼) and also from the Pin-ts'ui 賓率 country. It is generally said that it is also found in San-fo-ch'i 三佛齊, but it is an error". Secondly, it appears in the *Tao-i-chih-lüeh* 島夷志略 and the chart (of Chêng Ho 鄭和) of the *Wu-pei-chih* 武備志 as Pan-tsu 班卒. Marco Polo reports that he went to Fansur from Lambri (now Achin or Atjeh in North Sumatra). Fansur can also be identified with Barus on the western coast of Sumatra. Fansur is an altered form of Barus, just as 'Malaya' is corrupted into 'Malaiur' or 'Malayûr'.

Then, where can we locate the P'o-lu-shih 婆魯師 that occurs in I-ching's 義淨 writings? I-ching 義淨 makes no reference to P'o-lu-shih 婆魯師 in connection with camphor. Now, when we think of the destination of the journey of two Hsin-lo 新羅 priests who died in this country, they are thought to have been on their way to India. The route which they intended to take must have been thus: set sail at Fo-shih 佛逝, pass through the Malacca Strait, go northwards and reach Tâmrâlipti (Tamluk) in the mouth of the Ganges river, and if they were to reach the Shih-tzû 獅子 country (Ceylon), they would go westwards from Chieh-t'u 羯荼 (Kalah, Kilah according to the Mohammedan writers; what is now Kedah), pass through the Nicobar islands and reach Ceylon. If we take P'o-lu-shih 婆魯師 to be Barus on the western coast of Sumatra, it is by no means conceivable that they travelled overland from Palembang to Barus. They must, therefore, have sailed by sea. In this case, however, they had to take the trouble to make a U-turn at the Nicobar islands. There are two arguments already made on the identification of P'o-lu-ssû 婆魯斯. One of the two is that of J. Takakusu 高楠順次郎 identifying it with Parlak on the northern end of Sumatra (Ferlak by Marco Polo), and the other is that of

(22) Masoudi, *Les Prairies d'or*, texte et traductions par C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, Paris 1861, t. 1, p. 338. The other questions from the Mohammedan records are extracted from G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques, Arabes, Persans et Turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIII^e au XVIII^e siècles*, Paris 1913.

(23) G. Ferrand, *Relations.*, t. 1, p. 288.

G. Ferrand identifying it with Barus from the Mohammedan sources.⁽²⁴⁾ The present writer has an opinion quite different from the above two: that P'o-lu-shih 婆魯師 is a transcription of 'bâlûs', the shortened form of Langabâlûs (Nicobar). According to I-ching's 義淨 *Kao-sêng-ch'uan* 高僧傳, some are reported to have arrived in East T'ien-chu 東天竺 (India) and some in Shih-tzū 獅子 island (Ceylon), passing through the south sea. The turning point is at Chieh-t'u 羯荼 (Kedah). I-ching 義淨 himself arrived at Tan-mo-li-ti 耽摩立底 (Tâmrālipti), passing through Chieh-t'u 羯荼 and the country of naked people. J. Takakusu defines this country of naked people as being among the Nicobar islands as a result of his view that Chieh-t'u 羯荼 was on the western end of Sumatra. Nevertheless, Chieh-t'u 羯荼 was in fact on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula, and it does not matter if the country of naked people mentioned by I-ching 義淨 might be located among the Andaman islands. The country of naked people reported by Mohammedans, *i.e.* Langabâlûs, should be among the Nicobar islands since they started from South India or Ceylon and directly went eastwards and got to Kalah (Kedah). The name of Andâmân, however, was already reported by Sulaymân (A.D. 851). This course which Mohammedans took is closely related with the development of the northern part of Sumatra island. The name of a country recorded as Lan-li 藍里 in the *Ling-wai-tai-ta* 嶺外代答, Lan-wu-li 藍無里 in the *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志, Nan-wu-li 南巫里 or 南無力 in the *Yüan-shih* 元史, Nan-wu-li 喃嘸里 in the *Tao-i-chih-lüeh* 島夷志略, Lambri in Marco Polo's writing, is already introduced by Ibn Khordâdzhbeh (A.D. 844-848) as Râmî; it was later spelled Rambri, Râmin or Râmini. This is a country located on the northwest end of Sumatra (what is now Achin, Atjeh). Mohammedans were not satisfied with their purchase of camphor at the marts of Kalah and Sribuza, and looked for the home of camphor and at last found their way to Barus on the western coast of Sumatra. This is why Barus prospered as an export port of camphor. If not, there can be found no reason of the prosperity of the western coast of Sumatra which was off the main communication route of the East and West.

