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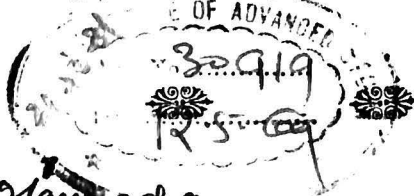
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**A STUDY ON THE INTRODUCTION  
OF AN-HSI-HSIANG IN CHINA AND  
THAT OF GUM BENZOIN IN EUROPE.**

BY KENTARO YAMADA

中国の安息香と西洋の

ベンゾインとの源流

— 東西交易史の一研究 —

山 田 憲 太 郎

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## Introduction

What we call today An-hsi-hsiang (安息香) or benzoin (sometimes called "gum benjamin") produced in the south-eastern corner of the Asiatic Continent is an aromatic gum-resin known in China since the ninth or tenth century. It was introduced into Europe for the first time in the middle of the fourteenth century through the hands of the Arabians. It is rather strange that this perfume did not make its appearance in the international trade market of Asia or Europe till that time, and to reveal the truth about its advent in Europe has significance in that it then displaced olibanum or frankincense which had been the king of incense, the word "incense" being synonymous with frankincense in Europe from ancient times. Moreover, the An-hsi (安息) is the Chinese word transcribing Arshak, the name of the Parthian Dynasty in Persia, which country in the first century was situated midway between the Roman Empire and the Han (漢) Dynasty in China, realizing enormous profits in the trade between the western and the eastern worlds. This shows at a glance that the material was related to the Western Asiatic region for ages, but in Europe there exist only some words derived from the Arabic "lu bān Jawi", to indicate this material, but none connected with the language of the natives of the South-eastern Asiatic region where this substance is produced. It means that the introduction of the incense to the West has different aspects from that to the Far East. Again, there existing many kinds of aromatic gum-resins and oleo resins produced in the various districts of India, it seems that the name and substance of benzoin was used indiscriminately in different ages. I wish to examine here, how the meaning of the word has varied through the ages till the present day.

1 For instance Hou-han-shu (History of the After Han) (後漢書) Book. 118. says in its description of Ta-ch'in (大秦) country in Hsi-yü-ch'uan (西域傳 History of the Western Region) : "They (Ta-ch'in) traffic by sea with Parthia and India, and their profit in this trade is ten-fold. .... Their kings always desired to send embassies to China, but the Parthians wished to carry on trade with them in Chinese silks, and it was for this reason that they were cut off from communication. "

### 1. What is Gum Benjamin ?

Benzoin is a resinous gum gathered from a genus of trees of moderate height and shrubs of the family of Styraceae. The tree, when wounded reacts, in an effort to close the cut, by the formation of new wood ; this new wood contains cavities filled with a resinous secretion. So they make  $\vee$  or  $\wedge$  shaped incisions in the wood to stimulate the secretion. There is also the method of Tapping, by first beating the bark to hinder the growth of cambium to form a new bark and then making incision through the bark into the woods to collect the resinous substance. While the resin which exudes in the beginning usually poor in quality, that exuding white tears later is of very valuable. These tears harden by exposure in the air to form irregular round tears or masses of agglutinated tears. These masses are reddish brown on the surface but by breaking them we find that the inside contains many opaque milk-white portions if the product is of good-quality, those of inferior products consist of reddish white portions only. Benzoin is produced chiefly in Siam (or Indo-China) , and Sumatra and Malay Peninsula. The Siamese benzoin is made up mostly of free benzoic acid and its ester

contains some vanillin (about 1.5%) and the Sumatran benzoin is made up of resinous esters of free benzoic and cinnamic acids. The former excels in sweet smell, but both emit delicious odour exciting a desire for tasting it. What is known to us at present from botanical study on the original plants producing benzoin are as follows.

(1) Siamese Benzoin.

(A) Styrax tonkinense, Craib.<sup>(1)</sup> It is a tall tree growing in the sandy soil among the hills in the western part of Indo-China (from Tong-King to Upper Laos) and the eastern part of Siam. The resin is exported from Bangkok and Saigon and what is called benzoin of Siam or Indo-China consists mostly of the resin collected from this tree.

(B) S. benzoides, Craib. This is the plant producing benzoin in Chiangmai and Luang Prabang districts of Siam, the product being exported from Bangkok and Hanoi.<sup>(2)</sup>

(2) Sumatran Benzoin.

(A) S. benzoin, Dryander. It is a wild or cultivated tree found in Western Java, Sumatra (from Batta country in the south of the state of Achin to all parts of the Western coast of the island and the highlands of Palembang) and in Malay Peninsula (from Perak to Singapore on the west side and Pahang and Johore on the east side). The product was formerly regarded as representative of Sumatran benzoin or Farther Indian benzoin.<sup>(3)</sup> The cultivated variety is not tall but the wild one is fairly tall reaching to 20-25m. in height and 60cm. in diameter. The bark of the trunk is greyish brown and smooth, while that of young twigs has brown hairs. Leaves grow alternately, and are oblong in shape, inclined to

curl at the point, the front surface being light green and the back sometimes white; they are about 10 cm. in length and 4-5 cm. in breadth. The plant has odoriferous silvery white flowers of cymose inflorescence with a shorter peduncle than the leaf. The fruit is of prothallium sphere in shape, 2-2.5 cm. in diameter, and of a brown color. The collecting of gum-resin is started when the tree is about seven years old. The resin exuded during the first three years is the richest in white tears, consequently superior to that which is afterwards produced; it is called Head Benzoin by the Malays. The resin produced during the succeeding seven or eight years is browner and not so fine, and is called Belly Benzoin. The least valuable resin called Foot Benzoin, is obtained by cutting the tree and scraping the wood. The gumresin of this tree is collected chiefly by the tapping method and forms the principal part of the Sumatran benzoin which is exported from Padang and Java.<sup>(4)</sup>

