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A Study of Saka History

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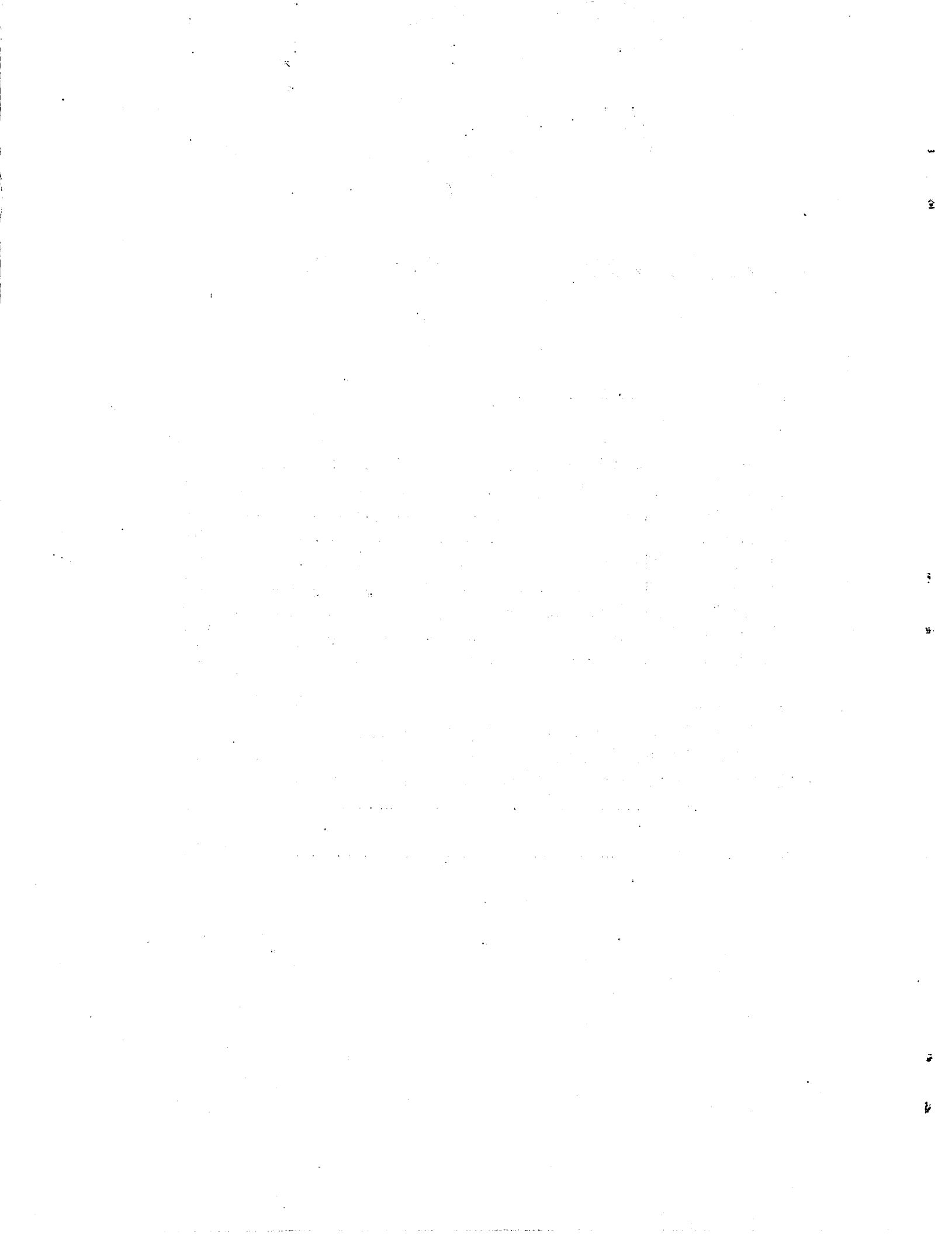
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A STUDY OF SAKĀ HISTORY

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this book is to deal with certain problems in Central Asian history before the flourishing of the Kushān Empire and centering on the Sakās or Sai.

The Sai 塞 tribes as seen in *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, must have been the Sakās of the Behistun inscription of Darius I (521-486 B.C.) of Achaemenian Persia. The Sai or Sakās were mainly made up of the four tribes the Asii, the Gasiani, the Tochari and the Sacarauli.

By the end of the 7th century B.C. the Asii and other tribes had already lived in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu. They were called "Issedones" in the "Arimaspea", a long epic written by a Greek poet, Aristean of Proconnesus, to describe what he had seen and heard during his journey to Central Asia. "Issedones" may be a transcription of "Asii". It seems to show that the Asii and the other tribes had already formed a tribal confederacy, which gave first place to the Asii.

As late as the 520s B.C. the Asii and the other tribes extended westwards as far as the right bank of the Syr Darya, from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu, and drove away the Massagetae, who originally lived there. After that, they were called "Sakās" by the Persians.

In around 177/176 B.C., the Sai tribes were forced to give up the valleys of the Ili Rivers and Chu because of migration of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏. Some of them moved south and split and separated in the Pamir Region and then moved east and entered the oases in the Tarim Basin.

In around 140 B.C., large numbers of the Sakās crossed the Syr Darya and moved south. A group of them entered Ferghāna and another group, Bactria. The latter destroyed the Greek kingdom of Bactria. The states they founded were respectively noted as Dayuan 大宛 and Daxia 大夏 in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123. Both "Da-yuan" [*dat-iuat*] and "Da-xia" [*dat-hea*] appear to have been transcriptions of "Tochari", which seemed to show that those who founded both of the states were mainly the Tochari.

At about the same time, another group of the Sakās (who were mainly made up of the Asii) migrated to the littoral of the Aral Sea and the Caspian Sea going downstream along the Syr Darya. These Sakās were noted as "Yancai" 奄蔡, but those who remained on the northern bank of the Syr Daria were known as "Kangju" 康居 in the *Shiji*, ch. 123. "Yan-cai" [*iam-tziat*] may be taken as a transcription of "Asii" and "Kang-ju" [*kang-kia*] may be taken as "Saca[rauli]", as [*ki (kang)*] would be palatalized to [*si (sa)*]. Therefore, the former were mainly the Asii and the latter, the Sacarauli.

In 130 B.C., the Wusun 烏孫 made an expedition to the Da Yuezhi; they defeated the latter and occupied the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu. The Da Yuezhi once more migrated west and reached the valley of the Amu Darya, defeating Daxia and occupying their territory. Thereupon, the state of Wusun and the Da Yuezhi, as described in *Shiji*, ch.123, were established.

On the other hand, some of the Sakās who lived in the Pamir Region passed through a natural barrier, which was known as "Suspended Crossing", and invaded Gandhāra and Taxila, driving away the Greek rulers and founding the state of Jibin 屬賓 as recorded in *Hanshu*, ch. 96. The date was not earlier than 129 B.C.

The second western migration of the Da Yuezhi also drove some of the Sakās to invade the Parthian Persia from Sogdiana and Tukhārestān, and to occupy Drangiana and Arachosia. Drangiana was consequently called Sakāstān. These Sakās had once been crushed by Mithridates II (124/123-87B.C.) but they proclaimed independence soon after the latter had died. The state of Wuyishanli 烏弋山離 described in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, was in fact the kingdom of the Sakās, whose political center was in Sakāstān.

After they had occupied the territory of the Daxia, the Da Yuezhi ruled Bactra and its surrounding area directly, and controlled the eastern mountain region by means of the so-called five Xihou 翮侯. The five Xihou were all Daxia, who were propped up and used as puppets by the Da Yuezhi. Qiujiuque 丘就卻, the Guishuang 貴霜 Xihou, who overthrew the power of the Da Yuezhi and established the Kushān kingdom, must have been the descendant of the Gasiani, one of the Sakā tribes which invaded Bactria. The state of Guishuang described in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, may also be considered to have been established by the Sakās. "Guishuang" [*giuet-shiang*] must have been a transcription of "Gasiani".

The Sakā tribes, which appeared in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu by the end of the 7th century B.C. had possibly come from the East. The Asii, the Gasiani, the Tochari and the Sacarauli seemed to be the Rong 戎 of the Surname Yun 允, the Yuzhi 禺知 (Yuzhi 禺氏), the Daxia and the Suoju 莎車 who appeared in pre-Qin records and books, such as the *Zuozhuan* 左傳, the *Lishi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, the *Guanzi* 管子 and the *Yizhouzhu* 逸周書. The sphere of their movement roughly covered the area from the west of the Yellow River to the east of the Altai Mountains. In 623 B.C., Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公 dominated the Western Rong and opened up territories which extended for 1,000 *li* 里. This event possibly caused the Sai tribes' western migration. The Yuzhi (Yuzhi) who migrated west may have been a small part of the whole tribe, and those who remained in the former land eventually developed into a powerful and prosperous tribe. The latter were exactly like the Yuezhi, the ancestor of the Da Yuezhi. The remainders of the Rong of the Surname of Yun were in fact the ancestors of the Wusun. For this reason, the Da Yuezhi and the Wusun came from the same source as the Gasiani and the Asii who belonged to the Sai tribes alike, but migrated in different directions. "Yu-zhi" [*njiuk-tjie*] and "Wusun" [*a-sən*] may be taken as the transcriptions of "Gasiani" and "Asii" respectively.

The four tribes of the Asii and others, including the Da Yuezhi and the Wusun, were all Europoid and spoke Indo-European languages. Documents written in a language which has been unearthed in Qiuci 龜茲 and Yanqi 焉耆, etc. and named "Toxri" by the Uigurs also seem to show that at least part of the original language of the Sai belonged to the Centum.

Said Darius the King: This is the Kingdom which I hold, from the Sakās who are beyond Sogdiana, thence unto Ethiopia: from Sind, thence unto Sardis.

Since the land of the Sakās lay "beyond Sogdiana", the only possibility is that the land was on the right bank of the Syr Darya.^[6]

2. The Sakās whom Darius attacked in 519 B.C. apparently lived on the northern bank of the Syr Darya. The Behistun inscription mentions that Darius I "arrived at the sea". "Sea (*daryah*)" here may be read as "wide water", in which case it could refer to the Syr Darya.^[7]

3. Darius' Persepolis inscription (e, 5-18):

Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazdā these are the countries which I got into my possession along with this Persian folk, which felt fear of me (and) bore me tribute: Elam, Media, Babylonia, Arabia, Assyria, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sardis, Ionia, who are of the mainland and (those) who are by the sea, and countries which are across the sea; Sagartia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Sattagydia, Arachosia, Sind, Gandara, Sakā, Maka.

Darius' Naqš-e Rostam inscription (a, 15-30):

Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazdā these are the countries which I seized outside of Persia; I ruled over them; they bore tribute to me; what was said to them by me, that they did; my law -- that held them firm; Media, Elam, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, Gandara, Sind, Sakā haumavargā,^[8] Sakā tigraxaudā, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sardis, Ionians, Sakā who are across the sea, Skudra, petasoswearing Ionians, Libyans, Ethiopians, men of Maka, Carians.

Darius' Sšūšā inscription (e, 14-30):

Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazdā these are the countries which I seized outside of Persia; I ruled over them; they bore tribute to me; what was said to them by me, that they did; my law --that held them firm; Media, Elam, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, men of Maka, Gandara, Sind, Sakā haumavargā, Sakā tigraxaudā, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sardis, Ionians, (those) who are by the sea and (those) across the sea, Skudra, Libyans, Ethiopians, Carians.

and Xerxes' (I, 486-465 B.C.) Persepolis inscription (h, 13-28):

Saith Xerxes the King: By the favor of Ahuramazdā these are the countries which I seized outside of Persia; I ruled over them; they bore tribute to me; what was said to them by me, that they did; my law --that held them firm; Media, Elam, Arachasia, Armenia, Drangiana, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Babylonia, Assyria, Sattagydia, Sardis, Egypt, Ionians, those who dwell by the sea and those who dwell across the sea, men of Maka, Arabia, Gandara, Sind,

Cappadocia, Dahae, Sakā haumavargā, Sakā tigraxaudā, Skudra, men of Akaufaka, Libyans, Carians, Ethiopians.

all of these texts show that the Sakās whom Darius attacked lived on the northern bank of the Syr Darya.

First, the "Sakā" following "Gandara" in the list of Darius' Behistun inscription I; the "Sakās" following "Sind, Gandara" in the list of his Persepolis inscription (e); and "Sakās haumavargā, Sakās tigraxaudā" following "Gandara, Sind" in the list of his *Ss ūšā* inscription (e) and Naqš-e Rostam inscription (a), were all one and the same. And, according to the *History* of Herodotus, "The Sacae, who are Scythians, have high caps tapering to a point and stiffly upright, which they wear on their heads.... These were Amyrgian Scythians but were called Sacae." (VII,64)^[9] Since "Amyrgian" was identical with "haumavargā", the so-called "Sakās hauvarga and Sakās tigraxaudā" were one and not two groups.^[10] Both were, in fact, taken as one ("Sakā") in the Behistun inscription I. It was very possible that they were mistaken as two tribes owing to internal differences in custom. However, even if there were a group of "Sakās haumavargā" without pointed caps, it would be hard to draw a clear line between them and the Sakās who wore pointed caps, because both the Sakās haumavargā and Sakās tigraxaudā were sure to be included in "Sakās" in the list of Darius' Behistun inscription I and his Perspolis inscription e.

Second, according to Megasthenes (c.350-280 B.C.),

India is four-sided in shape and the side which faces east and that which faces south are embraced by the Great Sea, while that which faces north is separated by the Emodus range of mountains from that part of Scythia which is inhabited by the Scythians known as the Sacae.^[11]

In addition, the "Sakās" were listed after Sind and Gandara in the list of Darius' inscriptions. It seems that the western people at that time considered that the land of the Sakās lay near India. However, this might have been a misconception due to poor geographical knowledge. It is true that the Emodus Mountains are generally believed to be the Himalaya Mountains,^[12] but the reference to them here should not be taken too literally. In other words, the record of Megasthenes shows only that the people at that time regarded the land of the Sakās as lying to the north of India, and cut off from the latter by high mountains. As the Sakās were used to being regarded as living in a place to the north of India, it is no surprise that the Achaemenids' inscriptions refer to the Sakās in relation to Sind and Gandhāra. It is important to note that the inscriptions discussed in this paper provide sufficient indication that there was no definite link between the geographical positions of the provinces named and the order in which they were listed, so we should not consider that the land of the Sakās in the Achaemenids' inscriptions was located near or adjoined Sind and Gandhāra.^[13]

As for the "Sakās who are across the sea" in Darius' Naqš-e Rostam inscription (a), they were obviously those who lived in "countries which are across the sea" in his Persepolis inscription (e), and also were "(those) who are across the sea" in his *Ss ūšā* inscription (e) and "those who dwell across the sea" in Xerxes' Persepolis inscription (h); for they were all listed after the "Ionians who are by the sea" in these inscriptions. Thus, the "Sakās who are across the sea" must have been the Scythians who lived on

the northern bank of the Black Sea, and whom Darius I attacked in 513 B.C. (cf. the *History* of Herodotus, IV, 1,46).^[14] Also, according to Herodotus, "the Persians call all Scythians Sacae." (VII,64) However, on the northern bank of the Black Sea, in addition to the Sacae, there were "the Taurians, the Agathyrsi, the Neuri, the Man-Eaters, the Black Cloaks, the Geloni, the Budini, and the Sauromatians." (IV,102) Therefore, it is not accurate to call them only "Sakās". This may explain why the wording "Sakās who are across the sea" occurred only once in the Achaemenids' inscriptions.

(C)

The following discussion deals mainly with the Sacae (Sakās) as described by Herodotus.

1. According to Herodotus, Cyrus II (558-529 B.C.) planned to command the campaign against the Sacae, "For Babylon lay in his path, and the Bactrian people and the Sacae and the Egyptians, against whom he designed to lead an army himself, but against the Ionians he decided he would send another general." (I, 153) In the book of Herodotus, however, there is no record of Cyrus' campaign against the Sacae, but it does record the campaign against the Massagetae after his conquest of the Babylonians. (I, 201-204) Therefore, it may be considered that the Massagetae whom Cyrus II attacked were the Sacae.

First, according to Herodotus, "[the Massagetae] are a race, said to be great and warlike, who lives toward the east and the rising of the sun, beyond the River Araxes and opposite the Issedones." (I, 201) Since the River Araxes may be identified with the Syr Darya, the land of the Massagetae lay in the same position as that of the Sakās recorded in the Achaemenids' inscriptions.^[15]

Second, according to Herodotus, "the Massagetae wear the same kind of clothes as the Scythians and live much the same." (I, 215) Since the Persians called all Scythians Sacae, it was very possible that they called the Massagetae, whose clothing and life-way were similar to the Scythians, Sacae. Herodotus also points out, "some say, besides, that they are a Scythian people." (I, 201)

Third, the name "Massagetae" may mean "the great Saca horde".^[16]

2. According to Herodotus (I, 204-214), the expedition of Cyrus II against the Massagetae was not successful. The whole Persian army was destroyed, and Cyrus II himself was killed in the action. This shows that the northern bank of the Syr Darya was not yet subject to the Achaemenids before the death of Cyrus II. Cambyses II (529-522 B.C.), who ascended the throne after Cyrus II, went on an expedition to Egypt in the fourth year of his reign, and died there. No record refers to his making an expedition against the Massagetae or the Sacae, but the Sakās who lived on the northern bank of the Syr Darya, as mentioned above, had already been subject to the Achaemenids before Darius I ascended the throne. Therefore, it is conceivable that Cambyses II made an expedition against the Massagetae as soon as he ascended the throne to avenge the insult to Cyrus II. If so, the war must have come very quickly to an end with the victory of the Persians, and the Massagetae acknowledging allegiance to the Persians, and Cambyses II going on the expedition to Egypt after eliminating the trouble back at home.^[17]

If this is true, the Sakās whom Darius I attacked in 519 B.C. must have been the Massagetae. However, this is not the only possibility. Another possibility is that

those who were attacked by Darius I were not the Massagetae, but the Issedones as described by Herodotus.

According to Herodotus, the land of the Massagetae lay opposite that of the Issedones. Since the former lay on the northern bank of the Syr Darya, the latter must have lain in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu,^[18] which was a result of a migration of nomadic tribes across the whole Eurasian steppes. Herodotus recorded this migration based on various sources. In one section, he says:

The nomad Scythians living in Asia were hard pressed in war by the Massagetae and crossed the river Araxes into Cimmerian country. You see, what is now the country inhabited by the Scythians was in the old days said to be that of the Cimmerians. (IV, 11)

And in another section, he says:

The Issedones, says Aristeas, were thrust out of their lands by the Arimaspians, the Scythians by the Issedones; and the Cimmerians, living by the southern sea, being hard pressed by the Scythians, also left their country. (IV,13)

Therefore, it is possible that the Issedones defeated the Massagetae, the latter defeated the Scythians, and the Scythians were forced into the Cimmerian country. The pressure on the Scythians came indirectly from the Massagetae, and directly from the Issedones. Thus it may be that the Issedones moved on westward from the valley of the Rivers Ili and Chu, and then occupied the northern bank of the Syr Darya, the land of the Massagetae, at a time when Darius I had not yet ascended the throne and Cyrus II had already died. After that, they were called Sakās by the Persians.

Both the *Hanshu* and Arrian's book provide evidence for this. According to the *Hanshu*, the former land of the Sai tribes (i.e., the Sakās) lay in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu; and according to Arrian, all the Massagetae whom Alexander met with on his expedition lived on the southern bank of the Syr Darya (for details, see the ensuing section). If this is correct, we may speculate that the Issedones acknowledged allegiance to the Achaemenids after they occupied the land of the Massagetae in order to consolidate their victory over the Massagetae. The Issedones had rebelled while Persia was in dire straits following the death of Cambyses II, and were pacified by Darius I.

3. According to Herodotus, after Darius ascended the throne,

He set up twenty provinces, which the Persians themselves call satrapies. He set up the satrapies and appointed governors to them and appointed the tribute they should pay, nation by nation. He assigned to each nation those that were nearest to it, but the farther peoples he assigned to one nation or another." (III, 89)

Among them, "the Sacae and the Caspii contributed 250 talents. This was the fifteenth province." (III, 93) Some scholars have worked hard to locate the position of the Caspii province, and have tried to infer from it the position of the land of the Sacae, which was nearest to the land of Caspii people. However, it appears that they have failed in their endeavour. The main cause of their failure was that they presumed that the Sakās lived near the Sind or Gandhāra, based on their listing in the

Achaemenids' inscriptions. They took the Caspii as Casia of Ptolemy and tried to reconcile the records on the Sakās in the books of Herodotus and Ptolemy.^[19]

In my opinion, the Caspii, along with the Sacae, lived in a place to the east of the Caspian Sea, and even perhaps to the east of the Aral Sea. Herodotus says:

So to the west of this sea called Caspian there is the barrier of the Caucasus, but to the east and the rising sun there succeeds a plain that stretches endlessly to the eye. A very great share of this huge plain the Massagetae have as their portion; it was against them that Cyrus was bent on making war. (I, 204)

The sea was called Caspian owing to the Caspii people, and the Caspian Sea here should include not only the present Caspian Sea, but also the Aral Sea. This is supported by Herodotus's record: "One of the mouths of the Araxes that flows through a clear channel empties into the Caspian Sea." (I, 202) Further, "a plain that stretches endlessly" could refer to the plain which lay to the east of the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea (the northern bank of the Syr Darya), where the homeland of the Massagetae lay in the reign period of Cyrus II. This area was also the land of the Sakās who were attacked by Darius in 519 B.C. Therefore, from a starting point investigating the position of the Caspii province, one can also conclude that the Sacae (Sakās) lived on the northern bank of the Syr Darya.

As far as Herodotus' statement--"the Caspii, Pausicae, Pantimathi, and Daritae paid jointly 200 talents. This was the eleventh province." (III, 92) -- are concerned, the Caspii here may have lived to the south or to the west of the present Caspian Sea.^[20] This could explain why two peoples both named "Caspian" belonged separately to the fifteenth and the eleventh province.