Lastly, concerning Ho-lo-tan 訶羅旦 on the south of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土, suffice it to say that Ho-lo-tan 訶羅單 which occurs in a passage of the *Sung-shu* 宋書, v. 97, "The Ho-lo-tan 訶羅單 country governs Shê-p'o 闍婆 island", is the same country which appears in the same *Sung-shu* 宋書 under the name Ho-lo-t'ou 訶羅陀, because Chien-k'ai 堅鑿, the king of Ho-lo-t'ou 訶羅陀 is the same person as P'i-sha-pa-mo 毗沙跋摩 (Vijavarman), the king of Ho-lo-tan 訶羅單 (*cf.* The *Tôyô Gakuhô*, v. 9, no. 3, p. 374). Ho-lo-tan 訶羅單 which occurs in a passage of the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜, v. 968, "In the tenth year of Yüan-chia 元嘉 (A.D. 433), the Ho-lo-tan 訶羅單

(24) G. Ferrand, *L'Empire Sumatranais de Crivijaya*, extrait du *J. A.*, 1922, p. 72.

country of An-po 闍波 island (an 闍 is a miswriting of shê 闍).", is also the same country, which corresponds to Ho-ling 詞陵 seen in the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書 and I-ching's 義淨 writings.

To sum up the above evidence:

- 1) The Sui 隋 envoys sailed south along the coast of the Malay Peninsula.
- 2) The country called Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 in the Sui 隋 period cannot be found in the T'ang 唐 period, while the Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 country of the T'ang 唐 period is not known in the Sui 隋 period; the descriptions of the two countries are similar.
- 3) Both have common surroundings.

On the basis of the above proofs, it is concluded that the Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 country of the Sui 隋 period is identified with the Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 country of the T'ang 唐 period.

Any research on the Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 should be based on the *Ch'ih-t'u-kuo-ch'uan* 赤土國傳, because it is edited by Wei Chêng 魏徵 during the early T'ang 唐 period, and contains no unreliable opinions of scholars of the later period, unlike those compositions edited during the early Sung 宋 period such as the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書, *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要, *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜, *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan* 太平御覽, *T'ai-p'ing-huan-yü-chi* 太平寰宇記 and others. For example, the following two passages in the entry Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 of the *T'ung-tien* 通典, v. 188, states, "The Sêng-ch'i 僧祇 castle is also called the Shih-tzū 獅子 (Lion) castle" and "At the winter solstice, the shadow (of the pole) comes directly below, and at the summer solstice, it falls in the south (of the pole). The entrance of every house, therefore, faces the north." These statements are mere hypotheses of the people of the T'ang 唐 period. Besides, the *T'ai-p'ing-huan-yü-chi* 太平寰宇記, v. 177, states as follows: "The Chin-li-p'i-shih 金利毗逝 country is located 40,000 and odd *li* to the southwest of the capital of China, and from there Kuang-chou 廣州 (Canton) is reached by way of Tan-tan 旦旦, Mo-ho-hsin 摩訶新, To-lung 多隆, Chê-mai 者埋, P'o-lou 婆樓, To-lang-p'o-huang 多郎婆皇, Mo-lo-shih 摩羅逝, Chên-la 真臘 (Cambodia) and Lin-i 林邑 (Vietnam). It is located 2,000 *li* to the west of Chih-wu 致物, 1,500 *li* to the east of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土, 3,000 *li* to the north of Po-li 波利, and 3,000 *li* to the south of Liu-ch'ü 柳衢. The name of the king is Pên-to-yang-ya 本多揚牙."

The correct name of Chin-li-p'i-shih 金利毗逝 mentioned here, alike Chin-li-p'i-chia 金利毗迦 of the *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要, v. 100, Chin-li-p'i-shih 金利毗逝 of the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜, v. 957, and of the *T'ai-p'ing-yü-lan* 太平御覽, v. 788, is Shê-li-p'i-shih 舍利毗逝 and corresponds to Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝. Among the four countries introduced at the end of the *T'ang-liu-tien* 唐六典, v. 4, is Shih-ko-fo-shih 尸科佛誓. This ko 科 is a scribal error for li 利. Mo-lo-shih 摩羅逝 is correctly Mo-lo-yu 摩羅遊. Shê-li-p'i-shih 舍利毗逝, according to the above passage, is located in the east