(B) S. sumatranum, J. J. Smith. It is a tree found wild on the western coast of Sumatra and also cultivated there. The product is exported from the same ports as mentioned before and similarly called Sumatran benzoin.<sup>(5)</sup>

(C) S. subpaniculatum, Jungh. & de Vriese. It grows in the highlands of Palembang in south Sumatra. So-called Palembang benzoin seems to consist of the product obtained from this tree and that of S. benzoin, Dryander.<sup>(6)</sup>

The above are the principal trees producing Siamese and Sumatran benzoin, but besides these we have S. crotonoides, C. B. Clarke<sup>(7)</sup> (hill benzoin tree), S. paralleoneurum, Perkins,<sup>(8)</sup> S. ridleyanum, Perkins<sup>(9)</sup> (bird benzoin tree), and these three genera are the trees growing in Sumatra and Malay Peninsula, as the natives believe, also produce benzoin.<sup>(10)</sup>

1. The genus is also S. macrothyrsum, Perkins; S. benzoin, var. auctt.; Anthostyrax tonkinense, Pierre.

2. Kew. Bull. 1912. 267.
3. The botanical source of the Sumatran benzoin was determined by Dryander, and an account and figure of the plant were published by him in the "Philosophical Transactions", 1787. IXXVii p. 303.  
Farther India is called by Chinese, Nan-hai (南海) namely, the South Sea or the Southern Ocean.
4. Zensho Teruya, The Cultivation of the Tropical Plants. 1942. p. 727.  
Umetaro Suzuki & Shizuo Momose, Illustrations of the Useful Tropical Plants. 1943. p. 89-91.
5. J. J. Smith, Bull. Jard. Bot. Buitenzorg, ser. 3. 4. 1922. p. 238.
6. K. Heyne, Nutt. Plant. Ned. Ind. ed. 1927. p. 1260.
7. Ridley, Flora Malay Penins. 2. 1923. p. 298.
8. Van Steenis, Bull. Jard. Bot. Buitenzorg, ser. 3. 12. 1932. p. 243.
9. Ridley. 2. p. 297.
10. Z. Teruya, Original Plants of Benzoin, Ogawa Perfumery Times. Vol. 14. No. 10. Oct. 1941. Eiken Kin, Benzoin of Indo-China, *ibid*, Vol. 13. No. 1. Jan. 1940. J. Ch. Sawyer, Odorographia, 1892. p. 232-235. J. H. Burkill, A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula. 1935. p. 2101-2108. W. Marsden, The History of Sumatra. 1784. p. 123-125.

## 2. The Relation between An-hsi-hsiang in China and Gum-gugul (Bdellium) in India.

An-hsi or Nan-si (安息) of An-hsi-hsiang (the Chinese name for benzoin) is the Chinese word corrupting from the Arshak, which is the name of the royal family of the Parthian Dynasty (cf. Shih-chi (史記) B. 123: an account of Ta-yüan (大宛) that is Fergana; and Han-shu (漢書), B. 96, an account of Central Asia). This kingdom was founded by the King Arsaces of the Parthians belonging to the Iranian race. He made his country independent about 248. B. C. by revolting against the Greek oppression. This kingdom was centered in the catchment area of the Ochus River, the river being considered to be the present Tedjend River or Atrek River. The ancient Chinese prefixed An-hsi to the name of articles brought from Parthia, as in An-shih-liu (安石榴) or Shih-liu (石榴)<sup>(1)</sup> in abbreviation, which means the pomegranate, and An-hsi-ch'iao (安息雀)<sup>(2)</sup>, which is the "camel-bird" or the ostrich, and these are some instances already pointed out by several orientalists. The oldest historical documents in China in which the name An-hsi-hsiang is used is, so far as the author knows, Chin-shu (晉書); B. 95, where it is mentioned as the name of the incense burnt on the occasion of the ceremony praying for the rain by the celebrated Buddhist priest Fo T'u-ch'êng (佛圖澄) who came from T'ien-chu (India 天竺) to Lo-yang (洛陽) in 310. A. D. Then Wei-shu (魏書); B. 102, gives Kucha in Chinese Turkistan as the district where An-hsi-hsiang is produced; Sui-shu (隋書); B. 83, and Pei-shih (北史); B. 97, give Kucha and Ts'ao (漕, Jäguda) as regions producing this incense; and T'ung-tien (通典) B. 192, by Tu Yu (杜佑) in the ninth century gives Ki-pin (罽賓) as the place producing An-hsi-hsiang. While the kingdom of Parthia called An-hsi-kuo (country)