In addition, according to Herodotus, "From Ecbatana and the rest of Media and from the Paricanians and the Orthocorybantians, 450 talents. This was the tenth province." (III, 92) It has been suggested that that "Orthocorybantioi" here could be a Greek translation of "tigraxaudā". If this is correct, it may be wiser to believe that wearing pointed caps was a very popular custom of the Scythians in different regions, not just of the Sakās who lived on the northern bank of the Syr Darya, than to consider that there were also "Sakās tigraxaudā" in Ecbatana and Media, etc.^[21]

4. According to Herodotus, Masistes, the son of Darius I, set off for Bactria because of being insulted by his elder brother, Xerxes I, "where he intended to raise the province in revolt and do the King the greatest mischief he could." Then Herodotus commented: "This indeed would have happened if he had got to the Bactrians and Sacae first: for they loved him, and he was viceroy of Bactria." (IX,113) Based on the above, it has been suggested that the land of the Sakās was close to Bactria, namely, laying in the upper reaches of the Amu Darya.^[22]

In my opinion, this argument is not unconvincing, because Herodotus did not say that the land of the Sakās was close to Bactria, and if Masistes had entered the Sakās' land which lay on the northern bank of the Syr Darya, he would still have been able to raise the Bactrian province in revolt, for he was viceroy of Bactria, and the Bactrians "loved him." Moreover, all of the above was only supposition on the part of Herodotus. Probably because both the Sacae and the Bactrians went with Xerxes I on the expeditions to Greece, and the two troops often fought side by side (VII, 64, 96, 184; VIII, 113; IX, 31),^[23] Herodotus coincidentally associated the Sacae with Bactria.

(D)

From the *Anabasis of Alexander* of Arrian,^[24] we can get a glimpse of the Sakās' circumstances during the period when Alexander made his expedition.

1. According to Arrian, there had come to the aid of Darius III some troops such as the Indians, the Bactrians and Sogdians:

With these came also certain Sacae, a Scythian people, of the Scyths who inhabit Asia, not as subjects of Bessus, but owing to alliance with Darius; Mauces was their commander, and they were mounted archers. (III, 8)

As Aristobulus tells us, ...In advance, on the left wing, facing Alexander's right, were the Scythian cavalry, some thousand Bactrians, and a hundred, and Scythe-chariots. (III, 11)

This shows that the Sakās at that time were an ally of the Achaemenids, and they sent cavalry to support Darius III to resist Alexander's invasion.

2. Arrian called the Sakās "a Scythian people, of the Scyths who inhabit Asia." This was because, in the opinion of the Macedonians, there were more than one kind of Scythian people in Asia; and in addition to "the Asian Scythians" there were the so-called "European Scythians".

Arrian mentions "the European Scythians" three times. On the first occasion, he says:

Envoys came too from the European Scythians, who are the greatest nation dwelling in Europe. With these Alexander sent some of the Companions, giving out that they were, by way of an embassy, to conclude a friendly agreement with them.... (IV, 1)

On the second occasion, he says: "Now a second time envoys came to Alexander from the European Scythians, together with the envoys whom he himself had sent to Scythia...." (IV, 15) And third, he says that as Alexander was returning to Babylon, the European Scythians sent envoys who met him, congratulating him on his becoming King of Asia. (VII, 15)

The so-called "European Scythians" were undoubtedly the "Scythians" Herodotus mentioned, who drove away the Cimmerians and settled on the shore of the Black Sea. They were obviously Alexander's ally. Except for these Scythians, all the remaining Scythians as seen in Arrian's book were "the Asian Scythians".

One group of "Asian Scythians" were the so-called "Abian Scythians", who "dwell in Asia" and were independent. While Alexander marched to Sogdiana, their "envoys came to Alexander". Their detailed circumstances are unknown. Arrian said: "Homer spoke highly in his epic, calling them "justest of men"; ...chiefly through their poverty and their sense of justice." (IV, 1) This statement might only be the author's impression based on a false assumption. There is no reason to believe that these "Abian Scythians" were simply the Abians of whom Homer had spoken.^[25]

Another kind of Asian Scythian were the Massagetae. According to Arrian, when Alexander attacked Sogdiana,

Spitamenes (a Persian general) and some followers, fugitives from Sogdiana, had fled for refuge to the part of the Scythians called the Massagetae; there they collected six hundred horsemen of the Massagetae and arrived at one of the forts in the Bactrian region. Attacking the commandant of the garrison who suspected no enemy action, and the garrison with him, they destroyed the soldiers and kept the commandant in custody. (IV, 16)

Then they surrounded the city of Zariaspa, plundered the surrounding area and lay in ambush waiting for the defenders coming out of the city. When the Macedonians sped towards them, they fled quickly into the desert, where it was impossible for the Macedonians to pursue them further. (IV, 16) After that, Spitamenes arrived "at Bagae, a stronghold of Sogdiana, lying between the land of Sogdiana and that of the Massagetaean Scythians", where he easily recruited three thousand horsemen of the Scythians to join with them in a raid on Sogdiana, which was occupied by the Macedonians. After being defeated, Spitamenes' army again fled to the desert. "When they learnt that Alexander was already on the move and marching towards the desert, they cut off Spitamenes' head and sent it to Alexander, to divert him, by this action, from themselves." It was said:

Now these Scythians are in great poverty, and also, since they have no cities and no settled habitations, so that they have no fear for their homes, they are easy to persuade to take part in any war which may offer. (IV, 17)^[26]

In the light of the above quotations, it is evident that the Massagetaean Scythians were at that time scattered on the southern bank of the Syr Darya, the border area of the Kizil Kum Desert, which was not far from Sogdiana. As stated previously, formerly the Massagetae lived on the northern bank of the Syr Darya, and the fact that they appeared on the southern bank of the Syr Darya was very possibly due to the pressure from their eastern neighbour, the Issedones. The earliest date when they could have been there was at the beginning of the reign of Cyrus II. After the Massagetae had been driven out of their former land, they became very poor, and lived by robbery.

The third kind of Asian Scythians may have been Sakās who occupied the northern bank of the Syr Darya.

3. According to Arrian, Alexander captured the city named Cyropolis that Cyrus II had built on the southern bank of the Syr Darya, "meanwhile an army of the Asian Scythians arrived on the banks of the river Tanais...." (IV, 3) The Asian Scythians had a powerful army and confronted the Macedonians from the other side of the river. Alexander's troops crossed the river to attack them, but, because it was very hot and his soldiers were thirsty, they were easily defeated. (IV, 4)

Soon afterwards envoys reached Alexander from the king of the Scythians; they had been sent to express regret for what had happened, on the ground that it had not been any united action of the Scythian state, but only that of raiders and freebooters; the king himself, moreover, was desirous to perform what was laid upon them. Alexander gave a polite answer.... (IV, 5)

The so-called "Asian Scythians" here were obviously neither the Asian Scythians nor the Massagetae. The Asian Scythians had already sent their envoys to Alexander and had won the favour of the Macedonians. The Massagetae at that time appeared

and disappeared in the desert on the southern bank of the Syr Darya. There is no similarity between a tribe who had no true homeland, were very destitute and lived on robbery, and the Scythians whose king led an army to confront Alexander. Therefore, it appears that the Scythians who occupied the northern bank of the Syr Darya could only be the Sakās who had allied with the Achaemenids and had sent their horsemen to support Darius III in resisting Alexander. They had lived in the vast region from the Syr Darya to the River Ili at least since Darius I came to the throne.

4. It has been suggested that the Macedonians at that time mistook the Syr Darya for the River Tanais (i.e. the River Don), so that the Syr Darya, (i.e. the River Jaxartes), was taken by Arrian as a demarcation between the Asian Scythians and the European Scythians. He thus believed the Asian Scythians lived on the left bank of the river and the European Scythians on the right.^[27] This theory is probably erroneous, for according to Arrian:

The springs of the Tanais too, which Aristobulus says is called by the natives another name, the Jaxartes, rise on Mount Caucasus; and this river also flows out into the Hyrcanian Sea. The Tanais, of which Herodotus the historian tells us that it is the eighth of the Scythian rivers, rises and flows out of a great lake, and runs into a greater lake, called Maeotis, will be a different Tanais. Some authorities regard this Tanais as the boundary between Asia and Europe; they imagine that from this corner of the Euxine Sea upwards the Lake Maeotis and this river Tanais which runs into the lake do actually part Asia and Europe, just as the sea near Gadeira and the nomad Libyans opposite Gadeira parts Libya and Europe; imagining also that Libya is parted from the rest of Asia by the river Nile. (III, 30)

From this passage, it is clear that Arrian never meant that the Jaxartes was the demarcation. He may have been wrong in saying that the river "rises on Mount Caucasus, and this river also flows out into the Hyrcanian Sea", but from "they imagine that..." and so on, he was obviously talking about the River Tanais as described by Herodotus. A passage in the *History* of Herodotus may provide evidence: "The eighth is the river Tanais, which in its upper course comes from a great lake and issues into an even greater called the Maeotian." (IV, 57) Moreover, no connection between the European Scythians and the River Jaxartes is found in Arrian's records, so that it is hard to say that the Macedonians took the river as the demarcation between Europe and Asia. In fact, from our knowledge of the Asian Scythians, though the land of the Abian Scythians was unknown, the land of the Massagetaean Scythians without doubt lay on the left bank of the River Jaxartes and that of the Sakās on the right bank.^[28] In other words, the Asian Scythians lived on both banks of the River Jaxartes and it was probably for this reason that the Macedonians mistakenly called the river the River Tanais. The division of the Scythians, whom Alexander met with, into European and Asian Scythians, must have been Arrian's own invention.

(E)

This section will discuss the Sacae described in the *History of Alexander* of Quintus Curtius.^[29] It is generally believed that the authenticity of this book is far inferior to Arrian's book.

1. It is recorded that Nabarzanes had said to Darius III before he kidnapped the latter: "the Indi and Sacae are under your rule." (V, 9) This seems to show that the Sacae had been a dependent state of Achaemenids up to the time when Alexander went on his expedition against the Achaemenids. This is different from Arrian's records concerning the fact that the Sacae were an ally of Persia. We do not know which is correct.

2. An admonition of Alexander to his soldiers is recorded: "The Sogdiani, Dahae, Massagetae, Sacae, and Indi are independent. All these, as soon as they see our backs, will follow them; for they are of the same nation, we are of an alien race and foreigners." (VI, 3) One can tell the relationship between the Sacae and the Achaemenids at that time from his words. And the fact that he named both the Sacae and the Massagetae here seems to indicate that they belonged to different tribes at that time, but this is different from the statement of Herodotus that the Massagetae who were attacked by Cyrus II were called the Sacae.

3. It is also recorded: "The Dahae and Sacae, and the Indians and the Scythians dwelling beyond the River Tanais...." (VII, 4) Here the Sacae and the Scythians "dwelling beyond the River Tanais" are juxtaposed and the statement seems to indicate that the Sacae did not live on the northern bank of the Syr Darya. However, this may be understood instead as saying that not only did the Sacae tribe live beyond the Syr Darya but there were also other Scythians living there.

4. It is also recorded:

This campaign (in Sogdiana) by the fame of so opportune a victory completely subdued Asia, which in great part was revolting. They had believed that the Scythians were invincible; after their defeat they confessed that no nation would be a match for the Macedonians. Accordingly the Sacae sent envoys to promise that they would submit. ...Therefore he (Alexander) received the envoys of the Sacae courteously and gave them Euxenippus to accompany them. (VII, 9)

The Scythians here might be referring to the Massagetae, Dahae, etc., who lived on the southern bank of the Syr Darya. The so-called Sacae obviously lived on the northern bank of the river; and the above-cited record of Arrian (IV, 5) provides evidence of this.

(F)

The following is a discussion on the Sacae recorded in the *Geography* of Strabo.^[30]

1. It is recorded:

Now the greater part of the Scythians, beginning at the Caspian Sea, are called Dāae, but those who are situated more to the east than these are named Massagetae and Sacae,^[31] whereas all the rest are given the general name of Scythians, though each people is given a separate name of its own. They are all

for the most part nomads. But the best known of the nomads are those who took away Bactriana from the Greeks, I mean the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari and Sacarauri, who originally came from the country on the other side of the Iaxartes River that adjoins that of the Sacae and the Sogdiani and was occupied by the Sacae. (XI, 8)

This is the most important record on the Sacae in the book of Strabo. This shows that the so-called Sacae were made up of four tribes, i.e. the Asii and others. They lived formerly in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu. (i.e., "the land of the Sai" as described in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96) Therefore, they must have been the Issedones described by Herodotus.

First, "the country on the other side of the Iaxartes River that adjoins that of the Sacae and the Sogdiani and was occupied by the Sacae" must have been the land of the Massagetae described by Herodotus, which adjoined the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu in the east and Sogdiana in the west. This area had been occupied by the Sacae on the eve of the fall of the Hellenic kingdom of Bactria at the latest. From there the Sacae invaded Bactria.

Second, the Sacae must have lived in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu before they occupied the land of the Massagetae. Therefore it is very possible that they were the Issedones described by Herodotus.

Third, the four tribes (the Asii and others) who occupied Bactria must have been the Issedones, because they had come from the country "occupied by Sacae", which adjoined the land of the Massagetae.

Fourth, "Asii" may be a transcription of "Isse[dones]" and one may consider that the four tribes (the Asii and others) belonged to one tribal confederacy and that all four tribes were called the Issedones (i.e., Asii), probably because the Asii once held a dominant position.

As stated in section C, the earliest date that the Sacae occupied the northern bank of the Syr Darya, i.e., the land of the Massagetae, would probably have been at the beginning of the reign of Cambyses II; after that they took possession of the vast region from the River Ili to the Syr Darya. It is very possible that they were called "Sacae" by the Persians because they physically replaced the Massagetae. C. 177-176 B.C., the Da Yuezhi occupied the land of the Issedones, or of the Sai described by the *Hanshu* (the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu). A part of the Issedones moved south and reached the Pamir Region. In the light of above-cited record of Strabo, however, it seems that another part of the Issedones, who were camped on the northern bank of the Syr Darya, the former land of the Massagetae, crossed the Syr Darya and the Amu Darya, and invaded Bactria. According to the most reliable theory, the Hellenic Kingdom of Bactria was destroyed in c.140 B.C. Therefore the invasion must have taken place around 35 years after the Issedones' eastern territory was occupied.^[32] One may surmise that the Issedones invaded Bactria when they could no longer stand invasions and harassment from their eastern neighbour, the Da Yuezhi.

2. In the book of Strabo it is also recorded:

The Sacae and the Sogdiani, with the whole of their lands, are situated opposite India, but the Bactriani only for a slight distance; ...the Sacae and the Sogdiani are separated from one another by the Iaxartes River, and the Sogdiani and Bactriani by the Oxus River. (XI, 8)

Here it is clear that the land of the so-called Sacae lay on the northern bank of the Syr Darya. This had, of course, been the situation before the four tribes (the Asii and others) invaded Bactria. The statement that the Sacae and the Sogdiani, "with the whole of their lands, are situated opposite India" shows that the analysis of the position of the Sakās' land in Darius' inscriptions is correct. That the Sacae and the Bactriani were considered to be "a slight distance" apart might be one of the reasons Herodotus associated the Sacae with Bactria.

3. Strabo also gives a detailed description of the expedition against the Sacae by Cyrus II. The Sacae described by him were obviously the Massagetae described by Herodotus, for he says that "the Massagetae disclosed their valour in their war with Cyrus." (XI, 8) The Massagetae, whom Cyrus II attacked, lived on the northern bank of the Syr Darya. And according to Strabo,

[Some of the Massagetae] inhabit mountains, some plains, others marshes which are formed by the rivers, and others the islands in the marshes. But the country is inundated most of all, they say, by the Araxars River, which splits into numerous branches and empties by its other mouths into the other sea on the north, though by one single mouth it reaches the Hyrcanian Gulf. (XI, 8)

However, because of the ambiguity in his words it is not possible to tell which bank of the Syr Darya the Massagetae inhabited. Perhaps he confused their situations at different times. Next, Strabo quotes Eratosthenes' words: "Arachoti and Massagetae are situated alongside the Bactrians towards the west along the Oxus River." (XI, 8) This obviously refers to the situation after they had been driven out of their former land.^[33]

(G)

In the *Natural History* of Pliny^[34] it is recorded:

Beyond (the Iaxartes River) are some tribes of Scythians. To these the Persians have given the general name of Sacae. ...There is an uncountable number of tribes, numerous enough to live on equal terms with the Parthians; most notable among them are the Sacae, Massagetae, Dahae, Essedones.... (VI, 19)

In this passage, there are three problematic areas which need to be clarified.

1. The Persians first called the Massagetae, who lived on the northern bank of the Syr Darya, Sakās, and later on they called the Issedones (i.e., Asii and others), who drove out the Massagetae and occupied the northern bank of the Syr Darya, Sakās. Therefore, Pliny was basically correct to say that the Persians called the Scythians, who lived the northern bank of the Syr Darya, Sacae.

2. The Sacae, the Massagetae and the Essedones (Issedones) are mentioned as though they are three separate tribes, as the result of a confusion of Greek and Persian traditions.

3. The sources on which Pliny based his writing must be dated before the fall of the Hellenic Kingdom of Bactria, when the Sacae had not yet moved south and crossed over the Syr Darya.

(H)

In the *Geography* of Ptolemy^[35] it is recorded:

The boundary of Sacara on the west is Sogdiana, on the side of which as we have before mentioned, is this country's eastern boundary. The northern boundary looks toward Scythia, the boundary line running along the bend of the Jaxartes river extends to a terminus in $130^{\circ}49'$, on the east moreover it is bounded by Scythia along the line running through the Ascatancas mountains to the Imaus mountains $140^{\circ}43'$, extending through the Imaus Mountains northward, terminating in $145^{\circ}35'$, on the south Sacara is bounded by the Imaus Mountains along the line uniting the mentioned termini....

Nomads occupy the land of Sacara; but the towns are without caves or forests. Those who are near the Jaxartes are the Caratae and the Comari; those along the mountain region are the Comediae, and the Massagetae, who are along the Ascatanca Mountains; next, between these are the Grynaei, the Scythiae and the Toornae, below whom near the Imaus Mountains are the Byltae. (VI, 13)

According to the above, in the period described by Ptolemy, the region of the Sakās was to the east of Sogdiana, to the west of the Pamir (the middle part of the Imaus Mountains), to the south of the Syr Darya (the River Jaxartes) and to the north of the Hindukush (a branch range of the Imaus Mountains, which stretches westwards).^[36] It is possible that these Sakās had either turned south from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu then entered this region in 177-176 B.C, or moved eastwards and entered the region after they had invaded Bactria from the northern bank of the Syr Darya in c.140 B.C.

Ptolemy does not mention the Asii and the other three tribes, probably because all the tribes that entered this region were small ones, who had formerly belonged to the Asii and others. It is also possible that there were a few tribes among them which were not Sakās and Ptolemy may have mentioned them because they were scattered across the Sacara region.^[37]

Ptolemy refers twice to the Issedon(es), who may well have been the Asii and others. He says:

Scythia beyond the Imaus Mountains is terminated on the west by Scythia within the mountains and next to Sacae, the mountain range separating it running northward; on the north is unknown land; on the east it is bounded by Serica along a direct line which terminates in $150^{\circ}63'$ and $160^{\circ}35'$ on the south by the part of India beyond the Ganges river as far as the line which unites the designated termini; a part of the western section of the Auzaciis Mountains is in Scythia, the terminus of which is in $149^{\circ}49'$ and a part of the Casii Mountains as they are called, terminus of which is in $152^{\circ}41'$ and an equal part of the western section of the Emodus mountains, the terminus of which is in $153^{\circ}36'$.

In the Auzaciis Mountains is the source of the Oechardis river which is located in $153^{\circ}51'$.

The Scythian Abii inhabit the northern parts of this Scythia, and below these are the Scythian Hippophagi; next to these is the Auzacitis region; below this is

the region which they call Casia, and below this are the Scythian Chatae; then the Achassa region and below this next to the Emodus Mountains the Scythian Chauranaei.