of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土, which is contrary to the present writer's identification of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝. Yet, when this record is closely examined, one comes to understand that the statement concerning the countries on the way from Chin-li-p'i-shih 金利毗逝 (correctly Shê-li-p'i-shih 舍利毗逝) to Canton and the surroundings of Chin-li-p'i-shih 金利毗逝 is very questionable. Many countries are described as being between Śrīvijaya (Palembang) and Canton, even including some countries in India. Tan-tan 丹丹 seems to be Samatata in the delta of the Ganges river. It is the same country as Tan-tan 單單. Mo-ho-hsin 摩訶新 is the Mo-ho-hsin 莫訶信 which occurs in I-ching's 義淨 writings, but its location is not clear. To-lung 多隆 is either An-ta-lo 案達羅 (Andhra) or Ta-lo-p'i-t'u 達羅毘荼 (Dravida) in India. In the entry To-mo-ch'ang 多摩菴 of the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書, it is stated: "(There are) P'o-fêng 婆鳳 (Pallava) on the east (of To-mo-ch'ang 多摩菴), To-lung 多隆 on the west, Kan-chih-fu 干支弗 (Kanchipura) on the south, and Ho-ling 訶陵 (Kalinga) on the north." Chê-mai 者埋 is perhaps correctly Chê-li 者理 (Chuliya, Shê-li-jo 舍利若 in the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書).⁽²⁵⁾ P'o-lou 婆樓 is perhaps P'o-lou 婆鑣, another name of Lu-chên-la 陸眞臘.⁽²⁶⁾ To-lang-p'o-huang 多郎婆皇 is perhaps a miswriting of T'ou-ho-lo-po-ti 投和羅鉢底 (Siam).⁽²⁷⁾ Lastly, Mo-lo-shih 摩羅逝 is Mo-lo-yu 摩羅遊 (Malayu, what is now Djambi, west of Palembang), which offered tributes in the eighteenth year of Chên-kuan 貞觀 (A.D. 644). Next, in the description of the surroundings of Chin-li-p'i-shih 金利毗逝, it is reported that the neighbouring country west of Chin-li-p'i-shih 金利毗逝 is Ch'ih-t'u 赤土. Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 seems to be the same country as Mo-lo-yu 摩羅遊, but this location of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 is quite incredible. If the name of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 had still existed as late as I-ching 義淨, he would certainly have set it down in his writings. The reason why he did not set it down is that Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 was called by another name. They were ignorant of this alteration and simply believed that Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 of the Sui 隋 period still existed in the T'ang 唐 period, so they wrote such a false record as shown above. Chin-li-p'i-shih 金利毗逝 is reported to be 2,000 *li* west of the Chih-wu 致物 country and 3,000 *li* north of the Po-li 波利 country and 3,000 *li* south of the Liu-ch'ü 柳衢 country. Chih-wu 致物 may be Java, and Po-li 波利 is Bali island. Liu-ch'ü 柳衢 may possibly be Lang-ya-shu 狼牙戌 (Lankasuka, Kedah) in the *Nan-hai-chi-kuei-ch'uan* 南海寄歸傳. Chih-wu 致物 is not so familiar a name, though it appears in the *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要, v. 100, where it is stated: "Chü-lou-mi 拘婁密 lies west of Lin-i

(25) T. Fujita, *Zenkan ni okeru Seinan-Kaijō-Kōtsū no Kiroku* 前漢に於ける西南海上交通の記録, *Geibun* 藝文, v. 5 (1914), nos. 10, 11, and *Nankai-hen*, p. 127.

(26) P. Pelliot, *Deux Itinéraires*, p. 326.

(27) G. Ferrand located To-lang-p'o-huang 多郎婆皇 in Tulanbawan in the northeastern part of Sumatra, but this identification is doubtful. See G. Ferrand, *Malaka, le Malāyū et Malayur*, *J. A.*, 1918, p. 91.

林邑, and is reached by an overland travel of three months. In the mountains one sees many elephants, which are kept for the use of labour. It offered tributes to China in the leap January 閏正月 of the first year (correctly second year) of Hsien-ch'ing 顯慶. It is located to the southeast of the Chih-wu 致物 and P'an-p'an 盤盤 countries, from which it is reached by a month's journey by ship. It is to the north of Po-li 波利 at a distance of a ten days' journey, and to the west of the Pu-shu 不述 country at a distance of a five days' journey, and to the southeast of Wên-tan 文單 at a distance of a six days' journey. Their manners, customs and products are the same as those of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 and To-ho-lo 墮和羅. In the eighth month of the sixth year of Yung-hui 永徽 (A.D. 655), it offered a five-coloured parrot."

A similar passage occurs in the entry P'an-p'an 盤盤 of the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書, in which Chih-wu 致物 is not mentioned in the next of P'an-p'an 盤盤. Chü-lou-mi 拘婁密 (correctly 拘密婁) at the beginning of the above passage of the *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要 may be Chia-mo-lü-po 迦摩縷波 (Kâmarûpa, western Assam in East India)⁽²⁸⁾ which is mentioned in the *Hsi-yü-chi* 西域記. Chieh-mo-lu 伽沒路 in the *Chiu T'ang-shu* 舊唐書 and Chia-mo-lu 迦沒路 in the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書 are also Kâmarûpa, but Chü-lou-mi 拘婁密 (correctly 拘密婁) at the end of the above passage is Chi-mieh 吉蔑 which occurs in the entry Chên-la 真臘 of the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書, v. 222, or Ko-mieh 閣蔑 in Hui-ch'ao's 惠超 *Wang-wu-t'ien-chu-kuo-ch'uan* 往五天竺國傳, v. 1, and Hui-lin's 慧琳 *I-ch'ieh-ching-yin-i* 一切經音義, v. 100. It is Khmèr and denotes Water Chên-la 水真臘 (South Cambodia), for Pu-shu 不述 on the east is regarded to be Panduranga (Cape Padaran), and Wên-tan 文單 on the northeast is another name of Land Chên-la 陸真臘 (North Cambodia). Lastly, the central part of the above passage is considered as relating to Chih-wu 致物, which is located to the southeast of P'an-p'an 盤盤, and to the north of P'o-li 婆利 (Bali island). Although we find Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 here, this is, as explained before, a groundless use of the name of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 valid only in the Sui 隋 period. Wên-tan 文單 in this passage is identical with that which appears in the passage of the *Chiu T'ang-shu* 舊唐書, v. 197, and *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要, v. 98, where it is stated: "From Shên-lung 神龍 (A.D. 705-706) afterwards, Chên-la 真臘 (Cambodia) was divided into two countries. The southern one was called Water Chên-la 水真臘, since it is near the sea and abounds in swamps; while the northern was called Land Chên-la 陸真臘, since it is a mountainous country. This is also called Wên-tan 文單. Looking over these arguments, we come to understand that the statements about Chin-li-p'i-shih 金毗逝 (correctly Shê-li-p'i-shih 舍利毗逝) and Chü-lou-mi 拘婁密