by the Chinese had been destroyed about 220 A. D., and replaced by Sasanian Persia, the word An-hsi-hsiang as the name of the incense begins to appear in Chinese historical documents in gradual frequency in the succeeding ages, because the perfumery called An-hsi-hsiang came to be imported by degrees in the fifth and sixth century from Chinese Turkistan. We do not know whether we may accept as genuine the name of the incense, when Chin-shu says Fo T'u-ch'êng burned An-hsi-hsiang, as incense, but at any rate from the statement, we may infer that the substance was regarded as a very rare material in the days when the book was written and the name was used to magnify the ceremony and the effect of the prayer asserted by such a courtly offering. Kucha mentioned in historical documents as the district where An-hsi-hsiang was produced was an important place on the northern road which passed along the southern foot of the T'ien-shan (天山) Mountains, and the fact that Wei-shu, Sui-shu and Pei-shih mentioned here as the region producing An-hsi-hsiang merely mean that these historians mention An-hsi-hsiang as one of the goods traded at this important marketing place near China, through which the cultural things of the West were introduced into China, of course not that An-hsi-hsiang was produced in Kucha.<sup>(3)</sup> As to Ts'ao (or Zabula) in Sui-shu, the same book states that this place is the same as Ki-pin of the Han Dynasty. From the epoch of Han to that of Chin, Ki-pin comprised the whole catchment area of the Kabul River with Gandhāra as its center; and the name Ts'ao in Sui-shu corresponds to Kapisa, which was the general name used by the Ephthal tribe to signify both the catchment area of Kabul River and the Gandhāra district. In the T'ang (唐) Dynasty, however, they adopted the old name used in the Han Dynasty, namely Ki-pin, again for the country of Ts'ao of the Sui Dynasty (T'ang-shu, B. 221, History of the Western Region). So we see that Ki-pin stated in T'ung-tien as the country where

An-hsi-hsiang was produced, is the same as Ts'ao in Sui-shu.<sup>(4)</sup> When we go from there over the steep path of Sind, through the Hindu Kush Mountain Range, up to Ts'ung-ling (葱嶺) i.e. Pamirs and proceed eastwards, we come to China, while when we go from there south <sup>w</sup>east and take the road mentioned in Han-shu (B. 96,) leading to the region with Kandahar and Ghazni at its center, we come to Persia and in going farther we finally reach Rome. Again when we take a ship and go down southward we reach the mouth of the Indus River and then various countries in India, if we come to Persian Gulf, and navigate westward we finally reach Rome; again if we go north from there, we come to Bactria, which is Balkh of to-day. Thus this country, i. e. Ki-pin or Ts'ao in Chinese was situated at the key point accessible from all directions since old times, so there were brought all kinds of goods from Persia and Rome in the west, India in the south, Bactria and others in the north and China in the east. Also from the time of the expedition of King Darius I (521-484 B. C.) of Persia, there lived in that region a mixed people of the Indian origin and Iranian origins, to which was added the Saka tribe from the west who had invaded this country in the first centuries before and after Christ, so all sorts of names were given to the articles brought there in Iranian, Hinduish and other languages according to the times and one or after of them were used according to the circumstances. Consequently, if An-hsi-hsiang was transported to China from this district at the time of Sui and Tang Dynasties, it raises the questions, whether (A) this incense was the original product of the region, (B) whether it was brought there from south-<sup>w</sup>eastern Asia or India, if the An-hsi-hsiang mentioned by the Chinese in those days was an aromatic gum-resin; and (C) why they called it An-hsi-hsiang supposing the answer to question "A" or "B" is in the affirmative.

1. Jitsuzo Kuwabara, An Historical Study of the Inter-course between East and West, 1933. p. 58, 110-112.

B. Laufer, Sino Iranica. 1919 \_\_\_\_\_ Pomegranate. p. 284.

Similarity in the Chinese pronunciation of 安息: 安石 and 安西 is as follows: 安石  $\text{Nan-si} > \text{An-sek}, > \text{An-sak}, > \text{Ar-sak}$ . 安息  $\text{Nan-si}, > \text{Ar-sik}$ . 安西  $\text{Nan-si} > \text{Ar-sai}$ .

So it is preferable to assume that  $\text{Nan-si}$ ,  $\text{An-sek}$ ,  $\text{An-sak}$  and  $\text{Ar-sak}$  represent the same name and tells that  $\text{Arsak}$  is on a par with 安息 ( $\text{Nan-si}$ ,  $\text{Ar-sik}$ ) and 安西 ( $\text{Nan-si}$ ,  $\text{Ar-sai}$ ).