The towns in this region are Auzacia (144° 49' 40"), Issedon Scythia (150° 48' 30"), Chaurana (150° 37' 15"), Sotta (145° 35' 20"). (VI, 15)

and secondly he says:

In the northern parts of Serica the races of the Anthropophagi pasture their flocks, below whom the race of the Annibi reside in the mountains of this name; between these and the Auzacios is the Sizyges race, below whom are the Damnae; then the Pialae on the Oecharde river, and below this the Oecharde of this same name. Toward the east from the Annibi are the Garinaei and east of the Annibi are the Garinaei and the Rhabbanae, and below these the Asmiraea region above the mountains of this name; below these Mountains of Casius, the great race of the Issedones dwell, and near the beginning of these mountains are the Throani; below these toward the east are the Thaguri, near the mountains of this name; below the Issedones are the Aspacarae, and below these the Batae, and further southward, next to the Emodi and Serici Mountains are the Ottorocorae. (VI, 16)

The following are among the important towns of Serica: Throana (174° 40' 47' 40"); Issedon Serica (162° 45') and Thogara (171° 20' 39' 40"). Based on Ptolemy, it is possible to draw three conclusions:

1. Since the Imaus Mountains described by Ptolemy refer to the Pamir Plateau and its branch ranges which run in various directions, the "Scythia beyond the Imaus Mountains" indicates the region which was encircled by the Altai Mountains, the Tian Mountains, the Pamir Plateau and Himalaya Mountains; thus a large part of the Tarim Basin and Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau would be included in it.^[38] As for the Serica, it is generally taken to be a part of China.^[39]

2. As to the location of the Issedon Scythian town, there are five theories: Qiuci 龜兹, Yanqi 焉耆, Shule, Gumo 姑墨 and Jingjue 精绝.^[40] All of them are found in the Tarim Basin. The Issedon Serica is identical with Yixun 伊循 in the state of Shanshan 鄯善, as referred to in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A. Therefore the Issedones must have been the Shanshan people, and the so-called Casius Mountains by the town might be the Āltyn Tagh.^[41]

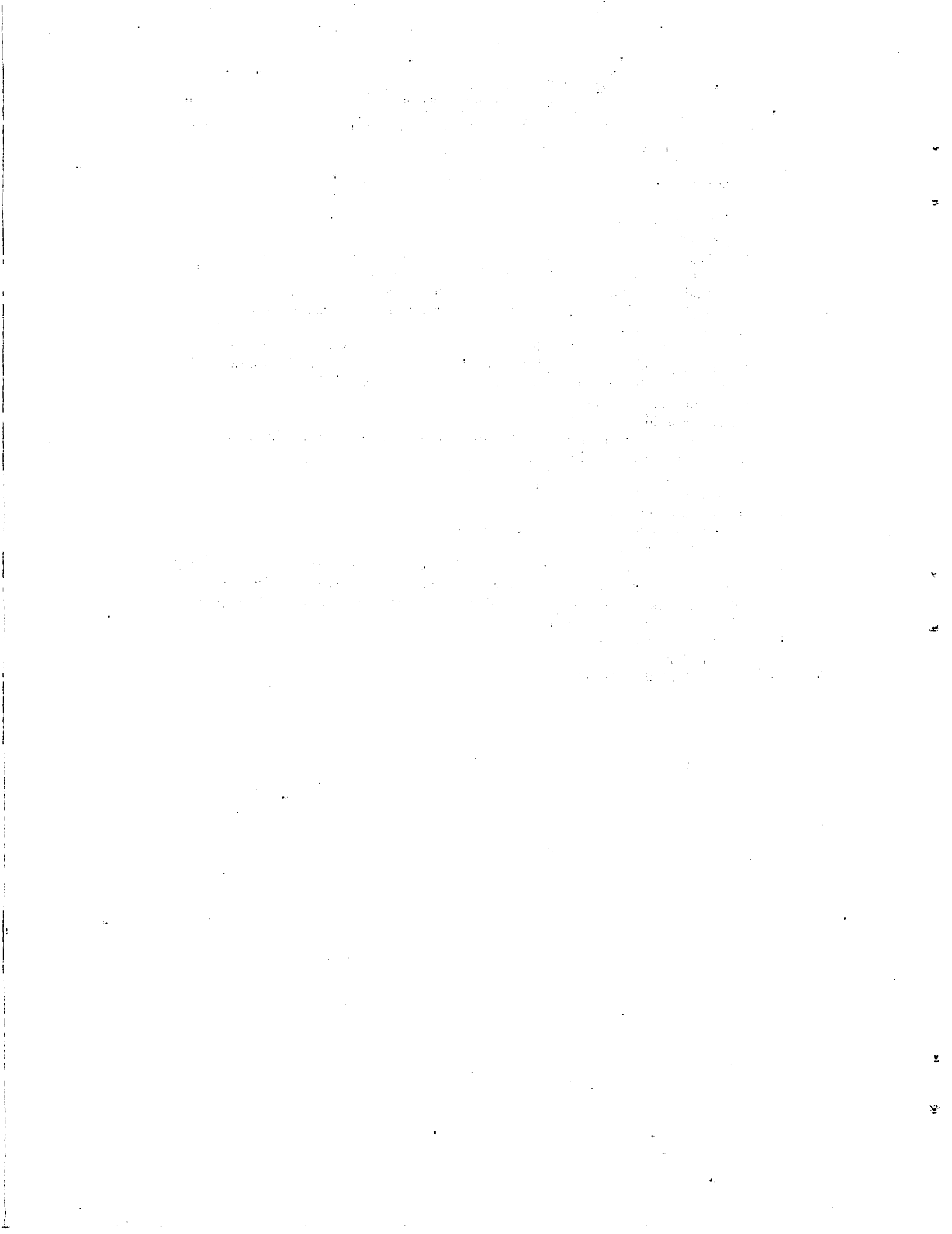
3. Both the Issedon Scythia and the Issedon Serica took their names from the Issedones. The Issedones must have been those who entered into the Tarim Basin from the west of the Pamir Plateau. As mentioned in section F, "Issedones" may have been a transcription of "Asii"; but, since Ptolemy called it a great race, it may have included more tribes than the Asii, and it would not be amiss to regard "Issedones" as synonymous with "Sakās".

Notes:

1. The English translation of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, used here is based on that of Hulsewé & Loewe, with a few of my own changes.
2. Cf. Chapter 7.
3. Cf. Chapter 3.

4. For the Achaemenids' inscriptions cited in this paper see Kent.
5. Cf. Gershevitch (1985), pp. 217-218.
6. Similar records also occur in Darius' inscription on the Gold Tablet. See Smith.
7. Cf. Thomas (1906), pp. 181-216. This scholar suggests that the Sakās whom Darius I attacked lived near the Hamūn Lake and that the "sea" referred to the lake. In my opinion, this theory is not convincing. See Shiratori (1941-6) and Konow (1929), p. xix. Shiratori and Konow respectively take the "sea" as the Amu Darya and the Black Sea. However, these suggestions are also unconvincing. Since the Sakās lived on the northern bank of the Syr Darya and Darius I engaged them in war as soon as he had crossed the "sea", the "sea" must have been the Syr Darya.
8. On the meaning of "haumavargā", there are a number of different opinions among scholars. For example, Gershevitch (1974) considers that it means "consuming haoma". Also, see Bailey (1985), pp. 69-70.
9. English translation by Grene.
10. Both Markwart (1905), pp. 139-140, and Shiratori (1941-6) consider that here Herodotus confused two distinct Sakās. I disagree. Also, Gershevitch (1985), pp. 219-220, 253-254, points out that since all the Sakās wore the pointed-hood, "Sakās haumavargā" and "Sakās tigraxaudā" do not necessarily mean there were two different groups of the Sakās. At the same time, he distinguishes between the "Sakās haumavargā", namely "Sakās beyond Sogdiana" who lived on the northern bank of the Syr Darya, and the "Sakās tigraxaudā", who were attacked by Darius in 519 B.C., in the Caspian-Aral region. The reason given is that the Egyptian text of Darius' Suez inscription refers to the "Sakā of the Marsh", whom Darius attacked as soon as he had put down the revolt of Margiana. I disagree. Even if Darius I turned to attack the Sakās as soon as he had put down the revolt of Margiana, this does not show that the land of the Sakās lay in the Caspian-Aral region. Moreover, even if the Sakās took part in the revolt of Margiana, this does not necessarily mean that their land could not have lain on the northern bank of the Syr Darya. As regards the interpretation of the text of the Suez inscription, there are many different theories among scholars, and in fact the so-called "Sakās of the marshes and the Sakās of the plains" might well be "the Sakā who are in back of the Sogdian land". See Szemerényi.
11. See Diodorus of Sicily (II, 35), English translation by Oldfather.
12. McCrindle, pp. 293-294.
13. Shiratori (1941-6) suggests that the land of the Sakās lay near India or Gandhāra. His argument is mainly based on the order in which "Sakās" appeared on the inscriptions.
14. See Gershevitch (1985), p. 254. In addition to Darius' Naqš-e Rostam inscription, the Persepolis inscription of Artaxerxes' II (404-359 B.C.) or III (358-338 B.C.) also refers to the "Sakās who are across the sea". Cf. Szemerényi. But there is great doubt as to whether the latter showed what actually happened in Artaxerxes (II or III) period, because the 30 names of the countries and the order in which they are listed are the same as those of Darius' Naqš-e Rostam inscription.
15. Shiratori (1941-6) suggests that the land of the Massagetæ, whose land was opposite that of the Issedones, must have lain on the Kirghiz steppe and extended as far as near the Tian Mountains, because the Issedones described by Herodotus must have lived in the Tarim Basin. I disagree. Shiratori lumps together the records of Herodotus and Ptolemy, neglecting the disparity in time. The Issedones described by Herodotus did not live in the Tarim Basin.
16. Tarn (1951), pp. 80-81.
17. Gershevitch (1985), p. 214.
18. See Ma & Wang.
19. For example, Shiratori (1941-6).
20. See Gershevitch (1985), p. 253. However, I doubt that the "Pausiakai" were identical with Strabo's "Apasiakai" who lived between the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya. After all, their names are different. Even if "Pausikai" were identical with "Apasiakai", it would still be unlikely that Herodotus' "Pausiakai" lived between the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya, because of the time difference.

21. Kiessling, p. 17, and Herzfeld (1968), p. 327, both consider that Herodotus confused the Amyrgian Scythians with the Orthokorybantioi.
22. See Shiratori (1941-6).
23. Shiratori (1941-6), suggests that this shows the Sakās remained dependent on Persia until the time of Xerxes I.
24. English translation by Robson.
25. See Shiratori (1941-6).
26. According to Arrian, Spitamenes added "to his force some six hundred Scythian horse", and inflicted heavy losses on the Macedonians "on a level space near the Scythian desert", close to the frontier with Sogdiana. When Alexander took his army and marched upon them, they drew back into the desert. (IV, 5, 6) Here the Scythians must have been the Massagetae.
27. See Shiratori (1941-6).
28. Shiratori (1941-6), suggests that the Arrian's Sacae must have lived on the left bank of the Syr Darya adjoining Sogdiana and Bactria, because he believes that the Massagetae at that time lived on the southern bank of the Amu Darya. I disagree.
29. English translation by Rolfe.
30. English translation by Jones.
31. Cf. the Persepolis inscription (h) of Xerxes I. In this inscription Sakās haumavargā and Sakās tigraxaudā were listed after Dahae.
32. See chapter 3.
33. See Shiratori (1941-6).
34. English translation by Rackam.
35. Translated into English and edited by Stevenson.
36. See Shiratori (1941-6).
37. Ptolemy was not much later than Strabo, but their sources were different. The latter only knew that the Sakās turned west to the Bactria, and did not know that other Sakās also turned south to the Pamir region. But Ptolemy describes the circumstances of the Sakās apparently after their arrival in the Pamir region.
38. See McCrindle, pp. 294-297.
39. Cf. Yamashita.
40. See Yamashita and Enoki (1972).
41. Cf. Enoki (1972).



CHAPTER 2 THE DAXIA

(A)

Areas of settlement of the Daxia 大夏 before their arrival in the Western Regions 西域, where the accounts in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, and the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, place them, can be traced back at least to the Hexi 河西 Region.

1. In the *Shiji*, ch. 32, it is recorded that, in the autumn of the 35th year of Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公 (i.e., 651 B.C.):

Duke Huan assembled the nobles at Kuiqiu 葵丘.... Then Duke Huan said: To the south I attacked and reached Shaoling 召陵. To the north I attacked the Shan Rong 山戎, the Lizhi 離枝 and the Guzhu 孤竹. To the west I attacked the Daxia, and crossed the Flowing Sands 流沙, and tightening the reins of my horses so that my carriage was suspended behind them, I ascended the Taihang 太行 range, and reached Beier 卑耳 Mountain, then returned....

Textually similar passages are found elsewhere in the *Shiji*, ch. 28, in the "Xiaokuang" 小匡 and the "Fengshan" 封禪 chapters of the *Guanzi* 管子 and the "Qiyu" 齊語 of the *Guoyu* 國語. In these passages we find the name Xiyu 西虞 or Xiwu 西吳, the Western Yu or Wu, where the *Shiji* passage cited has Daxia. The identity of these names as alternative transcriptions is strengthened by the fact that the archaic pronunciations of the characters 虞, 吳 and 夏 were similar.

It should be noted that the "Flowing Sands" crossed by Duke Huan can be identified as the Tynger Desert, and that the Beier Mountain he reached as Mount Helan 賀蘭. So the Daxia he attacked must have lived to the west of the Hetao 河套 area, i.e., within the boundaries of the present Gansu 甘肅 province.^[1] Duke Huan attacked the Shan Rong in the 23rd year of his reign (663 B.C.), his attack on the Daxia can therefore be placed between the late 660s and the late 650s B.C.

2. In the *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳, ch. 4, it is recorded:

The distance from the west of the River Chan 滙 in Zong Zhou 宗周 to the state of Hezong 河宗 and Yangyu 陽紆 Mountain is 3,400 *li*; from the west of Yangyu Mountain to the Xi Xia is 2,500 *li*, from the Xi Xia to the Zhuyu 珠余 as far as the head of the River (i.e., the Yellow River) is 1,500 *li* from southwest of Xiang 襄 Mountain at the head of the River to the Zhu 珠 Marsh of the Chong 春 Mountain and the Kunlun 昆侖 Hills is 700 *li*.

I take the "Xi Xia" here to be analogous to the forms Xi Yu and Xi Wu and therefore a reference to the Daxia. This passage puts the distance westwards from the Xi Xia to

the Kunlun Hills at 2,200 *li*. It has been pointed out that the Kunlun Hills here refer to the Altai Mountains.^[2] If this is correct, then, using standard equivalents, we may take it that at that time the Daxia lived in the He Xi region, although it is of course difficult to interpret the measurements given.^[3] On the question of the date of this testimony, it should be noted that the book *Mutianzizhuan* was discovered during the Western Jin 西晉 (A.D. 3rd century) in the tomb of King Xiang of Wei 魏襄王 (318-296B.C.) of the Warring States. Its original compilation must therefore have been earlier than the 3rd century B.C. This book relates a journey made by Emperor Mu of Zhou 周穆王 (947-928B.C.) and its contents suggest a date in the Spring and Autumn period at the latest. The Xi Xia described in it can therefore be taken to be the Daxia of the period prior to the attack by Duke Huan of Qi.

3. In the "Guyue" 古樂 chapter of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 it is recorded: "Formerly, the Yellow Emperor 黃帝 ordered Ling Lun 伶倫 to make a pipe with standard pitches. Ling Lun went westwards from the Daxia to the northern foot of Ruanyu 阮諭 Mountains...." It is generally accepted that the 諭 of Ruanyu is a textual corruption for 倫, and Ruanlun is almost certainly equivalent to "Kunlun", because it occurs as such in the parallel passage in the "Xiuwen" 修文 chapter of the *Shuoyuan* 說苑 and in the "Yinsheng" 音聲 chapter of the *Fengsutong* 風俗通.^[4] This indicates a location for the Daxia which is compatible with that given in the *Mutianzizhuan* and with the target area of the attack by Duke Huan of Qi.

4. In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (first year of Duke Zhao 昭公, i.e., 541B.C.) it is recorded that Zichan 子產 said to Shuxiang 叔向:

Anciently, the Emperor Gao Xin 高辛 had two sons, of whom the elder was called Yan Bo 閼伯, and the younger, Shi Chen 實沉. They dwelt in Kuanglin 曠林 (a vast forest?), but could not agree, and daily carried their shields and spears against each other. The sovereign Emperor (i.e., Yao 堯 did not approve of this, and removed Yan Bo to Shangqiu 商丘, to preside over the star Chen 辰 (i.e., Da Huo 大火). The ancestors of Shang 商 followed him, and hence Chen is the star of Shang. [Yao also] removed Shi Chen to [the land of the] Daxia, to preside over the star Cen 參. The descendants of Tang 唐 followed him, and served the dynasties of Xia 夏 and Shang. The prince at the end of their line was Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞.^[5]

The *Zuozhuan* commentators, Du Yu 杜預 (A.D.222-284) and Fu Qian 服虔 (c. A.D.125-195) suggest respectively that the land of the Daxia was, on the one hand, at Jinyang 晉陽 and on the other "between the River Fen 汾 and the River Kuai 澮." Different though those views are, they agree in placing the Daxia in Western Shanxi 山西 Province.^[6] This might suggest an even earlier homeland of the Daxia in Western Shanxi, which would account for the Daxia being called the Xi Xia, the Xi Yu or the Xi Wu after they moved to the Hexi region. All of these alternative names mean, in effect, "Western Daxia".^[7]

5. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 28B, it is recorded that there was a county named "Daxia" in the prefecture of Longxi 隴西. And in the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注 ch. 2, it is recorded: "[The River Tao] 洮 joins up with the Daxia River on the right, ...flows northeastwards and passes south of the old seat of Daxia county." Based on this

testimony, it has been suggested that the central area of the original land of the Daxia must have been around Linxia 臨夏.^[8] In my opinion, the fact that a Daxia River and a Daxia county existed around Linxia may prove merely that the sphere of the Daxia did extend that far at some time; or alternatively, that the Daxia left some of their people there when even farther west.

6. In the "Beishanjing" 北山經 of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 it is recorded: "...a distance of 320 *li* farther to the north are the Dunhong 敦龔 Mountains. ...The River Dunhong rises in these mountains, then flows west and empties into the You 渤 Lake."^[9] The mountains, the river and the lake in this reference have been identified with the present Qilian 祁連 Mountains, the River Dang 黨 and Lake Karanor into which flow of the Dang and the Shule 疏勒.^[10] The commentary of Guo Pu 郭璞 on the "Xishanjing" 西山經 says that this word "you" means "black as of water". The lakes Karanor and Lopnor were directly linked for a time in antiquity, so that the *Kuodizhi* 括地志 records quite accurately that the latter "also is called the You Lake." The prefecture of Dunhuang 敦煌 established in Han times probably derived its name from Dunhong.^[11] Dunhong [*tuən-xuəng*], Dunhuang [*tuən-huang*] and Daxia [*dat-hea*] seem to be different transcriptions of one and the same name. The mountains and the river called Dunhong in the passage cited also seem to have been named after the Daxia.^[12]

(B)

In late 620s B.C., a large part of the Daxia moved west from the Hexi region to the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu.

1. According to the *History* of Herodotus (I,103; IV,13,22,23), a great migration of many ethnic groups had taken place across the Eurasian steppes in ancient times: The Issedones were driven out from their former land by the Arimaspians. The former assaulted the Massagetae while retreating. The Massagetae forced the Scythians to move west and invade the land of the Cimmerians. In the end, the Issedones settled in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu, and the Massagetae on the northern bank of the Syr Darya. These references by Herodotus are based mainly on the "Arimaspea", a long epic poem by Aristaeus of Proconnesus in which he describes what he had seen and heard during his journey into Central Asia in the second half of the 7th century B.C. This ethnic migration therefore must have taken place at the latest towards the end of the 7th century B.C.^[13]

2. According to the *Geography* of Strabo (XI, 8), the Hellenic Kingdom of Bactria was destroyed by the Sacae (c.140 B.C.). The Sacae, he says, included four tribes: the Asii, the Pasiani, the Tochari and the Sacarauli. They had originally lived in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu, and can be identified with the Issedones of Herodotus. By the mid-520s B.C. they had expanded to the west and had occupied the northern bank of the Syr Darya, where the Massagetae had settled earlier. Therefore they were known collectively the "Sacae". The "Asii" of the four tribes listed by Strabo can be regarded as a variant transcription of "Issedones". It may have been because the Asii were the dominant tribe at that time that Herodotus referred to this group as the "Issedones".^[14]

3. According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, the territory of the Wusun 烏孫 state was originally the "land of the Sai 塞". The relative location of this Wusun state given by

the *Hanshu* points once again to the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu. And since the pronunciation of 塞 can stand as an exact transcription of "Sacae", "the land of the Sai" can be taken as a reference to the homeland of the Asii and the other tribes. I have argued elsewhere that in c.177-176 B.C. the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 (the Great Yuezhi) were driven out of their former land by the Xiongnu 匈奴, and moved west to the land of the Sai. They drove the Sai away from the valleys of the Ili and the Chu, and settled there. In c.130-129 B.C. the Da Yuezhi were driven out by the Wusun, and the "land of the Sai" was then occupied by the Wusun.^[15]

4. Xun Ji's 荀濟 "Lun Fojiao Biao" 論佛教表 (Memorial on Buddhism) in the "Bianhuo" 辨惑 chapter of the *Guanghongmingji* 廣弘明集 states:

The Sai tribes were originally the Rong of the surname Yun 允姓之戎, who dwelt in Dunhuang for generations, and moved to the south of Cong Ling 葱嶺 (the Pamir Region) because of being forced and driven off by the Yuezhi.^[16]

According to Du Yu's commentary to the *Zuozhuan* (9th year of Duke Zhao) the Rong of the surname Yun were "the ancestors of the Rong of Yin 陰." The pronunciation of 允 [*jiuen*] approximated that of "Yin" [*iəm*] in archaic Chinese. They may be taken to be different transcriptions of one and the same name. Similarly, "Yun" and "Yin" can both be taken as different transcriptions of "Asii", i.e., "Issedones".^[17] Furthermore, because the Daxia, as I have shown, had, like the Sai of Xun Ji's citation from the *Hanshu*, lived in the Dunhuang region, a further support for the generally accepted identification of the names Daxia [*dat-hea*] and Tochari, one of the four tribes of the Sacae listed Strabo, is provided.^[18] Another trace of the ancient Daxia people is found in the place name Tuhuoluo 吐火洛 in the South Yuquan 南榆泉 Basin of the Shule delta.^[19] Thus it can be seen that Asii, Tochari and other tribes who had lived in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu had come from the Hexi region.^[20]

5. In the *Shiji*, ch. 5, it is recorded that in the 37th year of Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公 (623 B.C.): "Qin attacked the king(s) of the Rong by using the stratagem of You Yu 由餘. Thus it increased the lands of 12 states, opened up territories which extended for 1,000 *li*, and then dominated the Western Rong 西戎." The date of these events makes it very possible that the sequential migrations of nomadic tribes on the Eurasian steppes described by Herodotus were precipitated by Qin's attack upon the Western Rong. In other words, the Sacae, namely, parts of the Rong of the surname Yun and the Daxia gave up their former lands in Hexi and moved to the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu at this time.^[21]

6. In the "Yiyinchaoxian" 伊尹朝獻 (Yi Yin's Discourse on Paying Tribute) attached to the "Wanghui" 王會 chapter of the *Yizhoushu* 逸周書, it says:

There are the Kongdong 空同, the Daxia, the Suoju 莎車, the Guta 姑他, the Danlue 旦略, the Bao Hu 豹胡, the Dai Di 代翟, the Xiongnu, the Loufan 樓煩, the Yuezhi, the Xianli 犍犁, the Qilong 其龍 and the Eastern Hu 東胡 in the North. I ask [your majesty] to instruct them to offer up their camels, white jade, wild horses, *taotu* 駒駘 (variety of wild horse), *jueti* 駿驥 (breed of fine horse) and good bows.

It is generally believed that this discourse was written during the Warring States period (403-221 B.C.). If this is correct, these thirteen tribes could be taken as a total list of the northern nomadic tribes during the Warring States period. But in my opinion, this work may reflect even earlier data particularly since it was attributed to Yi Yin who lived in Shang times. In other words, it is possible that at least a number of these tribes were already known during the Spring and Autumn period (770-476 B.C.). The Sacae included, according to Strabo, four tribes; of these, I have argued that the Asii and the Tochari were, respectively, the Rong of the surname of Yun and the Daxia. The other two, the Pasiani and the Sacarauli, probably also had an oriental origin. "Pasiani" was very possibly a textual corruption for "Gasiani".^[22] "Gasiani" and "Sacarauli" are plausible transcriptions of "Yuezhi" [*njiuk-tyei*] and "Suojū" [*sai-kiā*] respectively, who may have moved to "the land of the Sai",^[23] either with the "Rong of the Surname Yun" and the Daxia, or in subsequent migration. It was precisely in the land of the Sai that the four tribes formed a tribal confederacy. This confederacy was called the Issedones by Herodotus, and the Sacae by the Persians after they occupied the northern bank of the Syr Darya.