(28) T. Fujita, *Nankai-hen*, p. 115. His identification of Chü-lou-mi 拘婁密 with Golamattika (Pegu) of the Kalyani inscription is doubtful. The inscription was written in the fourteenth century. See H. Yule, *Hobson Jobson*, p. 495.

(correctly Chü-mi-lou 拘密婁) were written by the same person after the Shên-lung 神龍 period of Chung-tsung 中宗. Both statements equally refer to Chih-wu 致物 and Ch'ih-t'u 赤土.

In the entry Huan-wang 環王 (Champa, Vietnam) of the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書, v. 222, a passage states, "Travelling southwest of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 by ship, P'o-lo 婆羅 is reached." This P'o-lo 婆羅 may be associated with P'o-lo-la 婆羅刺 on the east of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土, or P'o-lo-sha 婆羅沙 on the west of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 recorded in the *Sui-shu* 隋書. The passage continues to say, "In the second year of Tsung-chang 總章 (A.D. 669), the envoy of Chan-ta-po 旃達鉢 (Chandrarvarman?), the king of P'o-lo 婆羅, came to China together with the envoy of Huan-wang 環王." In the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜, v. 970, it is stated that the king of Lin-i 林邑 Po-ch'ieh-shê-pa-mo 鉢伽舍⁽²⁹⁾跋摩 (Prakāḍadharma-Vikrāntavarman I^{er}) and the king of Lo-p'o 羅婆 Ch'êng-ta-po 稱達鉢 offered their native products." Huan-wang 環王 is a later Chinese name (after Chih-te 至德, A.D. 756-757), and corresponds to the Panduranga (Padaran) dynasty of Lin-i 林邑 (Champa). Huan-wang 環王, therefore, does not fit the case of A.D. 669. Lo-p'o 羅婆 may be a scribal error of P'o-lo 婆羅. The identification of P'o-lo 婆羅, which offered tributes in A.D. 669, is difficult, but this country may be Ni-p'o-lo 泥婆羅 (Nepal) which is recorded in the *Chiu T'ang-shu* 舊唐書, v. 198, entry T'ien-chu 天竺, and *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書, v. 221, to have offered tributes in the second year of Yung-hui 永徽 (A.D. 651). In any case, no records about Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 except for that of the *Sui-shu* 隋書 have any value as historical materials so that they cannot produce any testimony disadvantageous to the conclusion of this treatise that Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 corresponds to Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 (Śrīvijaya, Palembang).

Lastly, a few remarks are on the meaning of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土. The *Sui-shu* 隋書 says, "This country is called (Ch'ih-t'u 赤土) after the red soil of its capital." J. E. Tennet explains in his *Ceylon*, v. 1 (1859), p. 610, as follows: "In the epithet 'Chih-too,' the Red Land, we have a simple rendering of the Pali Tambapanni, the 'Copper-palmed,' from the colour of the soil". His explanation, however, is a mere conjecture and cannot explain the surroundings of the country. The discovery of an inscription in the northern part of Province Wellesley in the Malay Peninsula is already mentioned in the discussion of Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須. It says, "Mahānāvika (lit. great sailor) Buddhagupta, an inhabitant of Rakta-mṛttikā". H. Kern identified Rakta-mṛttikā (red earth) with a kingdom called Chih-tu by the Chinese, as the latter meant 'red earth'.⁽³⁰⁾ Against this opinion, G. E. Gerini objects that on Siam Bay and the Malay Peninsula, there are several parts

(29) Although the *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要, v. 98, uses han 含 in place of shê 舍 and G. Maspero also in his *Le Royaume de Champa*, 1923, p. 89, 246, shê 舍 is the right character.