2. Hou-han-shu B. 118, History of the Western Region;

F. Hirth & W. W. Rockhill, Chau Ju-Kua. 1911. p. 129;

F. Hirth China and the Roman Orient, 1885. p. 39.

3. In the Year of the T'ang Dynasty in which the influence of China was extended farthest to Chinese Turkistan, the Governor-General of An-hsi (安西都護府) which had formerly been stationed at Ssü-chou (西州) was removed to Kucha in 685 A. D. (T'ang-shu, B. 221, History of the Western Regions, Kucha), and this fact was known in 725 A. D. by the Buddhist priest Hui Ch'ao (慧超) who travelled through this districts on his way home from India. (Toyohachi Fujita, Hui Ch'ao, Wang-wu-t'ien-chu-ch'uan Chien-shih. (往五天竺傳箋釈) 1931. 89 th & 90 th sheets.) In those days this district was sometimes simply called An-shi (T. Fujita, History of Interrelation between East & West. "History of Western Region", 1933, p. 309-311) It may be presumable that An-hsi-hsiang (安西香) meaning the incense brought from this district was later called An-hsi-hsiang (安息香) as 安西 and 安息 are the same sound, but this inference is not tenable as T'ang-shu and T'ung-tien do not state, that this incense is produced in Kucha and also it was only since the middle of the seventh

century that this district was generally called An-hsi (安西) while the name An-hsi-hsiang (安息香) had already existed before that time.

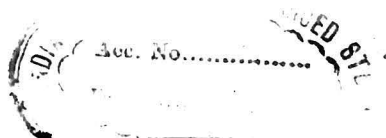
4. The place denote the steep mountainous region along Indus River approximately extending from Kotgala in the south to Baluchistan in the north.

The whole region lying between Peshawar in the north-west of India, situated at the southern foot of the Hindu Kush Mountains, and Kabul in Afghanistan, is a subtropical desert having 34°N as its central part, where we find no special plants of note. In the plain and hilly deserts, there are nothing but wild thorns and succulent plants, and in spring the place becomes covered with desert flowers, all flowering at the same time. Among them we find medicinal herbs such as castor oil plants, madders, asafoetida, santonica. Along the river flowing through the mountainous districts we find here and there sparse forests of willows, poplars, elms, planetrees, mulberry-trees, etc. while the upper parts of the mountains are generally devoid of plants except in the north where we find natural forests of white firs, oaks, etc. As agricultural plants, such as wheat, barley, rice, cotton, corn, barnyard millet, tobacco, poppy, melon, grape-vine, fig-tree, almond-tree, mulberry-tree, etc. are cultivated. In the way of spices this region has produced merely a gum-resin of asafoetida since old times, as is stated in Sui-shu, and the perfume is called Gandha in Sanskrit, the same word as used in "Gandha hasti" meaning "fragrant elephant", "Gandha madada" meaning "odoriferous mountains" and "Gandharvas" meaning "spices."<sup>(3)</sup> These associations made Buddhist scholars in the T'ang Dynasty to interpret Gandhāra (Ch'ien-t'ò-lo, 乾陀羅) as the country producing floral perfume or the fragrant country reminding one of John Milton<sup>(4)</sup>

where he writes "Sabeian odours from the spicy shore. Of Araby the Blest." This happened, however, because the Buddhism introduced to China was intimately related to this region and perfumes were also in most cases brought to China through this region. So it is reasonable to think that An-hsi-hsiang mentioned in Sui-shu was not a native product of this region but an article brought to China through this region. Next we have to solve the problem whether this incense was brought from some country west of Gandhāra or it was produced in the country south of it, namely, India. The countries west of Gandhāra, namely, south-eastern Asia — Persia, Asia Minor, Arabia and Somaliland in East Africa — produce perfume materials used in Europe, especially aromatic gum resin and balsam. These perfumes are already recorded in Chinese books made in the middle of the third century, which mention as Hsün-lu-hsiang (薰陸香) — the Chinese name for frankincense in Arabia — Storax or Styra<sup>(5)</sup>. Hsün-ts'ao and mu (薰草木)<sup>(6)</sup> (odoriferous plants) and twelve kinds of other aromatics. And these perfume materials were introduced to China so early, but An-hsi-hsiang is not mentioned in the historical and geographical documents of the Sui and T'ang Dynasties relative to Parthia and Persia, in spite of the fact that this incense is named after the Parthian Dynasty (An-hsi) in south-eastern Asia; so it is clear that it was not meant by the word An-hsi-hsiang to indicate that the thing was produced in these countries. In Chin-kuang-ming-ching (金光明經, Suvarnaprabhāsa-sutra) B. 7, translated into Chinese by I Ching (義淨) of T'ang, there are enumerated 32 names of perfumery, spices and drugs in Chinese together with Sanskrit originals, among which An-hsi-hsiang is stated to be equivalent to Kiu-kiu (or Chü-chü) -lo (婁羅) in Sanskrit. Then Hui-Lin (慧琳) gives in his buddhist dictionary I-ch'ieh-ching-yin-i (一切經音義) B. 45, An-hsi-hsiang as the Chinese name for K'ieou-k'ieou- (or ch'iu-ch'iu) lo (求求羅) of