It should be pointed out that, when they moved west, not all members of the Daxia and the other tribes necessarily left their original homeland. In the case of the Yuezhi, those who remained behind soon developed into a big and powerful tribe, so that those who moved west in the late 7th century B.C. may only have been a small part of the tribe. The name of the Daxia still appeared in the Langyatai 琅邪臺 inscription which was engraved in the 28th year of the first Qin Emperor 秦始皇 (219 B.C.). This shows that there were still some of the Daxia in the north of China until the beginning of the Qin Dynasty.^[24] But the name of the Daxia and the Suojū eventually disappeared from among the northern nomadic tribes. One may therefore imagine that in the case of these two tribes their migration to the west in the 7th century involved large numbers and that those left behind were few and weak and were absorbed into other tribes.

(C)

In c.177-176 B.C., the Asii, the Tochari and other tribes were driven out of the valleys of the River Ili and Chu by the Da Yuezhi who moved west. Except for groups who crossed the Pamir region and moved south, they were then restricted to the region to the north of the Syr Darya, which was originally the land of the Massagetae. In c. 140 B.C., after crossing the Syr Darya, they invaded Bactria, via Sogdiana, and overthrew the Hellenic power there. Around 10 years later, the Asii, the Tochari and other tribes in Bactria were conquered by the Da Yuezhi who came from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu.

1. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, it is recorded: "When the Da Yuezhi turned west, they defeated and expelled the king of the Sai, and the latter moved south and crossed over the Suspended Crossing 縣度; and the Da Yuezhi took up residence in his lands."^[25] This shows that the Sacae, namely, the Asii, the Tochari and other tribes, gave up "the land of the Sai" after they had been defeated and expelled by the Da Yuezhi. At least a part of them "moved south and crossed over the Suspended Crossing."

Since the Da Yuezhi had been forced to give up their former land and to turn west in 177-176 B.C., we may assume that the Asii, the Tochari, and other tribes gave up their lands in approximately the same year.^[26]

2. According to Strabo, the Asii, the Tochari and other tribes coming from the northern bank of the Syr Darya took possession of Bactria under the reign of the Greeks.^[27] The most reliable date for the destruction of the Hellenic Kingdom of Bactria is c.140 B.C.^[28] This implies that a part of the Asii, the Tochari and other tribes entered Bactria from the northern bank of the Syr Darya around 35 years after they had been forced to give up their eastern territory, namely, the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu.

3. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, it is recorded further:

Later, when the Kunmo 昆莫 of the Wusun attacked and defeated the Da Yuezhi, the Da Yuezhi migrated to the west and subjugated the Daxia; and the Kunmo of the Wusun took up his residence there. It is said: thus the Wusun contain people of the Sai race and the Da Yuezhi race.

This seems to be a clear reference to a further westward migration by the Da Yuezhi, under the stimulus of an attack by the Wusun and to the conquest of the Daxia, where their name is used to refer collectively to Saka tribes in Bactria. Since evidence for the Da Yuezhi conquest of Bactria points to 130 B.C., we must conclude that the Sakā tribes, including the Daxia, had controlled Bactria for about 10 years.^[29] Bactria in the period before the Da Yuezhi conquest is referred probably to as "Daxia" in Chinese sources is because the Tochari held the dominant position there. Note also that the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, ch. 146B, states that "the Daxia were in fact the Tuholuo 吐火羅." "Tuholuo" is a full transcription of "Tochari".

4. The *Trogus Prologues* states that, "the Scythian tribes Sacaraucae (Sacarauli) and Asiani seized Bactria and Sogdiana." (XLI) It also states ambiguously: "Asiani (Asii) the kings of the Tocari (Tochari), the annihilation of Sacaraucae." (XLII).^[30] That the Asii and other tribes occupied Sogdiana as well as Bactria is extremely plausible, because when they moved south from the northern bank of the Syr Darya they must have passed through Sogdiana.^[31] As I have argued above, the Asii (Asiani) were probably the dominant tribe of this confederacy from the time that they had settled in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu. This would account for their being called collectively "Issedonnes" by Herodotus. From the evidence of the *Trogus Prologues*, the Asii seem to have maintained their dominant position until their invasion of Bactria. That the Asii should have been called "the kings of the Tochari" is possibly because the Sacarauli had for some reason been annihilated at that time. On the other hand, Bactria --which had been occupied by the Asii, the Tochari and other tribes-- was called "Daxia" in the Chinese sources. This may either have been because the Tochari achieved a dominant position or because originally there was little racial difference between the Tochari and the Asii and the Tochari had the larger population.^[32]

(D)

The circumstances of the Daxia before and after they were conquered by the Da Yuezhi are recorded in the *Shiji*, ch. 123, and in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96.

1. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

The state of the Daxia is situated more than 2,000 *li* south-west of [the state of] the Dayuan 大宛, south of the River Gui 媯 (the Amu Darya). As for their customs: They are settled on the soil and have walled towns and houses. Their customs are the same as those of the Dayuan. They have no overlord or chief, and minor chiefs are frequently established in the towns. Their troops are weak and afraid of fighting, but they excel in commerce. When the Da Yuezhi migrated to the west, they attacked and vanquished the Daxia and made the Daxia all into their subjects. The Daxia have a large population, amounting to more than a million. Their capital is the town of Lanshi 藍市, in which are markets where all [kinds of] articles are sold.

These were the observations of Zhang Qian 張騫 during his first mission to the Western Regions as an envoy of the Han. By then the Daxia had occupied Bactria for more than 10 years. Their people had already become sedentary agriculturists and inhabitants "settled on the soil."^[33] Because the Daxia "have no major overlord or chief", their so-called "capital", the town of Lanshi, probably refers to Bactra, the largest town in that region, which had been the capital of the Hellenic Kingdom of Bactria. Lying to the south of the Amu Darya, the town was very prosperous as one of the pivots of East-West commerce at that time, "Lan-shi" [*heam-zjiə*] may be a contracted transcription of "Alexandria", another name of Bactria.^[34]

2. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded:

Originally the Daxia had no major overlord or chief, and minor chiefs were frequently established in the towns. The inhabitants are weak and afraid of fighting, with the result that when the Yuezhi migrated there, they made them all into their subjects. They provide supplies for Han envoys. There are five Xihou 翮侯. The first is entitled the Xihou of Xiumi 休密, and the seat of government is at the town of Hemo 和墨; it is 2,841 *li* from [the seat of] the Protector General and 7,802 *li* from the Yang 陽 barrier. The second is entitled the Xihou of Shuangmi 雙靡 it is 3,741 *li* from [the seat of] the Protector General and 7,782 *li* from the Yang barrier. The third is entitled the Xihou of Guishuang 貴霜, and the seat of government is at the town of Huzao 護燥; it is 5,940 *li* from [the seat of] the Protector General and 7,982 *li* from the Yang barrier. The fourth is entitled the Xihou of Bidun 肸頓, and the seat of government is at the town of Bomao 薄茅 it is 5,962 *li* from [the seat of] the Protector General and 8,202 *li* from the Yang barrier. The fifth is entitled the Xihou of Gaofu 高附, and the seat of government is at the town of Gaofu; it is 6,041 *li* from [the seat of the] Protector General and 9,238 *li* from the Yang barrier. All the five Xihou are subject to the Da Yuezhi.

This passage seems to confirm that the Da Yuezhi took advantage of the fact that "the Daxia had no major overlord or chief, and minor chiefs were frequently established in towns", and allowed five Xihou to administer a part of the Daxia territory on their behalf after they had conquered the region. In other words, the Da Yuezhi controlled

several areas which had originally belonged to the Daxia through these Xihou.^[35] In the light of the evidence that "they provide supplies for Han envoys [with the Da Yuezhi] the five Xihou" seemed to have had some autonomy in diplomatic matters. The statement, "all the five Xihou are subject to the Da Yuezhi", probably indicates that they paid tribute and acknowledged allegiance to the Da Yuezhi.^[36]

The locations of the seats of the five Xihou can be ascertained roughly from the *Weishu* 魏書 and other sources.

The first is the Xihou of Xiumi: In the *Weishu*, ch. 102, it is recorded: "The state of Jiabei 伽倍 was the former Xihou of Xiumi. Its capital is the town of Hemo, which is situated to the west of the state of Suojū, and it is 13,000 *li* from Dai 代. The people dwell in the mountain valleys." "Jiabei" is identical with "Bohe" 鉢和 which occurs in the same chapter. It is referred to as "Humi" 胡密 in ch. 8; as "Humidan" 胡蜜丹 in the *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54; as "Damoxitiedi" 達摩悉鐵帝 (Dharmasthiti) in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, ch. 12; and as "Humi" 護蜜 in the *Xin Tangshu*, ch. 146B. "Xiumi", "Jiabei", "Humi" and "Humidan" are all different transcriptions of "Kumidae", which is situated at Sarik-Caupan in the present Wakhan region. "Bohe" might be a transcription of "Wakhan".^[37] In the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 12, it is recorded: "The state of Damoxitiedi was situated between mountains of both. It was the former land of the state of the Duhuoluo 覩貨邏 (Tokhāra)." And in the *Xin Tangshu*, ch. 146B, it is also recorded: "Humi is also called Damoxitiedi or Hukan 護侃. It was called Bohe in the Yuanwei 元魏 times (i.e., the Northern Wei) period. It was also the former land of Tuhuoluo."

The second is the Xihou of Shuangmi. In the *Weishu*, ch. 102, it is recorded:

The state of Zhexuemosun 折薛莫孫 was the former Xihou of Shuangmi. Its capital is the town of Shuangmi, which is situated to the west of the state of Jiabei, and it is 13,500 *li* from Dai. The people dwell in the mountain valleys.

"Zhexuemosun" is referred to as "Shemi" 舍彌 in ch. 8; as "Shemi" 除彌 in Song Yun's 宋雲 travelog cited in the *Luoyang Qielanji* 洛陽伽藍記, ch. 5, and as "Shangmi" 商彌 in the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 12, and in the *Xin Tangshu*, ch. 146B. "Shangmi", "Shemi" and "Shangmi" are all transcriptions of "Śyāmāka", which was situated between Chitral and Mastuj. "Zhexuemosun", it has been suggested, is a transcription of "Sad-i Mastuj".^[38] In the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 12 it is recorded: "The writing [of the state of Shangmi] is the same as that of the state of the Duhuoluo, but its language is different."

The third is the Xihou of Guishuang. In the *Weishu*, ch. 102, it is recorded:

The state of Qiandun 鉗敦 was the former Xihou of Guishuang. Its capital is the town of Huzao, which is situated to the west of the state of Zhexuemosun, and it is 13,560 *li* from Dai. The people dwell in the mountain valleys.

"Qiandun" is probably identical to "Huntuoduo" 昏馱多, the capital of the state of Damoxitiedi in the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 12. "Qiandun" and "Huntuoduo" are different transcriptions of "Kandud", which was situated in the west of the Wakhan region, on the left bank of the Āb-i Panja. It was a part of the state of Damoxitiedi in the Tang times. In the *Weishu* it is recorded that it "is situated to the west of the state of

Zhexuemosun" but "west" looks as if it may be an error for "north". "Huzao" is possibly a variant transcription of "Guishuang".^[39]

The fourth is the Xihou of Bidun. In the *Weishu*, ch. 102, it is recorded: "The state of Fudisha 弗敵沙 was the former Xihou of Bidun. Its capital is the town of Bomao, which is situated to the west of the state of Qiandun, and it is 13,660 *li* from Dai. The people dwell in the mountain valleys." "Fudisha" is probably identical to "Boduochuangna" 鉢鐸創那 in the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 12; to "Buteshan" 蒲特山 in the Huichao's *Wang Wutianzhuguo Zhuan* 往五天竺國傳 and to "Bateshan" 拔特山 in the *Xintangshu*, ch. 33B. It is also possibly the "Baiti" 白題 in the *Liangshu*, ch. 54 and "Bati" 跋提 in Song Yun's travelog cited in *Luoyang Qielanji*, ch. 5. "Bomao", which appears very likely to be a textual corruption of "Baodi" 薄第, "Boduochuangna", "Butesha", "Batesha" and "Baiti", "Bati" are all transcriptions of "Badakhshān".^[40] In the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 12, it is recorded: "The state of Boduochuangna was the former land of the Duhuoluo."

The fifth is the Xihou of Gaofu. In the *Weishu*, ch. 102, it is recorded: "The state of Yanfuye 閩浮謁 was the former Xihou of Gaofu. Its capital is the town of Gaofu, which is situated to the south of the state Fudisha, and it is 13,760 *li* from Dai. The people dwell in the mountain valleys." "Yanfuye" is probably identical to "Yinbaojian" 淫薄健 and "Qubaojian" 佉薄健 in the *Da Ciensi Sanzang Fashi Zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 and the alternative transcriptions of "Yamgān" or "Hamakān", which was situated in the valley of the River Kokoha.^[41] In the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 12, it is recorded: "The state of Yanbojian was the former state of the Duhuoluo."

Seeing that the seats of the all five Xihou's governments were situated in the eastern mountainous area of the former state of the Daxia, we may infer that the Da Yuezhi controlled the western part of the state of the Daxia, especially Bactra and its surrounding regions directly, and indirectly its eastern mountainous area through the five Xihou after they had invaded Bactria.

3. According to the *Houhanshu*, 後漢書, ch. 118, the name of the five Xihou were Xiumi, Shuangmi, Guishuang, Xidun 胘頓 (which must be a textual corruption for Bidun) and Dummi 都密; and there was no Gaofu among them. In the same chapter it is also recorded:

The state of the Gaofu. It is also a large state. Its customs resemble those of Tianzhu. It is weak and easily conquered. Its (political) allegiance has never been constant: the three states of Tianzhu 天竺, Jibin 罽賓 and Anxi 安息 have possessed it when they were strong, and have lost it (again) when they were weak. But it had never belonged to the Yuezhi. The *Hanshu* treats Gaofu as one of the five Xihou, but this was not its actual state. It lastly belonged to Anxi, and the Yuezhi obtained Gaofu only after they had defeated Anxi.^[42]

In my opinion, the so-called "Gaofu" here should refer to Kabul. This "Gaofu" and the one of the *Hanshu* were not situated in one and the same area. The former had been subjected to Jibin in the Western Han times.^[43] For the names of the five Xihou, we should follow the report of the *Hanshu*. As for the "Dumi", I believe that it may have been the "Danmi" 咄蜜 (Tirmidh) of the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 1.^[44] The Da Yuezhi had possibly established its principal court in Tirmidh at the beginning of

their conquest of the Daxia. Later, after having moved their capital to south of the River Gui, the Da Yuezhi might have established another Xihou in Tirmidh. Since the *Houhanshu* did not agree to treat "Gaofu" as one of the five Xihou, it took "Dumi" as one of the five Xihou to make up the round number.^[45]

(E)

Who, after all were the five Xihou of the *Hanshu*? Were they the Da Yuezhi or the Daxia? This problem has caused long-term controversies among scholars. The point at issue is who were the Xihou of Guishuang, one of the five Xihou. Were they Da Yuezhi or Daxia? This question arises because the Kushān Kingdom, which had been very powerful in ancient Central Asia, grew out of the Xihou of Guishuang.^[46] According to the *Houhanshu*, ch. 118,

Formerly, when the Yuezhi had been routed by the Xiongnu, they moved to [the land of] the Daxia and divided their country into the five Xihou of Xiumi, Shuangmi, Guishuang, Xidun and Dumi. More than a hundred years later, the Xihou of Guishuang (named) Qiujiuque 邱就卻 attacked and destroyed the other four Xihou and established himself (as their king); the kingdom was named Guishuang (as was the king). This king invaded Anxi, took the country of Gaofu, and moreover, destroyed Puda 濮達 and Jibin, and completely possessed their territory. Qiujiuque died at the age of more than eighty years, and his son Yangaozhen 閻膏珍 succeeded him as king. He in his turn destroyed Tianzhu and placed there a general to control it. Since then the Yuezhi have been extremely rich and strong. In the various (Western) states they are always referred to as "the king(dom) of Guishuang", but the Han, following its old appellation, calls them "the Da Yuezhi".

The scholars who hold to the theory that the Guishuang Kingdom was established by the Da Yuezhi stress the above cited record of the *Houhanshu*. They consider that the text clearly claims the five Xihou (including the Xihou of Guishuang) were established by the Da Yuezhi and that here they must have been the Da Yuezhi.^[47] However, those who maintain that the Guishuang Kingdom was established by the Daxia stress more the record of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, and consider that the statement "there are five Xihou" must be regarded as "there are five Xihou [in the state of the Daxia]." Otherwise, the last sentence "all the five Xihou are subject to the Da Yuezhi" would be redundant.^[48] In short, the record of the *Hanshu* shows that the five were the Daxia. The *Hanshu* is less reliable than the *Houhanshu*, because the former has composed earlier than the latter.

In my opinion, the statement "there are five Xihou" in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, must be regarded as "there are five Xihou in the state of Daxia", because the passage "Originally, the Daxia had no major overlord and chief.... All the five Xihou are subject to the Da Yuezhi" is a description of Daxia. The editor of the *Hanshu* cancelled the independent section on Daxia, and added the things relevant to Daxia into the section on Da Yuezhi, because the Daxia had been subjected to the Da Yuezhi in the period described in the *Hanshu*.^[49] If we regard the statement as "there are

five Xihou in the state of the Da Yuezhi", the text becomes incomprehensible though the last sentence would not necessarily be redundant.^[50]

As for the relevant record in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 118, according to the preface of the chapter, the sources "have all been recorded by Ban Yong 班勇 by the end of the reign period of the Emperor An 安帝". It is generally believed that Ban Yong and his father Ban Chao 班超 had garrisoned the Western Regions for many years. They had contacted with the various states in the Western Regions including the Guishuang kingdom. It is hard to image that Ban Yong was not clear about its origin. In other words, we should not rashly disregard the relevant records in the *Houhanshu* either.^[51] In fact, the record of the *Hanshu* and the *Houhanshu* are not contradictory if one examines them carefully. The latter only mentions that the division of the five Xihou took place after the Da Yuezhi invaded. There was no reference that all the five Xihou were the Da Yuezhi.

In ancient times, nomadic tribes often propped up puppet regimes in their occupied areas and reigned by means of these puppets. The pattern of governance the Da Yuezhi adopted was probably the same as that of the Yeda 嚙哒, who ruled Tukharestan later. Information about the polity of the Yeda may be regarded as circumstantial evidence to support the theory that the five Xihou were not the Da Yuezhi.

Also, Zhang Qian discovered that the Daxia "have no major overlord or chief, and minor chiefs were frequently established in the towns" (see the *Shiji*, ch. 123) during his mission to the Western Regions. The five Xihou were not necessarily original "minor chiefs", but one can not rule out the possibility that a number of these Xihou were established in towns where originally the minor chiefs of the Daxia used to rule, or that a number of descendants and relatives of the original minor chiefs were appointed as Xihou. Even if the Da Yuezhi appointed other people to be the Xihou after they had conquered the Daxia, we should grant that these Xihou were possibly the Daxia natives who had close relationships with the Da Yuezhi, and who obviously reigned over the Daxia according to the local condition that a great number of "minor chiefs" had ruled independently.

Since the five Xihou including the Xihou of Guishuang were the Daxia people, the Guishuang Kingdom which was established by the Xihou of Guishuang was established by the Daxia. It has been suggested that there was a great difference between the state of Daxia and the Guishuang Kingdom. The former were settled on the soil and excelled in commerce, their troops were weak and afraid of fighting, whereas the latter went on expeditions in all directions, thus it was obviously established by a nomadic tribe. This would suggest that the Guishuang must not have been established by the Daxia.^[52]

In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. The Daxia (including the Asii, the Tochari and other tribes) originally were also nomadic tribes. They gradually became sedentary agriculturists after they entered Bactria. Their aristocrats would persist in their old traditions for a considerably long period. Their herdsman's tendency to settle may also have reversed itself under proper conditions. As for the aborigines who were afraid of fighting and excelled in commerce, observed by Zhang Qian, they included obviously a number of the Asii, the Tochari and other tribes, but a large part of them must have been the inhabitants of the former Hellenic kingdom of Bactria. One must know that the Daxia mentioned by Zhang Qian had already been Daxia who were conquered by the Da Yuezhi.

A scholar has enumerated eight items of evidence to try to disprove that the establishers of the Guishuang Kingdom were the Daxia.^[53] In my opinion, these items of evidence cannot stand close scrutiny.

1. "Xihou" can be identified with "Yehu" 葉護, a title which was used by the Türkic tribes. Those who were granted this title all were sons and brothers of the Kehan 可汗 (Qaghan); there were no examples of the ruled people being granted the title. Thus the five Xihou, including the Xihou of Guishuang, must have been the Da Yuezhi.

In my opinion, the title Xihou or Yehu was commonly used by the Türkic tribes later, but there is no evidence to show the Da Yuezhi were a Türkic tribe. Even if the Da Yuezhi were a Türkic tribe and "Xihou" was an inherent title of the Türkic tribes, and the possibility that the Daxia were a Türkic tribe also is removed, we still cannot agree that the Xihou of Guishuang were not Daxia because non-Türkic tribes may have borrowed this title. It is very likely that the Daxia who migrated from the Hexi 河西 region stayed in touch with the Türkic tribes who used this title. The "minor chief" Zhang Qian mentioned might be a literal translation for the term "Xihou". The Da Yuezhi may have propped up the five Xihou only in order to be suited for local conditions.

2. If the Guishuang Kingdom had been established by the Daxia, then the wars to annex small towns should have been followed by racial wars to overthrow the Da Yuezhi when the Xihou of Guishuang unified the whole territory of Daxia. However, there is little evidence to show that such racial wars had taken place.

In my opinion, this is no evidence to show that the wars between the Daxia and the Da Yuezhi took place on the eve of the establishment of the Guishuang Kingdom, which is not tantamount to the wars having not taken place. Even if the Xihou of Guishuang belonged to the Da Yuezhi, he must have been in conflict with the ruler of the Da Yuezhi, its former suzerain, when he attacked and destroyed the other four Xihou, and then unified the whole of Tukhārestān.