(30) G. E. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, 1909, p. 83.

whose name is 'red soil'. Among them is Tânah Mérah (the Malayan word meaning 'red soil') which is located on the north of Koh (or Pulo) Lantar on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula. He concludes that Raktamṛttikâ corresponds to Mergui⁽³¹⁾ in the northern part of the western coast of the peninsula. But, R. C. Majumdar says, "Now this Chih-tu (赤土) is usually located in Siam or its neighbourhood, although there are grave difficulties in this identification. Apart from this difficulty, Krom has very pertinently asked the question that if Buddhagupta belonged to a locality in Siam or its neighbourhood, why should he come to the northern part of Province Wellesley to commemorate his gifts. It is more in the fitness of things, says Krom, that Raktamṛttikâ should be sought for in India (*Krom-Geschiedenis*, p. 73). This view seems to be eminently just." R. C. Majumdar identified Raktamṛttikâ with the Raktâmṛta monastery near the capital Karnaśuvarna, which is referred to in the description of the Chieh-lo-na-su-fa-la-na 羯羅孃蘇伐刺那 country as Lou-to-wei-(or mo-)chih-sêng-ch'ieh-lan 洛多未 (or 末) 知僧伽藍. Raktâmṛta (Pali, Ratta-matika) means 'Red clay' (Ch'ih-ni 赤泥 in the *Hsi-yü-chi* 西域記). This place is still called by its old name, *i. e.* Rângâmâti (Red clay), twelve miles south of Murshidabad in Bengal (*Suvarṇadvîpa*, pp. 82-83).

The present writer once thought that Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 could be explained by the Five Element doctrine of the ancient Chinese philosophy, having been ignorant of the colour of the soil of Palembang. It is noteworthy that in the south sea, the colour of the soil is generally red (laterite). Especially remarkable red lands are called Tanah Merah in Malay as in the basin of the Kelantan and Kedah rivers. K. Takakuwa reports that Kao Deng (the Siamese word meaning 'red hill') is on the southern end of Kaw Yai which is to the north of Singora city.⁽³²⁾ There are three places named Tanahabang (red earth) in the region of Palembang (*i. e.* Moesi-hilir, Lematang-hilir, Ogan-hoeloe, Onderafdeeling), and the same place-names are found in the regions of Djambi, Benkoelen and Batavia. The name Tanahmerah (red earth) is found in Borneo, Madoera and Nieuw Guinea.⁽³³⁾ The earth of the islands of Riau, Bintan, Banka and Billiton which produce bauxite is especially red. The earth of the seaport Merak at the west end of Java is also red.

(31) G. E. Gerini, *ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

(32) R. Kuwata 桑田六郎, *Sekido-kô Hoi* 赤土考補遺, *Tôyô Gakuhô*, v. 10 (1920), no. 1, pp. 139-141. J. Delvert, *Géographie de l'Asie du sudest*, 1967, and its Japanese translation by K. Kikuchi 菊池一雅, Hakusuisha 白水社 1969. *Lijst van de Voornamste Aardrijkskundige Namen in den Nederlandsch-Indische Archipel*, Batavia 1922.

(33) The ruins of structures at Lematang Hilir were reported by Knaap in 1904, see N. J. Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst*, II (1920), p. 290, or II (1923), p. 424. Cf. F. M. Schnitger, *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, Leiden, 1937, p. 4. The present writer is indebted for much valuable information to S. Nagaoka 長岡新治郎, N. Tanaka 田中則雄, M. Saitô 齋藤正雄, K. Okano 岡野喜美雄 and S. Iwao 岩生周一.

APPENDIX

A Brief List of the Essays relating to Ch'ih-t'u 赤土.

- (1) Hervey (or d'Hervey) de Saint-Denys, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la chine, ouvrage composé par Ma Touan-lin*, vol. ii, *Peuples Méridionaux*, Genève 1883. Cf. G. Ferrand, *Le K'ouen-louen*, J. A., 1919, p. 22, note (1). This is the French translation of the entry Ssü-i-k'ao 四裔考 of Ma Tuan-lin's 馬端臨 *Wên-hsian t'ung-k'ao* 文獻通考, which was the first relevant Chinese source made accessible to European scholars.
- (2) W. P. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca compiled from Chinese Sources, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, Batavia 1887. He upheld the identification of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with Hsien-lo 暹羅 (Siam).
- (3) Tsou Tai-chün 鄒代鈞, *Hsi-chêng chi-ch'êng* 西征紀程, 1891. According to Hsü Yün-ch'iao's 許雲樵 *Ch'ih-t'u-k'ao* 赤土考 (Appendix no. 22), Tsou Tai-chün 鄒代鈞 was the first man who denied the identification of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with Siam, and he located Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 in Borneo (*Nan-yang Hsüeh-pao* 南洋學報, v. 2, no. 3, p. 3). The present writer regrets that the *Hsi-chêng chi-ch'êng* is not accessible to him.
- (4) J. Takakusu 高楠順次郎, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago by I-tsing*, Oxford 1896. This is the English translation with notes of I-ching's 義淨 *Nan-hai chi-kuei nei-fa-ch'uan* 南海寄歸內法傳. Another of I-ching's writings is the *Ta-t'ang ch'iu-fa kao-sêng-ch'uan* 大唐求法高僧傳. There are many names of southeast Asian countries in his two books, but we cannot find the name Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 among them. This is a very important point in relation to the location of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土.
- (5) G. Schlegel, *Geographical Notes, T'oung Pao* 通報, Ser. 1, v. IX, X, Ser. 2, v. II, 1898-1901. G. Schlegel alone upheld the identification of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with Siam.
- (6) Ting Ch'ien 丁謙, *Sui-shu ssü-i-ch'uan ti-li k'ao-chêng* 隋書四夷傳地理攷證, contained in the *Chê-chiang t'u-shu-kuan ts'ung-shu* 浙江圖書館叢書. He doubted the identification of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with Siam, and located it south of Patani, Kelantan and Trengganu.
- (7) P. Pelliot, *Deux Itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^e siècle*, B. E. F. E. O., IV, 1904. P. Pelliot studied the two routes, i. e. Anan-t'ung-t'ien-chu-tao 安南通天竺道 and Kuang-chou-t'ung-hai-i-tao 廣州通海夷道 of Chia Tan 賈耽, a prime minister of the T'ang 唐 dynasty. He doubted the identification of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with Siam, because Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 faced the ocean on the north and did not include Funan 扶南 and Chên-la 真臘 in its surroundings. Fêng Ch'êng-chün's