Sanskrit, and Fa Yün (法雲) of the Sung (宋) Dynasty explains in his Chinese Sanskrit Dictionary, Fan-i-ming-i-chi (翻譯名義集) section 35, for perfumery, that "An-hsi-hsiang is cho-chü-lo (拙具羅), or Kiu-kiu-lo and K'ieou-k'ieou-lo". As P. Pelliot states, the original Sanskrit word should be rightly read Kiu-kiu-lo or K'ieou-k'ieou-lo and though Fa Yün gives also Cho-chü-lo, it is seen from the general constructions of the words, that the first letter of the former two words viz. chü (眞) and, ch'iu (求) are equivalent to cho (拙). F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill consider that these words seem to be the corrupt transcriptions either of Sanskrit Khādīra or Kundura, catechu or Indian frankincense, while Pelliot asserts that the original Sanskrit word is Guggulu (Gum-gugul of today) which signifies Balsamodendron Africanum and there is quite within the bounds of possibility that the name An-hsi-hsiang may be related to the ancient Chinese name for Persia of the Arsacides. This gum-gugul is the so called Indian bdellium, a kind of aromatic gum-resin known from ancient times, so named after the bdellium which was produced in East Africa and South Arabia. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea written in the first century states that this perfume was exported from Barbaricum and Barygaza on the west coast of India together with nardos, costus, ivory, agate, long pepper, cotton cloth of all kinds, silk cloth of China, etc. While the gum-gugul has been used from ancient times to adulterate frankincense and myrrh, and it is not uncommon even at present as in the past, that frankincense and myrrh produced in southern Arabia and its opposite side of east Africa are transported to India and are adulterated with native Indian gum-gugul in various ways, before re-exporting them from India, for aromatic gum-resins bear many different commercial names and are of different grades. Accurately speaking gum-gugul in India is roughly divided into.

(A) Indian bdellium A. Balsamodendron mukul, Hook.



(Sindh, Rajputana, Bednore, Kandish, Berars, Mysore, Bellary.)

B. B. pubescens, Stock, (Sindh, Baluchistan.)

(B) Assam bdellium. B. Roxburghii (Amyris commiphora. Roxb.) (E. Bengal, Sylhet, Assam.)

There exists another kind of aromatic gum-resin called Indian olibanum (Boswellia Serrata, Roxb.) which was called guggli or kundura in Sanskrit, and is still called gum-gugul in many places of India and it is classified into two varieties, Serrata proper (Central Province, Bihar, Orrisa, E. Bengal, N. Madras, Deccan.) and Glabra (Siwalik Hill of N. United Province, Rajputana, Kandish, Belgaum of N. E. Goa<sup>(12)</sup>). But all these exist in such a state that it is difficult to judge a given sample to which of these it belongs when handled as commercial goods, hence I interpret the word guggulu in Sanskrit as comprising both of Indian bdellium and olibanum.

These two groups of aromatic gum-resins are indigenous to the mountain regions of Central India and the Coromandel coast and even at present are produced in Rajputana, Sind and Baluchistan on both sides of the Indus River, and according to Arrian were produced in olden times in the whole region extending from the south foot of the Hindu Kush mountains to the coast of Indian Ocean, Baluchistan and in the desert of Ged~~erosia~~<sup>(13)</sup>. So it is quite natural to suppose that these gum-gugul aromatics were first collected in Gandhāra before they were sent to east, west and north by land<sup>(14)</sup>. Hence it is quite possible that guggulu of India was known to the Chinese as product of Gandhāra, but in the beginning, viz, in the third century, Hsün-lu-hsiang composed principally of frankincense of Arabia was brought by ship to the mouth of the Indus River, and then it was adulterated presumably by mixing it with Indian Guggulu and other materials,

to be sent to China via Gandhāra and Turkistan. Therefore Indian gum-resin especially guggulu was not distinctly known to the Chinese at first and so such a name as An-hsi-hsiang did not exist. With the lapse of time, however, the quantities and varieties of such perfumes brought to China increased, and it is believed that the name of An-hsi-hsiang came to be given to a special kind of aromatic gum-resin brought from there. However by the middle of the T'ang Dynasty the knowledge about India on the part of the Chinese especially through travelling priests and scholars had increased in number and we presume that they came to identify guggulu of India with An-hsi hsiang.

1 Han-shu, B. 96, states as to the geographical conditions of Ki-pin as follows, "the land is fat, the climate is mild, there grow clover, strange trees, good trees, lacquer trees, etc., the people cultivate cereals, grape, fruits, rice-plant and they can obtain fresh vegetables even in winter." The information given here is generally correct.

Then the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea states in section 48, that Nardos which is one of the goods handled at Ozene (Ujjain of today) where was the center of commerce of exports from Barygaza port of India, is brought from Caspapyrene (Attock), Paropanisene (Hindu Kush), Cabolitic (Kabul) and (through the adjoining country of) Scythia. W. Vincent (The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean, 1807. II. p. 408) W. H. Schoff (The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, 1912. p. 42. 188. n.) and E. H. Warmington (The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India, 1928. p. 195) interpret this nardos to be Spikenard of India (Nardostachys jatamansi) and they considered that this perfume is also produced in a Kabul region, but K. Murakawa (The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, translated into



Japanese with notes. 1946. p. 208. n.) objects this view, and he asserts that the true Indian Spikenard is produced only in the districts extending from Kumaon (Garhwal) at the foot of Himalaya Mountains to Sikkim of the same range. (cf. K. R. Kirtikar & B. D. Basu. Indian Medicinal Plants. 1918. I. p. 665. G. Watt. The Commercial Products of India. 1908. p. 792.) Above mentioned districts are all situated to the west of the place of origin of true spikenard. Hence in my opinion, Nardos in the Periplus section 48 cannot be limited to the true spikenard.