In fact, the wars against the Da Yuezhi indeed took place after the Xihou of Guishuang, Quijiuque, had attacked and destroyed the other four Xihou. This is reflected in the statement "moreover destroyed Puda" in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 118. "Puda" was a transcription of "Bactria".^[54] Here it referred to the central area of the former Hellenic kingdom of Bactria. As mentioned above, the area was directly controlled by the king of the Da Yuezhi. Obviously, Quijiuque did not take Bactria until he had attacked and destroyed the other four Xihou, and had taken the country of Gaofu and become rich and strong. Since the *Houhanshu* called the Guishuang Kingdom "the state of the Da Yuezhi", it had to call the former state of the Da Yuezhi who controlled Bactria and its surrounding regions "Puda".

3. The fact that Guishuang replaced the Da Yuezhi must be taken as a replacement of political power inside the state of the Da Yuezhi, because the Chinese in the Eastern Han and the following dynasties still called the Guishuang Kingdom "the state of the Da Yuezhi".

In my opinion, the Xihou of Guishuang originally subjected to the Da Yuezhi (that is the land of the Xihou of Guishuang) also was, in a sense, a part of the state of the Da Yuezhi. Therefore, it may be taken as the replacement of political power inside the state of the Da Yuezhi that Guishuang replaced the Da Yuezhi. In fact, the Xihou of Guishuang might have always flaunted the banner of the Da Yuezhi when he "attacked and destroyed the other four Xihou". Also, the statement "following its old

appellation" in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 118, must have been referring to following the old appellation of Guishuang itself.

4. If the Guishuang Kingdom was established by the Daxia, then it must have been called "Daxia". Why would the Eastern Han have called it "the state of Da Yuezhi", its foe which was already destroyed by the Daxia.

In my opinion, Han did not call the Guishuang Kingdom "the state of the Da Yuezhi" arbitrarily but followed the old appellation of the Guishuang. The relationship between the Da Yuezhi and the predecessors of the Guishuang Kingdom was not necessarily hostile. The autonomy of the five Xihou was, after all, recognized by the king of the Da Yuezhi. Therefore, it is comprehensible that Qiujiuque attacked and destroyed the other four Xihou by flaunting the banner of the Da Yuezhi.

5. In the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 3, it is recorded that on the date of Guimao 癸卯 of the 12th month in the third year of Taihe 太和 (i.e., A.D.229), "The king of the Da Yuezhi, Bodiao 波調 (Vāsudeva), sent his envoy to present tribute and His Majesty granted the king a title of "King of Da Yuezhi Intimate with Wei 魏." If the Guishuang Kingdom was established by the Daxia, it would not have accepted this title.

In my opinion, the so-called Da Yuezhi actually included the Asii, the Tochari, the Gasiani and other tribes. The Xihou of Guishuang may have been the Gasiani, because "Guishuang" can be a transcription of "Gasiani". As mentioned above, the Gasiani and the Yuezhi had the same origin, thus "Guishuang" and "Yuezhi" were objectively different transcriptions of one and the same name. Therefore, there was no difference between "the king of the Da Yuezhi" and "the king of the Great Guishuang". Why should Podiao not have gone ahead to accept?

6. In Kang Tai's 康泰 *Waiguozhuan* 外國傳 cited in the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, it is recorded: "A foreigner says that there are three numerous things in the world: Zhongguo 中國 (the Central Kingdom) has numerous people. Da Qin 大秦 has numerous treasures. Yuezhi has numerous horses." "Yuezhi" here was necessarily referring to Guishuang. If the Guishuang Kingdom was established by the Daxia, then it would not have been considered as having numerous horses.

In my opinion, the Daxia were originally a nomadic tribe the same as the Da Yuezhi. If the kingdom which was established by the latter "had numerous horses", then so did the former. The problem is whether the Guishuang Kingdom which was established by a nomadic tribe, down to the 3rd century A.D., still had been considered as having numerous horses. In fact, the "Yuezhi" mentioned by Kang Tai was not referring to the Guishuang Kingdom, but was one of the four Masters of Zhanbuzhou 瞻部州 (Jambudvīpa), "the Master of Horses" (馬主, Aśva-pati). In *Shijia Fangzhi* 釋迦方誌 by Dao Xuan 道宣, the corresponding "Master of Horses" was taken as "Xianyun" 獫狁 or "Tujue" 突厥.^[55] This shows that the statement of Kang Tai certainly must not be taken as evidence to that prove the Guishuang Kingdom was established by the Da Yuezhi.

7. In the "Xirongzhuan" 西戎傳 of the *Weilue* 魏略 it is recorded: "The states of Jibin, Daxia, Gaofu and Tianzhu are all subject to the Da Yuezhi." "Da Yuezhi" here also refers to the Guishuang Kingdom. If the Guishuang Kingdom was established by the Daxia, the record of the *Weilue* would be tantamount to saying that the Da Yuezhi were both the conqueror and the conquered.

In my opinion, "Da Yuezhi" here actually refers to the Guishuang Kingdom. However, "Daxia" here must refer to Tukhārestān. Therefore, the statement that the

state of Daxia was subject to the Da Yuezhi only shows that Tukhārestān (the land of the former state of Daxia) was a part of the Guishuang Kingdom at that time. One should know that the predecessor of the Guishuang Kingdom, namely, the Xihou of Guishuang, was established by the Daxia, but it was not equal to the state of Daxia, and that the territory of the Guishuang Kingdom far exceeded the boundary of the former state of Daxia.

8. The *Weishu*, ch. 102, calls the Fourth Kushāns, namely, the Kushāns of Jiduoluo 寄多羅 (Kidāra) "the state of the Da Yuezhi", and calls Fulousha 富樓沙 (Purushapura), which was controlled by the son of Jiduoluo "the state of the Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏". This also shows that the Guishuang Kingdom was established by the Da Yuezhi.

In my opinion, the fact that the *Weishu* calls "the Kushāns of Kidāra" "the state of the Da Yuezhi" was only following the former historical records. This is not enough to prove that the king of Kidāra was a descendant of the Da Yuezhi.

Also, according to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, the Da Yuezhi were driven off by the Xiongnu and "went far away", "the remaining small group who were unable to leave sought protection among the Qiang 羌 tribes of the Southern Mountains and were termed the Xiao Yuezhi." Now, having been driven off by the Yeda, Kidāra migrated west and commmanded his son to guard Fulousha. Probably because the circumstances of them both seemed to be similar, the *Weishu* calls the remaining forces of Kidāra, who were entrenched at Fulousha, "the Xiao Yuezhi".^[56] In other words, since this record is enough to prove that Kidāra was a descendant of the Da Yuezhi who entered Tukharestan in c.130 B.C., one cannot, of course, infer from this record that the founder of the Guishuang Kingdom, Qiujiuque, was likewise a Da Yuezhi.

(F)

As mentioned above, the Sai (i.e., the Tochari and other tribes) were driven out of "the land of the Sai" (i.e., the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu) by the Da Yuezhi, and migrated west. A group of them camped on the northern bank of the Syr Darya, and then invaded Bactria. When this group of the Sai camped on the northern bank of the Syr Darya, another group of the Sai moved south and entered the Pamir region. Of them, except for a group who crossed over the Suspended Crossing and entered Jibin, the majority dispersed in the Pamir region and spread farther east to the oases in the Tarim Basin.^[57]

1. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recoded:

When, formerly, the Xiongnu conquered the Da Yuezhi, the latter moved west and established themselves as masters of the Daxia; it was in these circumstances that the king of the Sai moved south and established himself as master of Jibin. The Sai tribes split and separated, repeatedly forming several states. To the north-west of Shule 疏勒, states such as Xiuxun 休循 and Juandu 捐毒 are all of the former Sai race.

This shows that both Xiuxun on the Alai plateau and Juandu at Irkestam were small states the Sai tribes established.^[58] The two places were situated on the route the Sai

tribes possibly took and thus were occupied by them. In the same chapter it is recorded: "The state of Xiuxun.... The popular way of life and clothing are of the same type as with the Wusun, and in company with their stock animals they go after water and pasture." It is also recorded: "The state of Juandu.... Clothing is of the same type as that of the Wusun. [The people] go after water and pasture keeping close to the Congling 葱嶺." This shows that the Sai at these two places still kept up their customs at the time described in the *Hanshu*. Also, "Xiuxun" [xiu-ziuən] may have been a transcription of "Gasiani".

2. Of the place names of the oases in the Tarim Basin as recorded in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, "Yan-qi" 焉耆 [ian-tjiei], "Yi-xun" 伊循 [iei-ziuən] and "Wu-lei" 烏壘 [a-liuəi], etc. can be taken as transcriptions of "Asii" or "Isse[dones]";^[59] "Qiuci" 龜茲 [khiuə-tziə], "Gu-shi" 姑師 [ka-shei] and "Ju-shi" 車師 [kia-shei], etc. can be taken as transcriptions of "Gasiani";^[60] "Suo-ju" [sai-kia], etc. can be taken as transcription of "Sacarauli";^[61] "Qu-le" 渠勒 [gia-lək] and "Qu-li" 渠犂 [gia-lək] can be taken as transcriptions of "Tochri".^[62] In short, all these names were the traces left by the Sai who entered the Tarim Basin.

3. In the *Suijingzhu*, ch. 2, it is recorded:

The Great River flows east again, and joins up with the Dunhong River on the right. The river rises in the Dunhong Mountains, which is north of Yanqi, west of the Xiongnu and east of the Wusun.

The *Shanhajing* states: "The Dunhong River rises [in the Dunhong Mountains], flows west and empties into the You Lake which originates from the northeastern corner of the Kunlun Mountains. This is really the source of the River."

Two sources flow out through their respective courses. The western source flows east, and divides into two rivers. The left flows southwest, from west of Yanqi, via the plain of Yanqi, winds its way southeast and empties into the Dunhong Lake. The right river flows southeast, and divides into two streams again, which flow on both sides of the state of Yanqi. The town, situated in the island of river, is surrounded by four streams. The seat of the royal government is at the town of Yuanqu 員渠, which is 400 *li* from Wulei. [The right river] flows south, its two streams join each other, then empty into the Dunhong Lake with the left river.

Textual research reveals that there is nearly no doubt that the mountains, the river and the lake are the Tian Mountains, the Khaidu gol and the Bagrash kul separately.^[63] Since "Dunhong" may be taken as a transcription of "Tochri", the fact that all the mountains and the rivers surrounding Yanqi were named after "Dunhong" shows that the Tochari once lived there. Probably Li Daoyuan 酈道元, the editor of the *Suijingzhu*, only heard their pronunciations, but did know the fact that they were indications of Tocharian residence. He mistakenly compared them with the record in the *Shanhajing*, but guessed partially right.

4. In the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 10, it is recorded that starting from the eastern boundary of Yutian 于闐,

After a journey of more than 400 *li*, I reached the former state of Duhuoluo, which has been quite desolate for a long time. The towns are deserted. From

there going east after a journey of 600 *li* or more, I reached the state of Zhemoduona 折摩馱那 (Calmadana), which is the land of Jumo 沮末.

This shows that the Tochari had once inhabited the area between Yutian and Jumo.^[64]

5. The record about the Sacara in the *Geography* of Ptolemy (VI, 13) and the record about the Sai who split and separated in the Pamir region in the *Hanshu* (Ch. 96) can corroborate each other. Also, Ptolemy's record concerning the Casia (Gasiani) region, the Issedon Serica Town (VI,15) and Casius Mountains, the Issedones people, and the Issedon Serica Town (VI, 16) may also be taken as evidence to prove that the Sai (including the Asii, the Tochari and other tribes) had entered the Tarim Basin.^[65]

The following are additional remarks:

1. Since the Sai (the Asii, the Tochari, and others) originally lived in the Hexi region, it is likely that they migrated west along the Southern Route and Northern Route. What is the reason for saying that the various traces of the Sai in the Tarim Basin were necessarily left by those who moved south to the Pamir region from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu and spread east?^[66]

In my opinion, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the Asii, the Tochari and other tribes entered the Tarim Basin directly from the Hexi region, but it is more likely that the Sai in the Tarim Basin came from "the land of the Sai" (i.e., the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu) because East-West communications were carried out mainly by "the Steppe Route" before the 2nd century B.C. The relevant record in the *History* of Herodotus and the *Mutianzizhuan* provide evidence. The fine silks, pangees embroidered with phoenix pattern, lacquer ware and bronze mirrors decorated with "山" pattern which have been excavated from tombs of the 5th century B.C. at Pazyryk in the Alai border region of the Soviet Union also prove these transactions. In contrast, the Tarim Basin seemed not to be on the main line of communications in this period due to its geographical isolation.^[67] We must admit that the Sai in the Tarim Basin may come from the Pamir region, unless further archeological evidence show that a group of the Sai remained north of the Tian Mountains, then they moved west, and just these remainders entered the oases in the Tarim Basin. The evidence in the historical records is also advantageous to prove that the Sai in the Tarim Basin came from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu.

Since "Qiuci", "Jushi", etc. were all the transcriptions of "Gasiani", they can also be taken as transcriptions of "Yuezhi" objectively. Why should one not regard that these names as the traces left by the Da Yuezhi, who, being driven away by the Xiongnu, moved west in c. 177/176 B.C.?^[68]

In my opinion, the remainders of the Da Yuezhi, "the Xiao Yuezhi" in the *Hanshu*, moved around in a well defined area according to the statement "[they] sought protection among the Qiang tribes of the Southern Mountains". Therefore, we cannot deny that there was another group of the Yuezhi who remained in the Qiuci and Jushi regions on this ground, because, after all, the Da Yuezhi moved west by the route north of the Tian Mountains; but the states of Jushi and Qiuci seemed not to be established by the Yuezhi who remained north of the Tian Mountains. Otherwise, the Han people must have left definite records of them. The gap from the western migration of the Da Yuezhi down to Zhang Qian's mission to the Da Yuezhi was only 30-40 years. Even though the Gasiani who came from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu had the same origin as the Yuezhi or the Xiao Yuezhi, there must have been many differences between them. This is because the former had already left their

homeland as early as the late 7th century B.C. Naturally, the Han people would not call them "the Xiao Yuezhi" or "the Yuezhi".

3. "Yanqi" was named after "Asii" and its surrounding mountains and river were all named for "Dunhong (Tochari)". This shows that in addition to the Asii, there were also the Tochari among the inhabitants in this oasis. However, it is more possible that Yanqi was an area inhabited by the four tribes, i.e., the Asii, the Tochari, the Gasiani and the Sacarauli, with the Asii and the Tochari occupying a dominant position.^[69] This would also have been true of the other states such as Yixun, Jushi, Qiuci and "the former state of the Duhuoluo" recorded by Xuanzang 玄奘. Because of this, in the *Xitian Lujing* 西天路竟 "Yanqi" also is called "Yuezhi".^[70] The reason for this is that the Gasiani had also lived there. In the *Yiqiejing Yinyi* 一切經音義, it is recorded: "[Quzhi 屈支] originally was called Yuezhi 月氏 or Yuezhi; it was also called Quci 屈茨, Wusun and Wulei." In the *Xu Yiqiejing Yinyi* 續一切經音義, it is recorded: "[Qiuci] is also called Quzhi, Yuezhi, Jiuci 鳩茨 and Wusun." This shows that in addition to the Gasiani, the Asii also had lived in Qiuci, for "Wusun" and "Wulei" all can be taken as transcriptions of "Asii". This is a possibility that can not be ruled out, to say the least. "Suoju" was called "Qusha 渠莎" in the *Weishu*, ch. 102, and "Wusha 烏緞" in the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 12. So far no one has offered a precise interpretation for this record.^[71] For the reason given above, it might indicate that in addition to the Sacarauli, there the Gasiani (Qusha) and Asii (Wusun) had also been in Suoju.

4. "Daxia" was a transcription of "Tochari", but there were some differences between "Daxia" as described in the *Shiji*, ch. 123 and the *Hanshu*, ch. 96 and "Daxia", in the pre-Qin books. The latter was referring to the Tochari. The former had in fact included the Asii, the Gasiani and the Sacarauli. As far as the Tochari, those who had migrated west to the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu and then to Tukharestan should be different from those who remained in the Hexi region, due to being affected by different surrounding tribes. More accurately, there must have been some differences in language, custom and physical characteristics between them.

Also, there must have been differences between the Tochari who moved south into the Pamir region from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu and then spread east to the Tarim Basin, and those who entered Tukharestan from the northern bank of the Syr Darya.

For the same reason, though "Yuezhi" "Guishuang", "Jushi" and "Qiuci" all were transcriptions of "Gasiani", there must have been some differences between those who migrated west in late of the 7th century B.C. and those who migrated west in c. 177/176 B.C. The former had divided into two groups later. One of them entered Tukharestan, and the other entered the Tarim Basin. There must have been some differences between the two groups. The circumstances of the Asii and the Sacarauli may be explained at the same time.

(G)

Finally I will make a brief survey on the nationality and language of the Daxia.

1. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

To the west of the state of the Dayuan and as far as the state of Anxi there are many different languages spoken, but they are in general the same and people understand each other clearly. The inhabitants of the area all have deep-set eyes, and many wear moustaches and beards. They are expert traders, haggling over fractions of a *zhu* 銖 (a unit of weight).

The area which was "to the west of Dayuan and as far as the state of Anxi" obviously included the state of Daxia which was conquered by the Da Yuezhi. Zhang Qian had reached the land of the Daxia personally by way of Dayuan during his first mission to the Da Yuezhi. After that, according to the same chapter, "the envoys of the northwestern outer states come and go over and over again." The Han envoys reached as far as the state of Anxi. In addition, In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded that the five Xihou in the land of the Daxia "provide supplies for the Han envoy" along with the Da Yuezhi. All of this shows that the Han people were familiar with situations to the west of Dayuan. Leaving the nationality of the Dayuan aside for the moment, the Anxi people were undoubtedly Europoid. The statement that "all have deep-set eyes and many wear moustaches and beards" summarises the physical characteristics of the Europoid.^[72] Therefore the Daxia (including the Asii, the Tochari and other tribes) must have been Europoid.

2. In Wan Zhen's 萬震 *Nanzhouzhi* 南州志 cited in the *Shiji Zhengyi*, it is recorded: "[In the state of the Da Yuezhi (i.e., the Guishuang Kingdom) the people have a reddish-white colour." This shows that the Daxia were Europoid, because, as above mentioned, the predecessor of the Guishuang Kingdom was one of the five Xihou of Daxia, and may have been Gasiani.^[73]

3. The above-cited record of the *Shiji*, ch. 123, also shows that the language of the Daxia was possibly a Indo-European the same as Anxi. Of course, they did not necessarily belong to the same branch. It has been suggested that "Xihou" may be identified with "Yehu", Türkic word, and that since the Daxia chiefs used the title of "Xihou", it must have been a Türkic tribe.^[74] In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. First, the possibility that the Türkic title "Yehu" originated from "Xihou" cannot be ruled out. Second, "Xihou" may be traced in the Indo-European language.^[75]

4. At Qiuci, Yanqi and Jushi, documents have been unearthed. They are written in a language which was called "Toχri" by the Uigur.^[76] This seems to suggest that the original language of the Daxia (the Tochari, the Asii, and other tribes) was a centum language.

First, the earlier inhabitants at Qiuci, Yanqi and Jushi were possibly the Asii, the Tochari, the Gasiani, and other tribes. The evidence was that the mountains and the rivers surrounding Yanqi were all named for "Dunhong" (Tochari). "Qiuci" and "Jushi" all can be taken as transcriptions of "Gasiani", and "Yanqi" can be taken as a transcription of "Asii".

Second, "Toχri" may be taken as a transcription of "Tochari".^[77] Since many of the mountains and the rivers surrounding Yanqi were named for "Dunhong" or something to that effect, the languages of the Yanqi people, of course, can be called "Toχri".

Third, the reason why only the Asii, the Tochari, the Gasiani, and other tribes who entered Qiuci, Yanqi, and Jushi spoke the "Toχri" language may be that the isolated natural environment made them keep their original language.^[78] In the end, these Sai (Sakās) had developed written forms with Brāmī. As for the differences

between A and B dialects, they were formed either after or before they entered the Tarim Basin.

Fourth, The Asii, the Tochari, and other tribes who entered other areas such as Tukharestan, and those who entered Qiuci and Yanqi, etc., came from the same source, but migrated in different directions. They had received different influences from their surrounding tribes due to different experiences. It is reasonable that the former had not kept their original languages, and eventually were assimilated by the Iranian tribes.^[79] According to the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 12, the languages of the inhabitants at Yinbojian, Boduochuangna and Sangmi were different,^[80] though they were possibly all Daxia who had entered Tukharestan at the same time.