馮承鈞 *Chiao-kuang yin-tu liang-tao-k'ao* 交廣印度兩道考 is the Chinese translation of this essay.

- (8) J. Low, *Marong Mahawangsa, the Keddah Annals*, Bangkok 1908, reprinted from the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, v. III, 1849. Marong Mahawangsa founded the palace named 'Lankasuka', the story of which is a very important key in solving the question of the location of Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須.
- (9) G. E. Gerini, *The Nāgarakretāgama List of Countries on the Indo-Chinese Mainland*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, pp. 499–500 note 2, and *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, London 1909, pp. 115, 179, 182 and 544. Neglecting the direction of the route to Ch'ih-t'u 赤土, he upheld the identification of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with Siam, and located Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須 in Lankachiu island which faced C'hump'hôn Bay.
- (10) Fr. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, 1911, p. 8. This is the English annotated translation of Chao Ju-kua's 趙汝适 *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志. The translators upheld Gerini's identification of Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須 with Lankachiu island, and the identification of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with Siam.
- (11) T. Fujita 藤田豊八, *Rōgashūkoku-kō* 狼牙脩國考, *Tōyō Gakuhō* 東洋學報, v. 3 (1913), nos. 1, 2, and *Nankai-hen* 南海篇, 1932, pp. 1–37. He interpreted Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙脩, Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須, Ling-ya-ssü-chia 凌牙斯加 etc. as being the same country, and located them in Lankasuka, the old capital of Kedah. His interpretation is correct.
- (12) G. Coedès, *Le Royaume Çrivijaya*, *B. E. F. E. O.*, XVIII, 1918. G. Coedès proposed that Çrivijaya was the country name, of which the Chinese transcription was Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝. He refers nothing about Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 in this article, but later on he adopted J. L. Moen's opinion that the Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 was identical with Patalung (P'ata'lung by G. Coedès and Phatthalung in Bartholomew's map). Cf. Appendix no. 24.
- (13) G. Ferrand, *Le K'ouen-louen*, extrait du *J. A.*, 1919, p. 22. G. Ferrand shared P. Pelliot's doubts about the identification of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with Siam, and suggested that Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 could not be located by basing it only upon the description of Ma Tuan-lin 馬端臨. He does not refer to Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 in his other books, i.e. *L'Empire Sumatranais de Çrivijaya*, extrait du *J. A.*, 1922, and *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques, Arabes, Persans et Turks, relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIII^e au XVIII^e siècles*, 1913–1914.
- (14) R. Kuwata 桑田六郎, *Sekido-kō* 赤土考, *Tōyō Gakuhō* 東洋學報, v. 9 (1919), no. 3, and *Sekido-kō Hoi* 赤土考補遺, *Tōyō Gakuhō*, v. 10 (1920), no. 1. R. Kuwata proposed the identification of Ch'ih-t'u