2 Laufer, Sino-Iranica, pp. 353-362.

3 Eitel, Handook, p. 57. a.

4 cf. I-ch'ieh-ching-yin-i, section. 3. by Hsüan Ying (玄應) of the T'ang and the dictionary of the same by Hui Lin., Sect. 3. The statement that the country Gandhāra produced floral perfumes was probably given from the fact that all the flowers bloom at once in spring and Buddhism was prevalent there at that day. It is also believed that the country was called the fragrant country from the latter reason.

5 Storax comes from Asia Minor. It does not flow from the tree but must be extracted from the bark with water. The storax balsam melts, separated from the bark and goes into the water. The warm and wet bark is expressed and the oil is added to the balsam. The combination is known as "liquid storax" a substance of importance and interest to modern perfumery.

6 Wei-lio (魏略) Hsi jung-chuan (西戎傳) quoted in Wei-chih (魏志) B. 30.

7 T'oung Pao. Vol. XIII 1912. p. 480.

8 Hirth and Rockill read cho (拙) as kü and suggest that the letter is the same in pronunciation as chü (婁) or ch'iu (求). (Chau Ju-Kua, 1911. p. 202. n.)

9 Frankincense in Arabic is kundurū, Pahlavi kundurūk, Persian kundurū. Armenian kntruk, Sanskrit kundurū, kundura, kundu, kunduruka. Khādira is the Sanskrit for Acacia catechu.

10 Murakawa, *ibid.* sect. 39 & 49 p. 106 & 114.

11 Warmington, *ibid.* p. 201.

12 Z. Teruya, *Boswellia and gum-gugul in India*, *Ogawa Perfumery Times*. vol. 12. No. 2. Feb. 1939.

13 Arrian, *Anabasis*, VI. 22: Schoff, *ibid.* p. 163. n. 1; Theophrastus, IV. 4. 12: IX. 1. 2: Pliny. *Natural History*, XII.: 35-6. Dioscurides. I., 67.

14 Pliny states that the best guggulu comes from Bactria and ordinary guggulu from India, Arabia, Media and Babylonia (XII., 19), but I infer that the former best one was probably transported to Bactria through Gandhāra.

Then the question will be raised how the Indian aromatic gum-gugal came to be called An-hsi-hsiang in China. Hitherto there have prevailed two opinions, viz. (a) that this word derived from the name of a country and (b) that the word An-hsi (安息) signifies etymologically to calm down the breath. The former simply establishes the connection between the name of the incense and that of the western Turkistan Parthia of Arsacides. For instance Chau Ju-Kua (趙汝适) in his Chu-fan-chih (諸蕃志) (Records of Foreign Nations), quotes the statement about Western Babarians in T'ung-tien (B. 192), saying "that the country of An-hsi has sent a tribute to China in the year of 567 (2nd, T'ien-ho (天和) of the Chou (周)) and 609 (5th, Ta-yeh (大業) of the Sui (隋))." and he considers that the name of this incense was perhaps derived from this country. <sup>(1)</sup> Pèn-ts'ao-kang -mu (本草綱目) B. 34 written by Li Shih-Chen (李時珍) also says simply that this word was in one sense derived from the name

of the country. On the other hand Yu-yang-tsa-tsu (酉陽雜俎) B. 18, states" in Po-ssü (Persia) this tree is termed P'i-hsieh (辟邪) tree ————— and when burnt, the fume penetrates into the abode of the spirits and dispels all evils" by way of explanation of how this incense tranquilize our breath (that is to pacify our mind). Pên-ts'ao-kang-mu also gives a similar interpretation stating that this incense wards off all evils and banishes all demoniac influences, and E. Bretschneider blindly follows this interpretation.<sup>(2)</sup> Both views adhere too strictly to the letter of the term,<sup>(2)</sup> and the reason given is very unsatisfactory to explain why An-hsi was adopted as the name of the incense which is proved by no record wherever been produced in a country west of Gandhāra in Persia. As was mentioned before, Pelliot asserts that An-hsi-hsiang in the T'ang Dynasty was guggulu and that the relation between Western Turkistan of Parthia and this incense can also be found in, that was produced in old times in the deserts of Gedrosia (Baluchistan). B. Laufer refutes Bretschneider saying that such literal interpretation is decidedly forced and fantastic, and approves Pelliot's view.<sup>(3)</sup> It may well be supposed that in those days the <sup>incense</sup> trade in Gandhāra was nearly monopolized by the Parthians, and the Chinese regarded this incense as a special kind of aromatic gum-resin among many other perfumes which was composed principally of frankincense, and considered it as the incense of the Parthians or they were led to believe so. I think this hypothesis is more adequate taking the historical position of Gandhāra into accounts. It is also curious that in spite of the fact that although Parthia was overthrown by the Sasanian Dynasty of Persia in 220 A. D., the name An-hsi-hsiang first occurred in China in the beginning of the fourth century or even later (i. e. in the 5th or the 6th century). And this may be taken as a proof of the fact that the relationship between An-hsi-hsiang and the Sasanian Dynasty

in Persia was not so intimate, (although Wei-liao written in the middle of the 3rd. century uses the name Parthia<sup>(1)</sup> and all the succeeding histories use the name Po-ssü) or it shows that the incense was so called when sent to China by the Iranian people in the Gandhāra region, because it had a higher commercial value if associated with the reputation of the past Parthian Dynasty. To designate an article, especially such a thing as perfumery, after something great having had relation with it in the past in order to raise its reputation and value, is a means very often resorted to by merchants.