5. Since "Toχri" was the original languages of the Daxia, namely, the Asii, the Tochari, the Gasiani, and other tribes, and the names of "Daxia", "Qiuci", "Yanqi", and "Jushi" were often not referring to the Tochari, the Gasiani and the Asii respectively, but including the other three tribes, "Toχri" may be called the Tocharian languages, its A and B dialects also may be called the Yanqi language and Qiuci language.^[81]

Notes:

1. Cf. Ogawa (1929), pp.102-107; Huang Wenbi (1981-6).
2. Cf. Sun, Ma & Wang.
3. Cf. Ogawa (1929), p.111.
4. Cf. Chen, pp. 291-292.
5. English translation by Legges.
6. Cf. Yang, p.1218.
7. In the "Shijijie"史記解 of the *Yizhoushu* 逸周書 it is recorded: "If both literary and military do not prevail, a state will perish. Formerly, the Xi Xia, being benevolent in nature, criticized war. It did not build walled towns, and its warriors did not hold [high] status. [Its ruler] was generous and liked to bestow gifts. When its goods were used up and there was nothing to bestow, when the Tang attacked him. Because walled towns were not kept in guard and the warriors were not appointed to posts, the Xi Xia lost their country." Based on this, Ogawa (1929), pp. 111-112, suggested that "Daxia" was originally called "Xi Xia" (the Western Xia) in order to differentiate from "Xia" of the Xia Dynasty. It was not called "Daxia" (the Great Xia) until it migrated west to the vast area in the North-West after the Spring and Autumn period. In my opinion, his theory is unconvincing. Those whom the Tang attacked must have been the Daxia mentioned in the *Zuozhuan*. The record of the *Yizhoushu* was obviously composed by later generations, therefore the Daxia were called "Xi Xia" (the Western Xia), another name of the Daxia, which was gained after the Daxia had migrated to the Hexi region.
8. See Huang (1981-6).
9. The two sentences following this are not the original text but were interpolated after the Han dynasty: "It rises in the northwestern corner of the Kunlun Mountains. This is the source of the River." Cf. Zhang, X.(1986).
10. Ogawa (1928), pp. 231-234.
11. Cf. Ogawa (1928), pp. 233-234.
12. In the "Haineidongjing" 海內東經 of the *Shanhaijing* it is recorded: "There are the state of Daxia, the state of Shusha 豎沙, the state of Juyou 居繇, and the state of Yuezhi 月支 outside the Flowing Sands." Wang Guowei (1959-1), suggests that this passage is not the original text of the *Shanhaijing*, but was interpolated after Han had opened up the Western Regions. In my opinion, A similar record also is found in the "Xirongzhuan" 西戎傳 of the *Weilue* 魏略: "To the west of the Flowing Sands there are the state of Daxia, the state of Jiansha 堅沙,

- the state of Shuyou 屬繇, and the state of Yuezhi." This shows that "Shusha" and "Juyou" are textual errors for "Jiansha" and "Shuyou" respectively. "Jiansha" and "Shuyou" must have been different transcriptions of "Guishuang" and "Suyi 粟弋" respectively. The earliest record on the state of the Guishuang and the state of Suyi occur in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 118. Thus the relevant record in the "Haineidongjing" must have been interpolated in Eastern Han times. Also, ignoring time differences, the *Weilue* juxtaposes the three states of Daxia, Jiansha, and Yuezhi, but this record still mirrors tortuously the historical course that the Daxia was conquered by the Yuezhi and the Yuezhi by the Guishuang (Jiansha).
13. English translation by Grene. This source places the Issedones to the east of the Argippaei and as neighbours of the Massagetae who lived on the northern bank of the River Araxes (the Syr Darya). Going east from the easternmost point of the Scythian area, one first encountered the Argippaeans. The territory of the Scythians was a plain whilst the Argippaeans lived in a rugged mountain district, i.e., the hill belt of Kazakstan. Therefore, the Issedones must have lived in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu. Cf. Ma & Wang.
 14. English Translation by Jones. Also, cf. Chapter I.
 15. See Chapter I, III & VII.
 16. Kuwabara Jitsuzo (1934-1), suggests that the statement "the Sai tribes were originally the Rong of the Yun" and so on is a result of mixing the relevant records in the *Hanshu* and the *Shuijingzhu*. Because the former states that the Yuezhi were defeated by the Xiongnu and migrated to the land of the Sai", the Sai were forced to move south; the latter states: "The *Chunqiu* 春秋傳 says: The villains of the Surname of Yun dwelt in Guazhou 瓜州.... Du Lin 杜林 says that Dunhuang was formerly Guazhou.... The Rong in Guazhou were those who were swallowed up by the Yuezhi." Another possibility is that Xun Ji was stimulated by motives of anti-Buddhism and drew a farfetched conclusion. In my opinion, since the citation of Xun Ji does not occur in the extant *Hanshu*, ch. 96, the doubts of Kuwabara are not unreasonable. However, Xun Ji submitted the memorial to Emperor Wu 武帝 to attack Buddhism. If he did not possess any evidence, how could he convince people? Therefore, his citation must be the missing text of the *Hanshu*, unless he had another source (which was mistaken for the text of the *Hanshu* by Xun Ji). Following the order and organization of the composition, this statement can likely be inserted in the section on Jibin in the *Hanshu*, 96A, to form this translation: "When, formerly, the Xiongnu conquered the Da Yuezhi, the latter moved west and established themselves as masters of Daxia; it was in these circumstances that the king of the Sai moved south and established himself as master of Jibin. The Sai tribes [were originally the Rong of the Surname Yun. They had dwelt in Dunhuang for generations, but had moved to the south of the Congling because of being driven off by the Yuezhi.] [They] separated and respectively formed several states. To the northwest of Shule, states such as Xiuxun and Juandu are all of the former Sai race." Also, if "the Rong in Guazhou" who were swallowed by the Yuezhi, as mentioned by Du Lin, really were "the Rong of the Surname of Yun", then they must have been the remnants who stayed behind on the former land after their majority migrated west to "the land of the Sai" in the late 7th Century B.C.; they had nothing to do with those who "moved to the south of the Congling". Also, all the former commentators believe that ancient "Guazhou" was located around Dunhuang. However, Gu, pp.46-53, suggests that Guazhou was situated in the southern and northern slopes of the heights of the Qinling Mountain 秦嶺. Huang, W. (1981-1), also suggests that Guazhou was not situated at Dunhuang but around the counties of Lintan 臨潭 and Min 岷, in the province of Gansu. In my opinion, if the theories of the two scholars are correct, "the Rong of the Surname of Yun" would have migrated west from east of Dunhuang. Probably because they had once stayed at Dunhuang, Dunhuang was also called "Guazhou".
 17. Markwart (1901), p.206, suggests that Asii must have been identical with the Pasiani (Gasiani), thus were also precisely the Yuezhi. In my opinion, this theory seems to be incorrect. The fact that Strabo juxtaposes the Asii and the Pasiani (Gasiani) shows that they were not one and the same tribe.
 18. Markwart (1901), p.206, suggests that the Tochari must have been identical with the Daxia. The Hellenic Kingdom of Bactria was destroyed by the Daxia, and the latter was destroyed

- by the Yuezhi. I think that his theory is correct. Haloun (1926) suggests that "Daxia" was named after the Xia dynasty. Afterwards it was referring to the farthest point in tradition, thus Zhang Qian called Bactria "Daxia". In my opinion, "Daxia" as seen in the pre-Qin books and records obviously has nothing to do with the Xia dynasty. The westernmost point that Zhang Qian reached was Bactria, but he knew that there were the states of Anxi and Tiaozhi 條枝 to the west of Bactria. Therefore, Bactria was not the traditional farthest point in Zhang Qian's mind.
19. Shiratori (1941-3), pp.120-288, suggests that the Tochari must have been identical with the Yuezhi. The record of Xuanzang concerning "the former state of Duhuoluo" cannot be taken as evidence. He does not offer any testimony, but only says that the Thaguri (Tochari) as described by Ptolemy must have lived in the Hexi region, which is in accord with the record concerning the former land of the Yuezhi. Tam (1951), pp.263-287, also offers a similar theory: Wherever one meet Yuezhi from the Chinese side, one also meet Tochari, whether the evidence comes from texts in Greek, Chinese, Indian, or Tibetan. In my opinion, the Thagui people, the Thaguri Mountains and Thogara town in the *Geography* of Ptolemy (VI,16) must have been situated in the Hexi region, which has been confirmed further by studies on Tibetan and Khotan documents. Cf. Thomas (1931) and Bailey (1937). However, one cannot consequently infer that the Thaguri people were exactly the Da Yuezhi. This is because the inhabitants in the Hexi region were not a single tribe, and the former land of the Daxia also lay in the Hexi region. In addition, the Thaguri people as recorded by Ptolemy were possibly the Daxia who remained in the Hexi region. The Thaguri Mountains may have been "the Dunhong Mountains", as described in the *Shanhajing*, namely, the present Qilian Mountains. As for the Thogara town, I believe that it was referring to Dunhuang. Some scholars such as Pulleyblank (1962), p. 228, suggest that "Throana" of Ptolemy (VI,16) refers to Dunhuang. I think his theory is unconvincing. Also, having given up his former theory, Shiratori (1938), suggests that the Tochari were the original inhabitants in Tukharestan, and that they were conquered by the Yuezhi later. Cen (1981), pp.230-232, also believes that the Daxia (Tochari) were aboriginals in Central Asia who were first conquered by the Greeks and then rose against the rule of the Greeks, when the Da Yuezhi migrated west, thus they both coordinated attacks against the Greeks from without and within. In my opinion, the theories of Shiratori and Cen are unconvincing, because they are in conflict with Strabo's record that the Tochari had come from the northern bank of the Syr Darya. Also, Shio Benkyo supports the theory of Shiratori by noting that the *Dazhidulun* 大智度論, which was translated into Chinese in A.D. 402-406, mentions "Douquluo" (兜佉羅, Tukhāra). The Translator, Kumārajiva 鳩摩羅什, added note under this name: "[They are] the Xiao Yuezhi" (the Little Yuezhi). This shows that the Tochari must have been with the Yuezhi. In my opinion, "Xiao Yuezhi" here refers to the Kushāns who were entrenched in Tukharestan. The Kushāns had always been called the "Yuezhi" for reasons that discovered elsewhere. Therefore, this cannot be taken as evidence to prove the Yuezhi-Tochari identity. See Enoki, (1958).
20. Markwart (1901), pp. 206-207, suggests that the former land of the Daxia lay in "the former state of Duhuoluo" as recorded by Xuanzang. From there they migrated to Bactria and were conquered by the Da Yuezhi who came from "the land of the Sai". In my opinion, his theory is unconvincing. First, Strabo records clearly that the Tochari (the Daxia) came from the north of the Syr Darya. Second, they migrated to Bactria along with the Asii, who were taken as the Yuezhi by Markwart. Also, Franke suggests that the Da Yuezhi migrated west by way of "the former state of Duhuoluo" on the Southern Route in the Western Regions, and the inhabitants there (the Tochari) migrated to "the land of the Sai" in company with the Da Yuezhi, and then moved south to Bactria from the northern bank of the Syr Darya because of the attack of the Wusun. In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is clearly recorded that the Daxia were conquered by the Da Yuezhi. This shows that the two groups did not move south to Bactria from "the land of the Sai" at the same time, and it cannot be proved that the Da Yuezhi migrated west by way of Qiemo and Yutian.
21. Cf. Ma & Wang.

22. See Markwart (1901), pp. 206-207. However, he believes that the Gasiani should be identified with the Asii, who were also identified with the Da Yuezhi who had conquered the Daxia. I disagree. Shiratori (1941-6), pp.463-628, opposes Markwart's reading of "Pasiani" as "Gasiani" on the grounds that the name "Pasiani" also occurs in Ptolemy (VI, 12) and is noted as "Pasicae". In my opinion, it is quite plausible that the "Pasicae" of Ptolemy, which is a textual error for "Gasiani", were the Gasiani who entered Sogdiana. Also Tarn (1951), pp. 292-295, reads "Pasiani" as the adjectival form of "Pasii" or "Pasi", and identifies it with "Pasargadae" or with "Pasii", "Pasia" and "Parsiani" of Ptolemy (VI, 8, 18). "Parsii" seems to derive from the old Persian "Parsua", which meant Persians. He points out that the Persians of Persis called themselves Persa and that the Pasiani were also a branch of the Persians who had remained in their original home Ērānvej, namely Kwarizm. They were members of the Massagetae. But Strabo clearly says that the Pasiani who invaded Bactria were a branch of the Sacae, and came from the northern bank of the Syr Darya. They were therefore obviously not Persians. In my view, even if the Pasargadae of Carmania or the Pasii, the Pasai, and the Parsiani of Paropamisades in Ptolemy had some connection with the Persians, this would have no bearing on Markwart's proposed emendation.
23. Cen (1981), pp. 332-334, also takes "Sacarauli" as "Suoju". However he considers that the Sacarauli referred to by Strabo came from the Tarim Basin. Their remnants were the "Suoju" in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96. But I believe that "Suoju" in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, were originally in the north of China. Later on they migrated to "the land of the Sai". From there, they moved south to the Pamir region. In the end, they entered the Tarim Basin. Of them, a group reached the northern bank of the Syr Darya from "the land of the Sai", who were the Sacarauli recorded by Strabo.
24. In the *Shiji*, ch. 6, the Langxietai 琅邪臺 inscription, which was engraved in the 28th year of King Qin, Ying Zheng 嬴政 (219 B.C.), it is recorded: "All within the universe, the territory of the Emperor, crossing the Flowing Sands in the west, ending the Northern Door, owning the Eastern Sea in the east, and surpassing Daxia in the north." "Daxia" here seems to be on the northern steppes of China. Also, based on the record of Ptolemy, it can be inferred that there were still remnants of the Daxia in the Hexi region down to his time. Cf. Note [19].
25. English translation of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, including the identical passages in the *Shiji*, used here, based on Hulswé & Loewe, with a few of my own changes.
26. Cf. Chapter III, VIII.
27. Richthofen, p. 440, Haloun (1937), Tarn (1951), pp. 263-287, Maenchen-Helfen, and Shiratori (1941-3), pp.120-288, all suggest that the Tochari recorded by Strabo must have been identical with the Da Yuezhi. Therefore, these scholars believe that Bactria had been conquered only once, that was, by the Da Yuezhi, but not first by the Tochari and then by the Da Yuezhi. I disagree. Not only because "Daxia" cannot be taken as a transcription of "Bactria", and "Yuezhi" cannot be taken as a transcription of "Tochari", but also in both the *Shiji*, ch. 123 and the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, it is recorded that the state of Daxia "had no major overlord or chief, and minor chiefs were frequently established in the towns", which was not characteristic of the Hellenic Kingdom of Bactria. Since "Daxia" can be taken as an exact transcription of the "Tochari", the Hellenic Kingdom of Bactria had been destroyed by the Tochari and other tribes, then the Daxia who were conquered by the Da Yuezhi must have been the Tochari and other tribes who had destroyed the Hellenic Kingdom of Bactria. Cf. Enoki (1959).
28. Cf. Tarn (1951), pp. 283-287, 533; Narain, p. 141; Hamby, p. 40.
29. Cf. Chapter III, VII.
30. Cited by Tarn (1951), p. 286; Narain, p. 129. Tarn suggests that "Asii", whose adjectival form was "Asiani", may have been identical with "Kushān". I disagree.
31. Ptolemy records that the Tochari were "a great race" in Bactriana (VI, 11) and also that there were Tochari in Sogdiana (VI,12).
32. Maenchen-Helfen believes that the Tochari who destroyed the Hellenic Kingdom of Bactria must have been identical with the Yuezhi, namely, the Kushāns. Thus he explains the fragments of *Trogus Prologus* and says that the Yuezhi (the Kushāns) had possibly been the lords of the Tochari in the east and later, on the trek to Bactria or in Bactria, were supplanted

- by the Asii; or perhaps there was only one dominant group, the Kusha-Asii, throughout the centuries of Yuezhi history. In my opinion, Maenchen-Helfen's theory is unconvincing. First, as mentioned above, the Tochari were not the Yuezhi. Second, the name of the Yuezhi was the same as that of the Kushāns, but they migrated in different directions from the same origin, we must not equate them both. In the Chinese sources it is clearly recorded that "Guishuang" (Kushān) was one of the five Xihou of the Daxia, and the Xihou of Guishuang was obviously not Da Yuezhi who conquered the Daxia. Third, since Herodotus called the tribes who lived in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu "Issedones", the dominant position of the Asii may date from the end of the 7th century B.C. The Chinese called Bactria (which had been occupied by the Asii and other tribes) "Daxia", probably because the Tochari occupied the dominant position at that time. However, the Guishuang (the Gasiani) had not occupied the dominant position until they conquered the Da Yuezhi.
33. Tarn (1951), p.296, suggests that the Daxia Zhang Qian had seen were communities of unwarlike traders living in walled towns and were obviously not the Tochari. I disagree. At the time when Zhang Qian visited the Da Yuezhi, the Da Yuezhi had occupied Tukharestan only a short while earlier, but their settling and farming had already begun to show some visible results. The Asii, the Tochari, and others had occupied Tukharestan for about ten years until Zhang Qian arrived there. Therefore, it was not at all surprising that they had settled down and gone in for agriculture so that their troops were weak and afraid of fighting.
 34. See Specht. Tarn (1951), p. 115, suggests that "Lanshi" may have been identical with Alexandria. On the location of Lanshi, there are also various theories; for example: Puṣ kalāvātī theory, see Levy; Badhakhsan theory, see Chavannes (1907); and Khulm theory, see Pulleyblank (1962), p. 122; etc. I consider all of them unconvincing.
 35. The five Xihou do not occur in the *Shiji*, ch. 123, which seems to show that they did not yet exist when the Da Yuezhi entered "the land of the Daxia". However we should not infer that the five Xihou were not the Da Yuezhi people or the "minor chiefs" in the former Daxia, because it was very likely that the Da Yuezhi extended progressively to the east of Tukharestan after they had occupied Bactria and its surrounding regions, and ruled over there by propping up the Daxia or the former "minor chiefs". Therefore, the fact that the five Xihou is not recorded in the *Shiji* at most shows that the five Xihou who acknowledged to the Da Yuezhi had not appeared at that time. Also, Pulleyblank (1968), suggests that the passage concerning the five Xihou in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96 was interpolated on the basis of information, dating from A.D. 74/75, given by Ban Chao 班超 after this chapter had been composed. But it is very hard to believe the information in the Eastern times was inserted into the *Hanshu*.
 36. Nomadic tribes used to rule an agricultural area by propping up the puppet regime of the original inhabitants after having entered their lands. Similar patterns occurred repeatedly in the Xiongnu, the Yeda (the Hephthalites), the Türks, and other tribes. Cf. Yu, T. (1986), pp.129-142.
 37. Cf. Markwart (1901), pp. 223-225, 242-243; Shiratori (1941-3). Markwart suggests that "Jiabei" was a transcription of "Xiumi". However, Shiratori suggests that "Jiabei" should be inverted as "Bei-jia" 倍伽, which was a transcription of "Bohe". In my opinion, the theories are acceptable. Also, "Jumi 居密" and "Jiumotuo 久未随" in the *Weishu*, ch. 9, which may be identified with "Jumituo 拘謎陀" in the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 1, were not identical with "Humi", "Humidan" or "Bohe". Uchida (1972:1), suggests that "Jiabei" must have been identical with "Jumituo" and was an inexact transcription of "Kala-i-khum", the key city of Darwāz. I think that his theory seems to be incorrect.
 38. Cf. Markwart (1901), pp.243-244; Shiratori (1941-3). Also, Cen (1958-2), suggests that Shemi or Shuangmi must have been situated the present Chitral. In my opinion, if we follow the record of the *Weishu*, the seat of the government of the Xihou of Shuangmi would be situated at Mastuj. Shemi (舍彌, 賒彌) in the Northern Wei times or Shuangmi in the Tang times were possibly contained within Chitral. Because of this, the *Weishu*, ch. 102, only calls "Zhexuemosun" "the former Xihou of Shuangmi", but there was also the state of Shemi in the same chapter. Also, Uchida (1972:1) suggests that since Zhexuemosun was to

- the west of Jiabei, it should be placed in the valley of the River Wakhsh ab (Kurghan Tiube) and be identified with "Huosha" (鍍沙, Wakhsh) in the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 1, and Baḫṣu in the Arabian Geographies. "Mosun" may have been a transcription of "Wakhas ab", while "Zhexue" may have been a transcription of "Sučakṣu" in the *Rāmāyāna*. In my opinion, some nouns of locality used in the *Weishu*, ch. 102, may be wrong. Uchida's theory is not necessarily correct.
39. Cf. Markwart (1901), pp. 245-246; Shiratori (1941-3). The former suggests that Qiandun was situated between the Rivers Kunar and Paṅsir. This seems to be wrong. Also, Cen (1981), pp. 223-224, suggests that "Huzao" may be identified with Kunduz. In my opinion, Kunduz was not situated in the mountain valleys. The theory of Cen disregards the records of the *Weishu*, thus it is incorrect. Also, Pulleyblank (1962), p. 222, suggests that "Huzao" was a transcription of "Waxšab". His theory seems to be incorrect as well.
 40. Cf. Markwart (1901), pp. 279; Shiratori (1941-3). The former suggests that "Bomao" may have been a transcription of "Bāmijān". In my opinion, this seems to be wrong, because all the names of the five Xihou were the same as that of the seats of their governments without exception. Cen (1981), p.224, suggests that "Bo(di)[mao]" must have been a transcription of "Baḫḍi". In my opinion, this theory is also unconvincing. Baḫḍi was the royal government of the Da Yuezhi, thus it seems to be impossible that the Xihou was established there. In addition, Baḫḍi was not situated in mountain valleys as described in the *Weishu*, ch. 102. In the *Liangshu*, ch. 54, it is recorded: "The state of Baiti 白題, whose king is surmamed Zhi 支 and named Shiji 史稽毅 is situated to the east of Hua; (the state of the Hephthalites). After a journey of 6 days from Hua, to the west one reaches as far as Bosi (Persia). 今在滑國東, 去滑六日行, 西極波斯." Cen (1958-1), believes that the state of Baiti must have been situated to the west of Hua, and "Baiti" may be identified with Bakhdi. His theory is premised on the grounds that the above-cited statement should be corrected to "[the state of Baiti] is situated to the [west] of Hua. To the east one reaches Hua after a journey of 6 days, to the west goes as far as Bosi." 今在滑國[西], 東去滑六日行, 西極波斯. In my opinion, his theory is unconvincing. The statement "to the west one reaches as far as Bosi" refers to "one goes west and reaches Bosi from Hua", but not to "the state of Baiti is situated between Hua and Bosi."
 41. Cf. Markwart (1901), pp. 246-248. Shiratori (1941-3). The former suggests that "Yanfuye" must have been a transcription of "Gandhāra", and "Gaofu" must have been identical with Kabul, the state of Gaofu in the Han times that included Gandhāra. His theory is, as Shiratori pointed out, not unconvincing. Also, Cen (1981), pp. 224-225, believes that the Xihou of Gaofu was situated at Kabul, which was once occupied by the Yuezhi when they defeated the Daxia, but was soon given up, so it does not occur in the *Houhanshu*. In my opinion, Cen's theory is unconvincing, because he disregards the statement "the people dwell in the mountain valleys" and compromises the records of the *Hanshu* and the *Houhanshu*.
 42. English translation by Zürcher.
 43. Cf. Shiratori (1941-5).
 44. Cf. Pulleyblank (1962), p. 124.
 45. Cen (1981), p. 220, believes that "Dumi" must have been identical with "Tiemen" (鐵門, Dar-i Āhanīn). In my opinion, his theory is unconvincing. Tiemen was a mountain pass, the seat of the government of Xihou of Dumi would not likely have been established there.
 46. In the West, the first scholar who pointed out that the Guishuang Kingdom was established by the Yuezhi seems to be Deguignes. However, he did not study the firsthand Chinese sources intensively, but only based his opinion on secondhand sources such as the *Wenxian Tongkao* 文獻通考. Therefore, his conclusion was of an intuitive quality, to a great extent. The historical circles in the West did not start to research the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu*, until the 1880s. In regard to the founder of the Guishuang Kingdom, they generally believe the seemingly clearer record in the *Houhanshu*, and have never made a through study in the light of the record of the *Hanshu*. Only in the early years of this century did the Japanese scholar, Kuwabara (1934-1), first raise an objection. He proceeded from studying the relevant record of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, and suggested a new theory: The Guishuang Kingdom's