- 赤土 with Śrīvijaya, based upon the statement of the *Sui-shu* 隋書 that the Sui 隋 envoys sailed south, seeing the mountains of Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須 (Lankasuka of Kedah) on the western side of their ship.
- (15) K. Takakuwa 高桑駒吉, *Sekido ni tsukite* 赤土に就きて, *Tôyô Tetsugaku* 東洋哲學, v. 26 (1919), no. 10, and *Sekidokoku-kô* 赤土國考, *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌, vols. 31, 32, 1920–1921. T. Takakuwa identified the Sêng-ch'i 僧祇 castle, the capital of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土, with Singora, north of Patani in the Malay Peninsula, and Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須 with Langsuan, north of Singora.
- (16) K. Shiratori 白鳥庫吉, *Sekidokoku ni tsuite* 赤土國に就いて, *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌, v. 36 (1925), no. 5, pp. 399–401. K. Shiratori upheld the identification of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with Śrīvijaya. He regards P'o-lo-sha 婆羅沙 as a transcription of the Sanskrit balakṣa 'white', and Ho-lo-tan 訶羅旦 that of Kālastan 'black land'. He also interprets Shē-yeh 闍耶 and Chia-lo 迦羅 mentioned to be in the south sea in the *Fo-shuo Shih-êrh-yu-ching* 佛說十二遊經 as corresponding to Śrīvijaya and Ho-lo-tan 訶羅旦 respectively. He explains the etymology of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 'Red Soil' as having been derived from 'malāyu' <Skt. maralāyu 'red', and that of Sêng-ch'i 僧祇 from Skt. sam, samga; Mal. sangka. He considers san 三 of San-fo-ch'i 三佛齊 to be a transcription of Skt. sam, a synonym of śrī, and San-fo-ch'i 三佛齊 that of Samvijaya.
- (17) K. Adachi 足立喜六, *Hokken-den* 法顯傳, 1936. K. Adachi locates Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 in the southeastern part of Sumatra, but his identification of Chi-lung-tao 鷓籠島 with Kelantan is not acceptable.
- (18) R. Kuwata 桑田六郎, *Sanbutsusei-kô* 三佛齊考, *Taihoku Teidai Shigakuka Kenkyû Nenpô* 臺北帝大史學科研究年報, v. 3, 1936, and *Sanbutsusei Hokô* 三佛齊補考, *ibid.*, v. 5, 1938. These two treatises in one volume were published in 1945 as Volume I of the *Nanpô Jinbun Kenkyujo Ronsô* 南方人文研究所論叢 under the title *Sanbutsusei-kô fu Hokô* 三佛齊考附補考. R. Kuwata made many additions to G. Ferrand's *L'Empire Sumatranais de Çrīvijaya* from the Chinese sources. The Tokyo Imperial University conferred the doctorate of literature upon R. Kuwata for these essays in 1943 (ref. *Shigaku Zasshi*, v. 54, no. 11, 1943, pp. 1266–1270).
- (19) R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East: Vol. II. Suvarṇadvīpa*, 1937. R. C. Majumdar followed G. Ferrand's identification of Suvarṇadvīpa (Chin-chou 金州) with Sumatra (G. Ferrand, *L'Empire Sumatranais de Çrīvijaya*, p. 121–122). He considers the abode of Buddhagupta mentioned in the inscription discovered in the Malay Peninsula as being Rakta-mṛttika (Rāngamāti 'Red Clay', 12 miles south of Murshidabad in Bengal), but does not refer to the Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 of the *Sui-shu* 隋書. He also denies the authenticity

of *Hikayat Marong Mahawansa, the Keddah Annals*. 'The Śailendra Empire', Book II of the *Suvarṇadvīpa* was previously published in the *Journal of the Greater India Society*, vols. I and II, 1934–1935.

- (20) J. L. Moens, *Çrīvijaya, Yava en Kaṭāha (Tijdschrift voor Indisch Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia, Deel LXXVII, 1937, p. 343–344)*. J. L. Moens identified Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with Patalung, north of Singora, on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, and located Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須 in Ligor. Both K. Takakuwa and J. L. Moens locate Ho-lo-tan 訶羅旦 in Kelantan.
- (21) Fêng Ch'êng-chün 馮承鈞, *Chung-kuo nan-yang chiao-t'ung-shih 中國南洋交通史*, 1937, p. 40. Fêng Ch'êng-chün located Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 in the Malay Peninsula, and Lang-ya-hsü 狼牙須 in the south of the Kra Isthmus. He ignored Lankasuka in Kedah.
- (22) Hsü Yün-ch'iao 許雲樵, *Ch'ih-t'u-k'ao 赤土考* in the *Nan-yang Hsüeh-pao 南洋學報 (Journal of the South Seas Society)*, v. 2 (1941), no. 3, pp. 1–9, and reprinted in the *Ku-tai nan-yang shih-ti ts'ung-k'ao 古代南洋史地叢考* compiled and translated by Yao Tan 姚柎 and Hsü Yü 許鈺 (Yün-ch'iao 雲樵), 1958, pp. 16–29. He suggested in his *Tan-tan-k'ao 丹丹考 (Nan-yang Hsüeh-pao, v. 1, no. 1, 1940, and Ku-tai nan-yang shih-ti ts'ung-k'ao, pp. 1–16)* that Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 was located in the region from Singora to Patani. He reasserted it in his *Ch'ih-t'u-k'ao 赤土考*. The Lion castle, the capital of the country, is a synonym for Singora, near which Khao Daeng 'red mountain' is, and the country was an offshoot of Fu-nan 扶南, a group of the Mon-khmer. His identification of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with Singora, Tan-tan 丹丹 with Kelantan, and P'o-li 婆利 with Sumatra is not acceptable. Regarding the passage of the *Sui-shu 隋書*, where it is stated: "P'o-li 婆利 is reached, setting sail from Chiao-chih 交趾 and passing through Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 and Tan-tan 丹丹", P'o-li 婆利 should be sought in India, and Tan-tan 丹丹 must be Samatata in the delta of the Ganges river. Hsü is the first scholar who considered Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 to be an offshoot of the Mon-khmer. Ten years later in 1951, T. Yamamoto 山本達郎 proposed the same opinion (*cf.* Appendix no. 27), but the present writer interprets Fu-nan 扶南 in the passage 赤土扶南之別種也 as denoting merely the Nan-man 南蠻 or southern tribes. According to Hsü Yün-ch'iao's quotation of Kun Ciri Vadhana Anadra's *Suvarṇabhūmi*, K. C. V. Anadra locates Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 in Surashatara Dhani (Surat, Bandon). This *Suvarṇabhūmi*, or *the Golden Land*, is not accessible to the present writer. Here the present writer wishes to add his gratitude to Hsü Yün-ch'iao for a complimentary copy of the *Journal of the South Seas Society*, v. 2, no. 3.