1 Chau Ju-kua says "it may be conjectured that the name was derived from Parthia and the article was imported by way of San-fo-ch'i (三佛齊)". It is considered that he had to distort the fact in such a way because he confused guggul and gum-benzoin, which was different from it.

2 E. Bretschneider, *Ancient Chinese and Arabs*. 19. n. 2; *Botanicon Sinicum*, III p. 466.

3 Laufer, *ibid.*, p. 467. He states 'Sanskrit guggula refers to the gum-resin obtained from Boswellia serrata and the produce of Balsamodendron mukul, or Commiphora roxburghii, the bdellion of the Greeks. Perhaps also other Balsamodendrons are involved; and it should be born in mind that Balsamodendron and Boswellia are two genera belonging to the same family, Burseraceae or Amyrideae.

4 Quoted in Wei-chih B. 30; F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*. 1885. p. 198.

Then the description of An-hsi-hsiang in Yu-yang-tsa-tsu, which is quoted not only by later Pên-ts'ao (Chinese literature on materia medica or natural history) but also by some foreign

scholars, in the explanation of gum-benzoin, raises the question of whether it is accurate or not. The statement there is as follows: "The tree furnishing An-hsi aromatics grows in the land of Po-ssü (波斯). In Po-ssü it is termed p'i-hsieh tree (tree warding off evil influence). The tree grows to a height of thirty feet, and has a bark of a yellow black color. Its leaves are oblong, and remain green throughout the winter. It flowers in the second month of the year. The blossoms are yellow. The heart of the flower is somewhat greenish (or bluish). It does not form fruit. On scraping the tree-bark, the syrup like gum appears; it is called An-hsi aromatic. In the sixth or seventh month of the year, to this substance hardens, and it is fit for use as incense to penetrate into the abode of the spirits and dispel all evils".

There characteristics are compared with those of benzoin of the Farther India and Indian bdellium or oliban, in the following table. (Remarks, See a table page 21.) Laufer says that, although he is not botanist enough he can hardly believe that the description in Yu-yang-tsa-tsu can be applied to Styrax benzoin, which is a small tree never reaching thirty feet and which bears white flowers, not yellow, nor is there any plant corresponding to the description in Persia. He thinks moreover that P'i-hsieh is not the transcription of a foreign word but a purely Chinese word, its older form being Bik-dza derived neither from Persian nor Malayan.<sup>(2)</sup> He thinks also that Po-ssü of Yu-yang-tsa-tsu, as in other cases,<sup>(3)</sup> may refer to the Malayan Po-ssü and he denounces Bretschneider, Hirth and Rockhill, who identifies this Po-ssü with Persia without endeavoring, however, to ascertain which tree is meant.<sup>(4)</sup> From the table of comparison given next it is clearly seen that An-hsi-hsiang described in Yu-yang-tsa-tsu differs from true benzoin, but it is more different from Gum-gugul in India, and nearer to the former than to the latter.<sup>(5)</sup>

	Habitat	Height	Bark	Leaves	Flowers	Fruit	Gum Resin	Collected
<u>An-lsi-hsiang</u> of <u>Yu-yang-tsa-tsu</u>	Po-ssü (Persia)	30 feet.	yellow black	oblong, ever green.	2nd month, yellow.	sterile	like syrup and hardens by ex- posure to the air.	6th or 7th month
<u>Styrax benzoin</u> Dryander.	Farther India	a tall tree of middle sized.	grayish brown.	oblong, ever green.	June to Aug. silver white.	bear fruit	white tears hardens by ex- posure to the air.	June to Aug. or Nov.
<u>Balsamodendron</u> <u>mukul</u> Hook.	India, Arid zone	a stunted shrub or dwarfed tree	greenish yellow	trifoliate, the lateral leaflets small.	unisexual subsessible. red.	bear fruit	vermiform pieces brown or greenish.	cold season.
<u>Boswellia serrata</u> Roxb.	India, Northern and Southern dry zone.	a deciduous middle sized tree with a spreading flat crown.	greenish, ashcolor- ed.	imparimate, crow- ded at the ends of branches; leaf-lets 8-15 pair opposite, or nearly opposite, sessible, lanceo- late, fall about March and April.	bisexual. orange.	bear fruit	transparent golden yellow semi-fluid slowly hardens.	March. June.