- founder was the Daxia. After that, some scholars such as Haneda (1967-1), Konow (1934) and Pelliot all believed this new theory. However, some scholars still held to the old theory. For example: Maenchen-Helfen and Uchida (1972:2). Recently, Egami (1987), ch. 3, reiterated old theory from new angles.
47. For example: Maenchen-Helfen suggests that it is by no means self-evident that the earlier source is the more trustworthy, only that it is earlier. In one point, at least, the authors of the *Houhanshu* were better informed than Ban Gu was. Ban Gu numbered Gaofu as one of the five Xihou. The *Houhanshu* corrected this mistake.
 48. See Kuwabara (1934-1), pp.1-117. I think that this theory is unconvincing. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded: "Kangju has five lesser kings. The first is entitled the Suxie 蘇解 king.... The second is entitled the Fumo 附墨. The third is entitled the Yuni 罽匿 king.... The fourth is entitled the Ji 罽 king.... The fifth is entitled the Aojian 奧鞬 king.... All the five kings are subject to the Kangju." The type of writing of the passage is the same as that concerning the Da Yuezhi.
 49. Maenchen-Helfen suggests that the character of "原 (originally)" in the statement of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, "originally the Daxia had no major overlord or chiefs" was added by Ban Gu, because it was missing in the parallel passage in the *Shiji*, ch. 123. This shows that "the major overlord of chiefs", namely the five Xihou occurred after the Daxia had been conquered by the Da Yuesi. In my opinion, this is unconvincing, because the five Xihou could not be taken as great overlords. In the *Hanshu* the word "originally" was added in order to show that there was a great overlord, namely, the king of the Da Yuezhi in the land of the Daxia at the time.
 50. Egami (1987), pp. 242-243, suggests that Ban Gu cited the record concerning the Daxia in the *Shiji* and inserted it into the *Hanshu* carelessly, with the result that the record concerning the Da Yuezhi is cut apart. Before the statement "they provide supplies for Han envoys. There are five Xihou", there should be an account that the Da Yuezhi and Han exchanged envoys. But it is missing. So that the statement cannot connect with the citation concerning "originally the Daxia had no major overlord or chiefs.... They made them all their subjects". In my opinion, this shows that Egami himself has discovered that if the five Xihou are understood as the Da Yuezhi, then the context is destroyed, which proves precisely, from the obverse side, that the statement that "there are five Xihou" can only be read as "there are five Xihou [in the state of Daxia]." The passage concerning "originally Daxia had no major overlord and chiefs..." in the *Hanshu* was cited from the *Shiji*, but, it had once been cited, once it become an organic part of the text of the *Hanshu*, and should not be taken as the text of the *Shiji* any more. Thus we should not sever the context while we try to understand it. As for the statement "all the five Xihou are subject to the Da Yuezhi", it shows precisely that all the five Xihou were not Da Yuezhi, even if as Egami said, the original text should be read as "subject to [the king of] the Da Yuezhi."
 51. For example: Kuwabara (1934-1) suggests that the *Houhanshu* unconsciously changed the original intention when it abridged the *Hanshu*. He based his argument on the record of the *Hanji* 漢紀 of Xun Yue 荀悅 "Originally, Daxia had no major overlord and chiefs, and minor chiefs were frequently established. There are five Xihou...". I think that the *Houhanshu's* editor did not necessarily misread the *Hanshu*. Kuwabara's theory is unconvincing.
 52. Egami (1987), pp. 244-245.
 53. Uchida (1972:2).
 54. "Puda" must have been identical with "Putiao 撲挑" of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A. According to the *Hanshu*, the State of Wuyishanli "adjoins Jibin in the east, Putiao in the north, and Lijian 犁鞬 and Tiaozhi in the west." This shows that Putiao must have been identical with Bactria. The theory that Puda was identical with Bactria was first suggested by Chavannes (1905). Shiratori (1941-5), pp.377-462, considers that this theory is unconvincing. His only evidence is that "Da Yuezhi" and "Putiao" are juxtaposed in the text. In my opinion, Shiratori's theory is incorrect. In the *Hanshu*, "Da Yuezhi" refers to a political entity, and "Putiao", a place name. One must not equate the two. Furthermore, the territory of the Da Yuezhi did not just include Puda (Bactria). Also, Shiratori suggests that "Puda" must have

been identical with Kabul while denying "Puda" was a transcription of "Bactria". In my opinion, "Kabul" was translated into "Gaofu" in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 118. The chapter states that Qiujiuque, the Xihou of Guishuang, "took the country of Gaofu, and moreover, destroyed Puda". This shows that "Puda" was not Kabul. Shiratori distorts the meaning, and his theory is also unconvincing. Also, Markwart (1905), p. 175, suggests that "Puda" must have been identical with "Paktues" of Herodotus (VII, 67). Pulleyblank (1962), p.101 suggests that "Puda" must have been identical with Pushkalāvati. But neither of them offer sufficient evidences for their proposals.

55. Yu, T. (1986-1).
56. Yu, T. (1986), pp. 66-75.
57. It seemed that not all of the Asii, the Tochari, and other tribes had left "the land of the Sai", namely the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu: "Tagurei" recorded by Ptolemy (VI,14) may be taken as evidence. Cf. Tarn (1951), pp. 516-517.
58. Cf. chapter IV.
59. The "Yanqi"- "Asii" identity is based on Müller. A middle Persian form of "Yanqi" was "Ark", which also occurs as "Argi" in the documents from Niya. Cf. Henning (1938). Argi (Ark) may be identified as Arsi (Asii) because [gi(ki)] may be palatalized to [si]. "Yuanqu" [*hiuan-gia*], the name of the royal government of Yanqi in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, may be a transcription of Argi (Ark). Cf. Wang, Ch. Also, "Issedones" may be identified as "Yixun". Cf. Enoki (1972). Enoki's error is to combine the Issedones as described by Ptolemy and by Herodotus, ignoring the time differences. Cen (1981), pp. 12-13, suggests that Yixun, whose name had been famous in the West during the Spring and Autumn Period, must have been Issedones as described by Herodotus. His theory is also unconvincing.
60. Maenchen-Helfen suggests that "Qiuci" etc. were transcriptions of "Yuezhi". His error is to equate "Qiuci", "Guishuang" and "Yuezhi" completely.
61. See Note [23].
62. Cen (1981), p. 65, suggests that "Qule" must have been a transcription of "Thogara" as described by Ptolemy (VI,16). I think that this is a specious argument. Also, Huang, W. (1981-3), points out that, according to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, the king of Ruoqiang 婁羌 is entitled Quhulai 去胡來. "Quhulai" might be taken as a transcription of "Tochari". In my opinion, his theory seems to be correct. However, it is impossible to infer that the Tochari were Qiang from this, because the possibility cannot be ruled out that the ruling class was the Tochari, and the ruled class was the Qiang in the state of Ruoqiang.
63. Cf. Xu.
64. Wang (1959-1), points out that in the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, ch. 198, the great desert which was to the east of Yutain is called "Tulun 圖倫 Desert", "Tulun" also may be taken as a transcription of "Tochari".
65. Cf. chapter I.
66. Wang (1959-1), and Huang, W. all suggest that the Tukhāra migrated west by way of the Southern Route in the Western Regions.
67. Cf. Ma & Wang. Also, On the Pazyryk graves, see Rudenko.
68. Maenchen-Helfen and Huang 1981, pp. 54-72, 114-116 and both hold to this theory. Also, Haloun, G. 1937, suggests that the Yanqi and the Qiuci people were descendants of the Yuezhi (i.e., Tochari) who left their remnants at the two points when they migrated west.
69. In the Sogdian version of the Karabalgasun inscription, "Yanqi" is called "Four Toxri", which also may be taken as evidence. Cf. Huang (1985).
70. Cf. Huang (1981).
71. Cf. chapter VII.
72. Huang (1981), believes that deep-set eyes, moustaches and beards were outstanding physical characteristics of the Türkic tribes. In my opinion, his theory is unconvincing.
73. Kennedy and others suggest that the features of the Kushān kings on their coins have Mongoloid characteristics. Therefore, the Kushāns and even the Daxia (or the Da Yuezhi) all were Mongoloid. In my opinion, even if these scholars' impression concerning the features of the Kushān kings are correct, it is impossible to deny that the Daxia (or the Da Yuezhi)

were Europoid, because, as far as physical characteristics are concerned, pure types were rarely found, but varieties in varying degrees used to appear.

74. For example: Frank, p. 44.
75. Bailey (1985), p. 130.
76. "The former land of the Tuhuoluo" which Xuan Zang had passed when he returned by way of the Southern Route of the Western Regions was translated into "Toχri" in the Uigur version of "*Xuan Zang's Life*", Vol. 5. Cf. Huang (1984).
77. Henning (1938), suggests that in Uyyur which, as a rule, closely follows Sogdian in matters of orthography the name of Bactria would be written 'tʃw'ry or tʃwry. Moreover, the Sogdian form corresponding to Uyyur tʃwry is attested in Sogdian version of the Karabalgasun inscription, in the identical spelling tʃw'r'k: it is flatly impossible that 'tʃw'r'k and tʃw'r'k represented one and the same name. In my opinion, Henning's theory is unconvincing. The name of tʃwry should be taken from the inhabitants in the Tarim Basin by the Uigurs. The Uigurs had known tʃwry (Toχri) and "Tuhuoluo" referred to by Xuan Zang represented one and the same name, but did not know the relationship between tʃwry (Toχri) and Bactria. In short, it is not surprising at all to use different transcriptions. As mentioned above, the Tochari in Bactria and in the Tarim Basin went in different directions from the same origin. Therefore, they may have different pronunciations for "Tochari".
78. No evidence shows that the original languages of the Asii, the Tochari, and other tribes were all centum languages. In other words, one cannot rule out the possibility that there was also a group who spoke satem languages among them. The fact that the languages of the Sakās in various areas were different seems to have been due to internal influence, not only external influence.
79. Cf. Maricq (1958 and 1960); Henning (1960), etc.
80. Cf. Ji (1985), pp. 972, 981.
81. In regard to the arguments on the name of the "Tokharian", Cf. Krause, pp. 5-8, Ji (1982), and Zhang & Geng.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the efficient operation of any organization and for the protection of its assets.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and techniques used to collect and analyze data. It includes a detailed description of the experimental procedures followed, as well as the results obtained from the various tests and measurements.

3. The third part of the document presents a comprehensive analysis of the data collected. It discusses the various factors that influence the results and provides a detailed explanation of the observed trends and patterns. The analysis also includes a comparison of the results with those obtained from previous studies.

4. The fourth part of the document concludes the study and provides a summary of the findings. It highlights the key points of the research and discusses the implications of the results for future work in the field. The document also includes a list of references and a table of contents.

CHAPTER 3 THE DA YUEZHI

(A)

The Yuezhi 月氏, the predecessor of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 (the Great Yuezhi), are also noted as "Yu-zhi" 禺知 [*ngio-tie*], "Yu-zhi" 禺氏 [*ngio-tjie*] and "Niu-shi" 牛氏 [*ngiu-tjie*] etc. in the pre-Qin 秦 books and records. These were all different transcriptions of one and the same name.^[1]

In the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* 穆天子傳, ch. 1, it is recorded: "On the day Jiawu 甲午, the Son of Heaven crossed the steep slope of Yu 隃 [Mountain]; on the day Jihai 己亥, he arrived in the vast plain of the Yanju 焉居 and the Yuzhi." According to the commentary of Guo Pu 郭璞, the "steep slope of Yu" seems to refer to "the Western Yu Mountain of the Northern Ling 北陵. The Western Yu Mountain is Yanmen 雁門 Mountain."

If this is true, "the vast plain of the Yanju and the Yuzhi" where the Son of Heaven reached on the day of Jihai would lie to the north of Hetao 河套. This record, which is the earliest one, has described the situation of the Yuezhi before the late 7th century B.C.^[2]

In addition, the Yuezhi were listed among the tribes "in the due north" by the "Yiyin Chaoxianpian" 伊尹朝獻篇 (Yiyin's Discourse on Paying Tribute) attached to the "Wanghuipian" 王會篇 of the *Yizhoushu* 逸周書. It has been suggested that the Yuzhi here lived to the east of Hetao, to the northwest of Yanmen Mountain, since this chapter was completed during the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.).^[3]

In my opinion, if the Yuezhi recorded by the "Yiyin Chaoxianpian" were indeed the Yuezhi who lived during the Warring States Period, their territory should be located to the west of Hetao. The region from the east of Hetao to Yanmen had belonged to the Xiongnu at that time. This can be understood from the early relationship between the Yuezhi and the Xiongnu, as recorded by the *Shiji* 史記 and the others.

The nomadic tribes, such as the Yuezhi and the Xiongnu, who are "in the due north" as listed by the "Chaoxianpian" numbered thirteen. It is impossible that all of them lived in the region from the east of Hetao to the northwest of Yanmen. In other words, the locations of their territories could not be decided only from "in the due north". The statement "in the due north" only refers generally to "in the north of China".

Moreover, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the data upon which "Chaoxianpian" was based belonged to the Spring and Autumn Period, even if this chapter had really been completed during the Warring States Period. In other words, the Yuezhi here were probably those who lived during the Spring and Autumn Period, and the location of their territory may have been the same as recorded by the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*.

In the "Qingzhong Yipian" 輕重乙篇 of the *Guanzi* 管子 it is recorded: "Jade originates from the mountains nearby the Yuzhi." The identical record occurs also in the "Guoxupian" 國蓄篇, the "Dishupian" 地數篇 and the "Kuiduopian" 揆度篇 of the same book. ("Yuzhi" is noted as "Niushi" in the Dishu pian) In the "Qingzhong Jiapian" 輕重甲篇 of the same book it is also recorded:

If what is valued at no less than one thousand pieces of gold are white jade discs, then we should be able to persuade the Yuezhi, who are at a distance of 8,000 li, to present tribute. If clasps and earrings worth no less than one thousand pieces of gold are made from *qiulin* 璆琳 (a kind of beautiful jade) or *langgan* 琅玕 (a kind of white carnelian), then we should be able to cause the Kunlun Hills 昆侖之虛, which are at a distance of 8,000 li, to present tribute.

The "Qingzhong Yipian" records also: "Jade originates from the mountains nearby the Yuzhi, which are a distance of 7,000 li from Zhou 周." Thus it can be seen that the mountains nearby the Yuzhi (i.e. the Yuezhi) produced jade, and the mountains were the so-called Kunlun Hills. The Hills and the Yuezhi were at approximately equal distances from the capital of Zhou. Both *qiulin* and *langgan* produced there were beautiful jade. Probably because the Yuezhi once monopolized the jade trade, jade from there was named "jade of the Yuzhi" (see the "Kuiduopian" of the *Guanzi*).^[4] The Kunlun Hills here may have referred to the Altai Mountains. Therefore, the Yuezhi had already expanded their power as far as the eastern end of the Altai Mountains at the time described by the *Guanzi*.^[5]

In sum, the above-cited pre-Qin records show that the Yuezhi had expanded their sphere of influence as far as the north of Hetao in the east and the eastern end of the Altai Mountains in the West.

(B)

In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded: "Originally, the Yuezhi dwelt between Dunhuang 敦煌 and Qilian 祁連." There is the identical record in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A.

"Dunhuang" here is generally believed to refer to the prefecture of Dunhuang in Han times. The seat of the government was situated to the west of the present Dunhuang.^[6] However, it must be pointed out that the information concerning the former land of the Yuezhi came from Zhang Qian's 張騫 report for Emperor Wu 武帝 (140-87 B.C.) in 126 B.C.^[7], when he returned after his mission to the Da Yuezhi. It is very evident that Zhang Qian could not have marked the former land of the Yuezhi based on the prefecture of Dunhuang or the seat of its government, because the prefecture of Dunhuang had not been established at that time.^[8] "Dunhuang", the place name did not occur in the books before Han times. The name did not exist until Emperor Wu divided the territory of the prefecture of Jiuquan 酒泉 to established new prefectures in the 6th year of the reign period Yuanding (111 B.C.). In other words, Zhang Qian did not use the name "Dunhuang" when he reported the location of the former land of the Yuezhi to Emperor Wu, but used an old place name whose geographical location roughly corresponded to that of the later prefecture of Dunhuang. The reason why the name "Dunhuang" occurs in Zhang Qian's report concerning the

former land of the Yuezhi is probably that Sima Qian 司馬遷, the editor of the *Shiji*, used the new name to replace the old one.

As for the old place name that Zhang Qian could use in his original report, I believe that it might have been "Dunhong 敦蕩" which occurs in the "Beishanjing" 北山經 of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經. "Dunhuang" in the statement "between Dunhuang and Qilian" may refer to "the Dunhong Mountains", the present Qilian Mountains.^[9]

On the identity of the "Qilian", there have been two hypotheses: a) the present Qilian Mountains,^[10] and b) the present Tian Mountains.^[11] In my opinion, since "Dunhuang" (i.e. the Dunhong Mountains) which were used by Zhang Qian to mark the former land of the Yuezhi, refers to the present Qilian Mountains, the "Qilian" which was used to mark the former land of the Yuezhi would not refer to the present Qilian Mountains.

The evidence to prove that the "Qilian" in Han times were the present Qilian Mountains is as follows:

1. In the *Shiji*, ch. 110, It is recorded that in the summer of the second year of the reign period Yuanshou 元狩 (121 B.C.):

The Biaoqi 驃騎 general [Huo Qubing], with the Marquis of Heqi 合騎, set out from Longxi 隴西^[12] and Beidi 北地 [prefectures], rode a distance of 2,000 *li* and attacked the Xiongnu. They crossed the Juyan 居延 [Marsh] and attacked the Qilian Mountains. The number of Hu 胡 (i.e. the Xiongnu) killed or captured exceeded 3,000, including over 70 who were chiefs of dependencies, petty chiefs, or officers of lesser rank.

"Juyan" here refers to the Juyan Marsh, since the same chapter says: "[Han] sent Commandant of Qiangnu 强弩, Lu Bode 路博德, to build [fortifications] by the Juyan Marsh." The marsh was situated on the north of the present Edsin Banner in Inner Mongolia.^[13] Thus it can be seen that the target of Huo Qubing 霍去病 was the eastern end of the present Tian Mountains. If the "Qilian Mountains" he attacked were the present Qilian Mountains, he would not march by the roundabout route which passed the Juyan Marsh.^[14]

2. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 55, it is recorded:

[In the 2nd year of the reign period Yuanshou Emperor Wu issued this decree:] General of Piaoqi waded across the Junqi 鈞耆 [River], crossed the Juyan [Marsh], arrived thereupon [the territory of] the Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏 (the Little Yuezhi), and attacked the Qilian Mountains, paraded military prowess at Luode 鱒得, captured the Danhuan 單桓 king and the Qiutu 酋塗 king of the Chanyu 單于. ...Increase to Qubing's grant to the earned emoluments from 5,400 households. Give the colonels who have arrived at [the land of] the Xiao Yuezhi following [Qubing] nobilities of the Left Shuzhang 左庶長.

According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, The Yuezhi were driven off by the Xiongnu and went far away, "their small remnants, who were unable to leave sought protection among the Qiang 羌 tribes of the Southern Mountains and were termed the Xiao Yuezhi."^[15] The Southern Mountains here refer to the Kara Koran Mountains, the Kunlun Mountains and the Ältyñ Tagh. The evidence is the reference of the *Hanshu*,

ch. 61: Zhang Qian returned from the Western Regions "making his way along the Southern Mountains, as he wished to go back by way of the Qiang." However, the Xiao Yuezhi the decree of Emperor Wu referred to must have been the remnants who were left at the eastern end of the Tian Mountains when the Da Yuezhi migrated west. Probably because they were on the route that Qubing took when he "attacked the Qilian mountains", the Han troops first "arrived at [the territory of] the Xiao Yuezhi".

It has been believed that since the "Southern Mountains" where the Xiao Yuezhi sought protection were the present Qilian Mountains, the Qilian Mountains where Qubing attacked after he had arrived at the territory of the Xiao Yuezhi must have been the present Qilian Mountains.^[16]

In my opinion, the present Qilian Mountains were also termed "the Southern Mountains" in the Han times. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

The Hunxie 渾邪 King surrendered to Han with his community. [The prefecture] of Jincheng 金城 and the west of the Hexi region as far as the Salt Marsh 鹽澤 along the Southern Mountains was empty and without the Xiongnu.

But the Southern Mountains where the Xiao Yuezhi "sought protection" seems to refer to the Southern Mountains in the Western Regions, because the present Qilian Mountains had been under the direct control of the Xiongnu at the time, and the Xiao Yuezhi found it consequently difficult to take a shelter in this area. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 69, it is recorded: "The Langhe 狼何, a kind of the Xiao Yuezhi, lived at a distance of 1,000 *li* to the south-west of the Yang barrier." In the "Xirongzhuàn" 西戎傳 of the *Weilue* 魏略 it is recorded: "There are remnants of the Yuezhi in the prefecture of Dunhuang and in the Southern Mountains of the Western Regions, covering several thousand *li* from the Ruo Qiang 婁羌 as far as the Congling 葱嶺." These citations can all be taken as evidence for the location of the Yuezhi. If the Xiao Yuezhi were really in the present Qilian Mountains, would the colonels who arrived at their territory all have been given noble titles of the Left Shuzhang?

In addition, "Danhuan" is the name of a state in the Western Regions. According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, the state was situated at the eastern end of the Tian Mountains. The Danhuan king of the Chanyu whom Qubing captured must have been a minor king who was established in the state of Danhuan by the Xiongnu. This can also be taken as an evidence to prove the Qilian Mountains where Qubing attacked must have been the present Tian Mountains.^[17]

Moreover, according to Zhengshi's 鄭氏 commentary, "Luode was a county in the prefecture of Zhangye." However, Yan Shigu 顏師古 says: "Zheng's opinion is wrong. "Luode" here was a place name in the territory of the Xiongnu, and a county in the prefecture of Zhangye 張掖 was named after it later." I think Yan's view is correct. The prefecture of Zhangye had not yet been established, so how could there be the county of Luode? Therefore, the area where Qubing paraded his military power must not have been to the north of the present Qilian Mountains, but near the present Tian Mountains.