- (23) M. Ishida 石田幹之助, *Nankai ni kansuru Shina Shiryô* 南海に關する支那史料, 1945. M. Ishida adopted R. Kuwata's identification of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with Śrīvijaya.
- (24) G. Coedès, *Les États Hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie (Histoire du Monde, t. VIII)*, 1948, p. 89. "Ce pays de la Terre Rouge, connu des Chinois sous le nom de Tche-t'ou, devait se trouver sur le golfe de Siam, dans la région de P'at'alung." G. Coedès adopted J. L. Moens' identification of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with Patalung. He deals with the Hindu civilization in Ch'ih-t'u 赤土, but does not discuss the location of the country.
- (25) I. Miyazaki 宮崎市定, *Rôgashûkoku to Rôgasukoku* 狼牙脩國と狼牙須國, *Haneda Hakushi Shôju Kinen Tôyôshi Ronsô* 羽田博士頌壽記念東洋史論叢, 1950, pp. 915-948. I. Miyazaki identified the mountains of Lang-ya-hsü-kuo 狼牙須國 which the Sui 隋 envoys on board looked on the west with those of the islands of Lingga and Singkep, interpreting Lang-ya-hsü-kuo 狼牙須國 as a transcription of Lingga Singkep. He also identified Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 with Djambi, west of Palembang (Śrīvijaya), based upon a passage of the *T'ai-p'ing-huang-yü-chi* 太平寰宇記, v. 177, that Chin (correctly Shê)-li-p'i-shih 金(舍)利毗逝 lies 1,500 li to the west of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土. This passage seems to the present writer to be a conjecture made by a scholar of the T'ang 唐 or later period.
- (26) H. Wada 和田久徳, *Tôdai no Nankai Kenshi* 唐代の南海遣使, *Tôyô Gakuhô* 東洋學報, v. 33 (1950), no. 1. Ta-hsi T'ung 達奚通, a T'ang 唐 envoy to the south sea regions, visited 36 countries including Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 and wrote a book about his travels entitled *Hai-nan-chu-fan-hsing-chi* 海南諸蕃行記 during the Shang-yüan 上元 period (A.D. 674-676, or 760-762). H. Wada suggested the existence of the Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 country west of Śrīvijaya (Palembang) in the T'ang 唐 period, based upon the *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要 and the bibliographical introduction to *Ta-hsi T'ung's Travels* contained in the *Yü-hai* 玉海. The issue in the location of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 is not discussed in this essay. For the present writer's criticism of H. Wada's view, see R. Kuwata, *Nanyo Jôdaishi Zakkô* 南洋上代史雜考, *Osaka Daigaku Bungakubu Kiyô* 大阪大學文學部紀要, v. 3, 1954.
- (27) T. Yamamoto 山本達郎, *Sekido to Shitsuribussei* 赤土と室利佛逝, *Wada Hakushi Kanreki Kinen Tôyôshi Ronsô* 和田博士還曆記念東洋史論叢, 1951, and *Iwanami Shôjiten Sekaishi* 岩波小辭典世界史: Tôyô 東洋, entry Sekido, 1958. T. Yamamoto locates the Sêng-ch'i 僧祇 castle (the Lion castle 獅子城 in the *T'ung-tien* 通典) in Singapore, and suggests that Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 was inhabited by the Mon-Khmèr tribe. His location is not acceptable, since Singapore was so unfamiliar a place at that time that it was not recorded even in I-ching's 義淨 writing,

- and his ethnic view also is not acceptable. Cf. Appendix no. 22.
- (28) Fang Hao 方豪, *Chung-hsi-chiao-t'ung-shih* 中西交通史, v. 2 (1953), p. 3. Fang Hao adopted Fêng Ch'êng-chün's 馮承鈞 location of Ch'ih-t'u 赤土 in the Malay Peninsula.
- (29) P. Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, 1961, pp. 26-36. P. Wheatley quoted and translated all the Chinese sources about Ch'ih-t'u, and explained the location of Ch'ih-t'u to the following effect: "It was only just over ten days' sailing from the frontiers of *Ch'ih-t'u* right back to south-eastern *Campā*. This, taken in conjunction with the position of *Ch'ih-t'u* relative to *Lang-ya-hsü*, can only imply that the Chinese envoys visited a state in the region of north-eastern Malaya." And he suggests that the capital was one month's journey inland, and was, therefore, in the *ulu* "upper stream" of R. Kelantan. But the present writer thinks that there is no evidence of the existence of such a Hindu kingdom as Ch'ih-t'u in Kelantan.
- (30) O. W. Walters, *Early Indonesian Commerce, a study of the origins of Śrīvijaya*, 1967, p. 173; p. 316, note 12. O. W. Walters accepted P. Wheatley's opinion about the location of Ch'ih-t'u.