Laufer states that the height of the benzoin tree does not reach 30 feet, and Marsden says that the tree is about the same height as a man, but the wild variety reaches about 20 meters in height and what is described in T'ang (or Hsin-hsiu)-pên-ts'ao (唐或新修本草) by Su Ching (蘇敬) and others in 659 A. D. i. e. "the incense produced among the Western (Hsi 西)-Jung (戎), it looks like Sung-chih<sup>(6)</sup> (松脂), yellowish black in color and hard in appearance, though elastic when incision is made into it" (quoted in Cheng-lei-pên-ts'ao, 證類本草 B. 13) seems to be nearer to Gum-gugul, while what is described in Hai-yao-pên-ts'ao (海藥本草) i. e. "the incense is the resin of a tree growing in Nan-hai (Malayan archipelago) Po-ssü country; it looks like Tao chiao (桃膠)<sup>(7)</sup> (peach gum) and is gathered in autumn" (quoted in Cheng-lei. B. 13), seems nearer to gum benzoin and also to the description in Yu-yang-tsa-tsu.

The sentence in Hai-yao is said to be quoted from Kuang-chou-chi (廣州記, Account of Kuang-tung) but if this Kuang-chou-chi is the same as the work by Ku-wei (顧微) of the Chin (晉) epoch or by P'ei Yüan (裴淵) of the same period, it is too old for the explanation of Nan-hai An-hsi-hsiang, so either the passage in question may be a later addition or it may be from another book of the same title. The age in which Hai-yao was edited is not distinctly known, but if we assume that it was written by Li-Sün (李珣), this author lived about 750 A. D. according to Li Shih-chen<sup>(8)</sup> or about 880 A. D. according to another writer, so in contrast to the statement in T'ang-pên-ts'ao, the description in which seems to indicate An-hsi-hsiang to mean vaguely gum-gugul produced in Hsi-jung or Western Asia, the description in Hai-yao suggests that benzoin of Nan-hai (Malayan archipelago) began to be known to the Chinese though vaguely about the end of the 8th century in the beginning of the 9th century. The description in the Yu-yang-tsa-tsu written at the end of the T'ang epoch seems to have the same product in general. Yet the problem

still remains how to account for the difference in expression between Nan-hai Po-ssü of Hai-yao and Po-ssü of Yu-yang,<sup>1</sup> but this may be explained by supposing that the import of Po-ssü An-hsi-hsiang through Gandhāra still remained at that time and was handled chiefly by Persian merchants while the true country of the origin of newly appearing Nan-hai An-hsi-hsiang (Benzoin) was not distinctly known to the Chinese and consequently these two different kinds of benzoin were confused with each other by the authors. Such a confusion itself would seem to show that it was a transition period from An-hsi-hsiang in former times (gum-gugul) to the new Nan-hai one (gum-benzoin). The author of Yu-yang-tsa-tsu usually was very alert to the news in his time, but at the same time was subject to the influence of the Buddhist's idea of India, hence the confusion as to the country of the origin of this incense. Laufer's view that Nan-hai Po-ssü should at once mean the existence of another Po-ssü country i. e. Malayan Persia in the Malayan Archipelago seems to ignore the way of thinking of a learned man in China, who respected the traditional way of thinking and the past literature. I think that the fact may be explained from the actual situation, in those days when Persian merchants were very active in China and most of them used to come to China hitherto along the land route from Central Asia, but more and more Persians were coming via the Malayan Sea with the prosperity of the South Sea trade in the T'ang and succeeding Dynasties, and thus there came into being the new word Nan-hai Po-ssü, namely New Persians coming across the Malayan Sea.

1 Teruya. *Boswellia*: Suzuki and Momosa. *ibid.*; Kirtikar & Basu. *Ind. Med. Plants*. p. 291—2: Marsden, *Sumatra*, p. 124: Sawer, *Odorographia*, p. 232—4. Burkill, *Dic.* p. 2105—7: Watt, *Com. Pro.* p. 174, 400.



2 Sino-Iranica, p. 466.  
3 *ibid.*, p. 468—487 (The Malayan Po-ssü and its products). He classifies Po-ssü in Chinese literature into Iran in Western Asia and Malayan Po-ssü, and goes on to consider various articles of production, but he does not go so far as to state clearly of his own view concerning the identification of the exact position of Nan-hai Po-ssü.

4 Bot. Sin. III. p. 466.

5 Chau Ju-Kua. p. 202.

6 A resin of *Pinus* is Sung-chih (松脂) also called Sung-kao (松膏), Sung-fang (松肪) Sung-chiao (松膠) and most commonly Sung-hsiang (松香).

7 Tao-chiao (桃膠) is peach gum and is used as a sedative, alterative, astringent and demulcent remedy. (G. A. Stuart, Chinese Materia Medica, 1911. p. 357.)

8 Wang Kuo-wei (王國維) states in the post-script of Hua-chien-chi (花間集) that Li Sün is a Persian born in China and Mao-t'ing-k'o-hua (茅亭客話) states also that he was born in a Persian family and at the time of the revolt of Huang-ch'ao (黃巢) went to Shu (蜀) accompanying the king Hsi-Sung (僖宗). We can believe in general that he was Persian merchant in T'ang Dynasty dealing in spices and perfumery. c. f. Hsiang-Ta, (向達). A short History of the Chinese International Relations. 1934. p. 25.

(The name of Japanese books are translated into English.)

.....To be continued.....