3. In the *Shiji*, ch. 109, it is recorded:

In the autumn of the 2nd year of the reign period Tianhan 天漢 (i.e. 99 B.C.), General of Ershi 貳師, Li Guangli 李廣利, took command of a force,

which consisted of 3,000 cavalry, and attacked the Right Xian King 右賢王 of the Xiongnu in the Qilian-Tian Mountains.

And in the *Hanshu*, ch. 94A, it is recorded: "In the 2nd year of the reign period Tianhan, Ershi took command of a force, which consisted of 3,000 cavalry, set out from Jiuquan and attacked the Right Xian King in the Tian Mountains." These quotations show that the Tian Mountains in Han times were also termed the Qilian-Tian Mountains.^[18]

In addition, in the "Zhuqin pian" 誅秦篇 of the *Yantielun* 鹽鐵論, it is recorded:

Consequently, the late Emperor dispatched the righteous army to campaign against their crimes, ...then attacked and defeated [them in] the Qilian-Tian Mountains. ...Hunxie 渾邪 surrendered [to the Han] with his community.

The event mentioned exactly matches Qubing's attack against the Xiongnu in 121 B.C. This shows that the Qilian Mountains in Han times was also termed the Qilian-Tian Mountains.

Since both the Tian Mountains and the Qilian Mountains in the Han times were termed the Qilian-Tian Mountains, the Tian Mountains must have been the Qilian Mountains in the Han times. Since General Ershi started from Jiuquan, it is beyond doubt where he attacked must have been the present Tian Mountains.^[19] Thus it can be seen that both the Tian Mountains and the Qilian Mountains in the Han times refer to the present Tian Mountains.^[20]

4. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 8, it is recorded:

[In the 2nd year of the reign period Benshi 本始 (i.e. 72 B.C.), Han] appointed Yushi Dafu 御史大夫, Tian Guangming 田廣明, to be General of Qilian; Later General 後將軍, Zhao Chongguo 趙充國 to be General of Pulei 蒲類.... The five generals, taking command of a force which amounted to 150,000 cavalry, and Chang Hui 常惠, a colonel, who was sent with emblems of authority to act as protector of the forces of the Wusun 烏孫, all attacked the Xiongnu.

"Qilian" here also refers to the present Tian Mountains, because the titles of generals, such as "Pulei" and "Qilian" as well as "Ershi" were all established according to the target of attack. During the reign period of Emperor Xuan 宣帝, the present Qilian Mountains region had already established prefectures. If "Qilian" referred to the present Qilian Mountains, Tian Guangming would not have been appointed to be General of Qilian.^[21]

5. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 100B, it is recorded:

Make horses drink of water in Hanhai 翰海 (i.e. the Gobi Desert), heap up earth on the top of Langjuxu 狼居胥 Mountain (a grand ceremony of worship of Heaven on a mountain top for peace or prosperity), gaze westerly at the Great River (i.e. Yellow River), form a line of prefectures as far as the Qilian [Mountains]. Mention the 25th biography of Wei Qing 衛青 and Huo Qubing.

The statement "form a line of prefectures as far as the Qilian Mountains" must refer to the western border of the four prefectures in the Hexi Region which presses on the eastern end of the present Tian Mountains. If the "Qilian" here is taken as the present Qilian Mountains, the exploits of Wei and Huo would be belittled.^[22]

In sum, the former land of the Yuezhi described in the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu*, or, to be more exact, the nomadic sphere of the Yuezhi before they migrated to "the land of the Sai", lay in the region from north of the present Qilian Mountains to the eastern end of the present Tian Mountains and the Altai Mountains. From the nomadic sphere of the Yuezhi described by the pre-Qin books and the record in the *Shiji*, ch. 110, which relates that the Xiongnu's "kings and generals on the Right lived in the west, and their territory extended westwards just from the prefecture of Shang 上 and adjoined the Yuezhi, the Di 氐 and the Qiang", and for them are that, after Chanyu Modu 冒頓 had "attacked the Yuezhi and drove them away in the west, he swallowed up the territories of the Loufan 樓煩, the Bai Yang 白羊 and the Henan King 河南" in the *Shiji*, ch. 110, it can be seen that the sphere of influence of the Yuezhi had expanded east as far as inside and outside of Hetao.

(C)

Later, the Yuezhi were defeated by the Xiongnu and gave up their former land and migrated west to the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu. On the date of this migration, there have been two opinions: a) during the reign period of Chanyu Modu, b) the reign period of Chanyu Laoshang 老上. The former may further be divided into two: a) the end of the 3rd century B.C., b) 177/176 B.C. I think that the Yuezhi gave up their former land and moved to the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu in 177/176 B.C.^[23]

1. In the *Shiji*, ch. 110, it is recorded: In the 4th year of the Former reign period of Emperor Wen 文帝 (i.e. 176 B.C.), Chanyu Modu presented a letter to Han, which said:

At present, because my officials have violated the agreement, I punished the Right Xian King, and made him march west and seek the Yuezhi to attack them. With the aid of Heaven's blessing, superior officials and soldiers, and strong horses, [the king] exterminated the Yuezhi, the whole lot having been wiped out, suppressed, and put down. Loulan 樓蘭, Wusun, Hujie 呼揭, and their nearby 26 states have become the territory of the Xiongnu.^[24]

The identical record occurs also in the *Hanshu*, ch. 94A. The former land of the Wusun lay to the west of the present Dunhuang, to the east of the Tian Mountains, and was possibly near Yiwu 伊吾.^[25] The Hujie lived in the southern foothills of the Altai Mountains.^[26] The "26 states 二十六國" is a textual error for "36 states 三十六國", which refers to the so-called "36 states in the Western Regions".^[27] These states had undoubtedly been subject to the Yuezhi before they were conquered by the Xiongnu. Their being conquered shows that there were no places for the Yuezhi in society in the former land of the Yuezhi. Therefore, the Yuezhi must have migrated west at the time.^[28]

2. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 94A, it is recorded: "[Modu] attacked the Yuezhi and drove them away in the west, ...when Han had been resisting Xiang Yu 項羽." Based on this, it has been suggested that the Yuezhi must have migrated west at the end of the 3rd century B.C.

In my opinion, according to the *Hanshu*, ch. 61, the Nandoumi 難兜靡, the father of the Wusun's Kunmo 昆莫, was killed by the Yuezhi, when the Kunmo had just been born. Moreover, in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, it is recorded that during the reign period Yuanfeng 元封 of Emperor Wu (110-105 B.C.), Han sent the princess Xijun 緡君, daughter of Liu Jian 劉建, the king of Jiangdu 江都, to wed the Kunmo, at that time when Kunmo was "lao 老" (old). Since a man was "lao" at seventy, if we suppose Kunmo to be at the age of 70 (± 5) in the first year of Yuanfeng, the date of Kunmo's birth would have been between 185 and 175 B.C.^[29] In other words, the Yuezhi killed Nandoumi after Modu had attacked the Yuezhi and driven them away. Since in the *Hanshu*, ch. 61, it is also recorded: "Originally the Wusun had lived with the Da Yuezhi between Qilian and Dunhuang", the statement "Modu drove the Yuezhi away" can only be considered to be repulsing the power that the Yuezhi expanded east, but not showing that the Yuezhi had already given up their former land at the end of the 3rd century B.C.

3. In the *Xinshu* 新書, it is recorded: In the 8th year of the Former reign period of Emperor Wen (i.e. 172 B.C.),^[30] Jia Yi 賈誼 presented a memorial, which said:

...[We] must make the masses of the Xiongnu become the subjects of Han, control them and make 1,000 families turn into one state, arrange them to live beyond the frontier fortress, spreading from Longxi as far as Liaodong 遼東, taking possession of their own separate [pasture] land in order to defend the frontiers and to guard against the incidents of the Yuezhi and the Guanyu 灌淩, all to be subject to the established prefectures.

Based on this, it has been suggested that the Yuezhi had lived in their former land as late as the date when Jia Yi presented his memorial. In other words, they did not migrate west during the reign period of Modu.

However, the Yuezhi had never invaded the inland of China, so the Han had no need to guard against their incursions. If they had ever invaded, even after they had already migrated west, there would have been anxiety that they would stage a comeback, and the Han would have had to prepare for it. In fact, Jia Yi's memorial only conceived that the Xiongnu had already acknowledged submission to the Han, and Han had made them defend the frontiers, thus the Yuezhi were taken as an imaginary enemy state. Therefore, the record of the *Xinshu* cannot be taken as evidence to decide the date that the Yuezhi migrated west.^[31]

(D)

The Da Yuezhi who migrated west to the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu were driven off by the Wusun and moved farther west to the valley of the Amu Darya later. On this dating, there are also two theories: a) during the reign period of Chanyu Laoshang (174-161 B.C.) and b) reign period of Chanyu Junchen 軍臣 (161-126 B.C.).^[32] I think that the latter is correct.

1. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 61, it is recorded that Da Yuezhi were driven off by the Wusun, when the Kunmo of the Wusun was at the age of "zhuang 壯". Since a man was "zhuang" at thirty, if we suppose Kunmo to have been at the age of 30-50 when he drove the Da Yuezhi away, then, according to the date of Kunmo's birth (c.185-175 B.C.), the date that the Da Yuezhi gave up the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu must have been between 155 and 125 B.C. This was exactly the reign period of Chanyu Junchen.^[33]

2. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123 it is recorded:

Zhang Qian was a native of Hanzhong 漢中. During the reign period Jianyuan =(建元, 140-135 B.C.), he was a *lang* 郎[Gentleman-in-waiting]. At that time, the Son of Heaven made inquiries among the Xiongnu who had surrendered and they all reported that the Xiongnu had defeated the king of the Yuezhi and made a drinking-vessel out of his skull. The Yuezhi had fled and were furious with the Xiongnu, but had no ally to join them in attacking the Xiongnu. The Han, wishing to be engaged in wiping out the Hu, upon hearing of this report, desired to communicate [with the Yuezhi]; but the road passed through [the territory of] the Xiongnu, the Emperor recruited thereupon men who were able to undertake the mission. Zhang Qian, in his capacity as a *lang*, responded to the call and enlisted for the mission to the Yuezhi. Starting from Longxi [prefecture], in company with Ganfu 甘父, a Hu slave of the Tangyi 堂邑 family, he passed through [the territory of] the Xiongnu. The Xiongnu captured him and sent him to the Chanyu. The Chanyu said: "The Yuezhi are to the north of us; how can Han send envoys to them? If I wish to send envoys to Yue 越[in the south of China], would Han be willing to allow us?" He detained [Zhang] Qian for more than ten years....

According to this, Zhang Qian was sent to the Western Regions in order to wipe out the Xiongnu by allying the Han with the Yuezhi. This shows that the Da Yuezhi, who were furious with the Xiongnu, still lived in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu when Zhang Qian was sent to meet with them. The words of the Chanyu, "the Yuezhi are to the north of us", are significant.^[34]

It is generally believed that Zhang Qian was sent to the Da Yuezhi in the 2nd year of the reign period Jianyuan of Emperor Wu (139 B.C.) and returned in 3rd year of the Yuanshuo 元朔 (126 B.C.), and that he consequently escaped from the Xiongnu and went to the Da Yuezhi in 129 B.C. In the same chapter it is recorded: "[Zhang Qian] escaped in the direction of the Yuezhi. Having sped westward for several tens of days he arrived in the state of Dayuan." Since the state of Dayuan was situated in the present Ferghāna Basin, the route Zhang Qian took shows that he knew the Da Yuezhi had given up the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu. Thus this date must have been between 139 and 129 B.C.^[35]

3. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 52, it is recorded that in the 2nd year of the reign period Yuanguang 元光 (133 B.C.), Wang Hui 王恢 reported to Emperor Wu:

Now, given the prosperity of Zhongguo 中國, the dispatch of one per cent of its vast resources to attack the Xiongnu, could no more be resisted than a bolt from a powerful crossbow fired at an ulcer which is about to break. If [Your

Majesty] acts thus, the Northern Fa 北發 and the Yuezhi can be brought into subjection.

According to the same chapter, "Wang Hui was a native of Yan 燕. He served frequently as a frontier official, and consequently was familiar with the situation of the Hu (the Xiongnu)." He would not make assertions without good grounds. This shows that the Da Yuezhi still lived in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu. Therefore, the date when the Da Yuezhi gave up the area can be narrowed to between 133 and 129 B.C.^[36]

4. According to Western historical records, in c.129 B.C., Phraates II (139/8-128 B.C.), the Arsacid king, made an expedition to the Syrian kingdom under the Seleucids. However, he had to turn round to fight against the Sakās, and was killed in action in the next year, because the Sakās broke through his north-eastern frontier and mounted a large-scale invasion.^[37] The Sakās who invaded the Arsacids may have been the Asii, the Tochari and other tribes who had lived in Sogdiana and Bactria. By suffering assaults from the Da Yuezhi who migrated west, a group of the Sakās was forced to rush within the boundaries of the Arsacids. Therefore, the date that the Da Yuezhi gave up the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu can further be specified to 130 B.C.^[38]

5. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded:

[The Da Yuezhi] originally lived between Dunhuang and Qilian. Then the time came when the Chanyu Modu attacked and defeated the Yuezhi, and the Chanyu Laoshang killed [the king] of the Yuezhi, making his skull into a drinking vessel. The Yuezhi thereupon went far away, passing Da-yuan and proceeding west to attack and subjugate Daxia. The principal city was established north of the River Gui 媯.

At first glance, it seems that the Da Yuezhi gave up the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu during the reign period of Chanyu Laoshang.^[39] However, the corresponding records of the *Hanshu*, which were based on the records of the *Shiji*, ch. 123 at all, and missed the original meanings to some extent. The original text of the *Shiji*, ch. 123, is as follows:

When Modu ascended the throne, he attacked and defeated the Yuezhi. By to the reign period of Chanyu Laoshang, [the Xiongnu] killed the king of the Yuezhi, and made a drinking vessel out of his skull. The Yuezhi originally lived between Dunhuang and Qilian. Having been defeated by the Xiongnu, they went far away. Passing [Da]yuan and proceeding west, they attacked and subjugated Daxia....

According to this, Sima Qian, the editor of the *Shiji*, only generally attributed the western migration of the Yuezhi to the attack of the Xiongnu, and never mentioned that this migration of the Yuezhi took place during the reign period of Laoshang. There is no reason to consider that, in the mind of Sima Qian, the Yuezhi migrated west because of their king's being killed by Laoshang.

By an oversight, Ban Gu, the editor of the *Hanshu*, moved the statement, "the Yuezhi originally lived between Dunhuang and Qilian", ahead of this passage, and

deleted the statement, "having been defeated by the Xiongnu", in order to give consideration to the ensuing statement of the same chapter, part B, "later, when the Kunmo of the Wusun attacked and defeated the Da Yuezhi, the Da Yuezhi migrated to the west and subjugated Daxia", with the result of making one misinterpret that the Yuezhi's migration to the valleys of the River Gui was because of their king's being killed by Laoshang. This view contradicts the account of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96.

In fact, the immediate cause of the Da Yuezhi give up the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu was undoubtedly their being attacked and defeated by the Kunmo of the Wusun, but the root cause was suffering heavy casualties from Laoshang beforehand. In addition, since Kunmo's attack on the Da Yuezhi was instigated by the Xiongnu, the statement of the *Shiji*, ch. 123, "having been defeated by the Xiongnu, they went far away", is sweeping, but explains an essential aspect of the event.

(E)

On the Da Yuezhi's western migration to the north of the River Gui, the *Shiji*, ch. 123, only records: "Having been defeated by the Xiongnu, they went far away. Passing [Da]yuan and proceeding west, they attacked and subjugated Daxia. The principal city was established north of the River Gui to form the royal court." The corresponding records of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, are roughly identical with that of the *Shiji*.^[40]

The Da Yuezhi must have passed through Sogdiana when they moved west to the valley of the River Gui (Amu Darya), via Dayuan (Ferghāna), from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu. It has consequently been suggested that the Da Yuezhi occupied Sogdiana first when they moved west.^[41]

In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. The Da Yuezhi passed through Sogdiana, but never occupied this area, just as they had not occupied Dayuan. In other words, moving straight south and crossing the River Gui, they conquered Daxia and established their royal court on the northern bank of the River Gui, and controlled "the land of the Daxia" (i.e. Tukhārestān), which extended across on both banks of the River Gui.

1. The Da Yuezhi gave up the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu in 130 B.C. However, when, having escaped from the Xiongnu, Zhang Qian passed through Dayuan and went to the royal court of the Da Yuezhi, which was situated on the northern bank of the River Gui in 129 B.C.,^[42] Sogdiana was subject to the Kangju.^[43] This shows that the Da Yuezhi never stayed in Sogdiana.

2. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded both that Daxia lay to the north of the River Gui and that the Da Yuezhi "attacked and defeated Daxia". This shows that Daxia, whose troops were weak and afraid to fight, did not surrender without fighting, and that the Da Yuezhi had not subjugated the Daxia until they moved south and crossed the River Gui. According to the date that they moved west, it can also be seen that the Da Yuezhi went straight to "the land of the Daxia", which lay mostly on the southern bank of the River Gui, from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu.^[44]

3. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded: "[The Da Yuezhi] had subjugated Daxia and settled down; the land was fertile, and they had set their minds on [a life of] peace and contentment." In the *Hanshu*, ch. 61, it is also recorded: "The Da Yuezhi again fled west, moving into the land of the Daxia." These records show that the Da Yuezhi tribe moved wholly into "the land of the Daxia", conquering it.

4. "Daxia" was a transcription of "Tochari (Tukhāra)". According to the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, ch. 1, the sphere of "the former land of Duhuoluo 覩貨邏 (i.e. Tukhāra)" was the following:

The distance from north to south is over 1,000 *li* and that from east to west is over 3,000 *li*. It is confined by the Congling (Pamir) in the east, adjoins Bolasi 波刺斯 in the west, there are the Great Snowy Mountains in the south, and reaches to Tiemen 鐵門 in the north. The great river of Fuchu 縛芻 flows west through the middle.

This shows that "the land of the Daxia" covered both banks of the River Gui. The boundary between this area and Sogdiana was Tiemen, on the northern bank of the River Gui. Therefore, the royal court of the Da Yuezhi which was established on the northern bank of the River Gui must have been situated south of Tiemen. As has been pointed out, the royal court may have been situated at Danmi 旦蜜 (i.e., Tirmidh).

5. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that when Zhang Qian, as an envoy, was sent to the Da Yuezhi, he "reached Daxia from the Yuezhi, but, after all, failed to carry his main point with the Yuezhi." This shows that the Da Yuezhi established their royal court on the southern bank of the River Gui. In the meantime, they indeed occupied the southern bank of the river. Obviously, Zhang Qian reached Daxia from the Yuezhi in order to meet with the king of the Da Yuezhi, who had been staying on the southern bank of the river.^[45] The statement, "reached Daxia from the Yuezhi" can only be read as "reached the former capital of Daxia from the royal court of the Da Yuezhi".

6. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that there were about 100,000 or 200,000 trained bowmen" in the state of the Da Yuezhi, and that Daxia "has a large population, numbering over a million in all." However, in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is only recorded: "There are 100,000 households, 400,000 individuals with 100,000 persons able to bear arms [in the state of Da Yuezhi]." Based on this, it has been suggested that the total population of the Da Yuezhi, according to the *Hanshu*, was only 500,000 (400,000 individuals added to 100,000 persons able to bear arms), less than half of the population recorded by the *Shiji*. This shows that the Da Yuezhi never moved to "the land of the Daxia" and never established their principal city at Lanshi 藍市, the original capital of Daxia. In my opinion, this theory is inadequate.^[46]

There was, in fact, not a great deal of difference between both the total populations of the Da Yuezhi recorded by the *Shiji* and by the *Hanshu*. The statement "100,000 persons able to bear arms" means that there were 100,000 persons who were able to bear arms among 400,000 individuals. We cannot consider that the total population of the Da Yuezhi was only about 100,000 or 200,000 in the time described by the *Shiji*, and then leaped to 500,000 in the time described by the *Hanshu*. The "about 100,000 or 200,000 trained bowmen" of the *Shiji* were only an estimated number, but "100,000 persons able to bear arms" of the *Hanshu*, may be an accurate number. Obviously, in the mind of the editor of the *Hanshu*, the Da Yuezhi were a nomadic tribe and the Daxia people were settled on the soil, thus both could not be lumped together. The *Hanshu* does not record the population of the Daxia, probably because the author considered that Daxia, as a state, had already disappeared.

7. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that "there is Daxia [to the south of the Da Yuezhi]", and that "the Da Yuezhi are situated to the west of Dayuan", and "Daxia is situated to the southwest of Dayuan". These statements all refer to the location of the royal court of the Da Yuezhi relative to the location of the capital of the former Daxia. We cannot consider that Daxia was still independent until Zhang Qian was sent to the Da Yuezhi. In the same chapter it is also recorded:

Dayuan as well as Daxia and Anxi 安息 are all large states with many rare goods; the people are attached to the land and their way of life is rather similar to that of Zhongguo. However, their forces are weak, and they prize Han wealth and goods. To their north, there are [people] such as the Da Yuezhi and the Kangju, whose forces are strong; it would be possible to present them with gifts and hold out advantages with which to bring them to court.

It has also been recorded:

[When Zhang Qian was, as an envoy, sent to the Wusun,] he forthwith sent his deputy envoys on separate missions to Dayuan, Kangju, Da Yuezhi, Daxia, Anxi, Shendu 身毒, Yutian 于寔, Wumi 扞彌 and their nearby states.

Both "Da Yuezhi" and "Daxia" are listed in these records, which seems to show that "Da Yuezhi" and "Daxia" were two independent states.

Actually, these records show that the Da Yuezhi had conquered Daxia, but did not completely destroy the aboriginal power. The so-called "five Xihou" may have been original minor chiefs established in the towns by the Daxia. All these Xihou had autonomy to some extent. The Da Yuezhi people only collected the taxes from them. In the same chapter it is recorded: "The deputy envoys whom Zhang Qian had sent to make contact with states such as Daxia all came to court, in many cases with people from those places." If it is true that there were the Daxia people among the people from those places, then they would probably be some representatives of aboriginal power, which were subject to the Da Yuezhi, in "the land of the Daxia".

(F)

The seat of the royal government of the Da Yuezhi, according to the *Shiji*, ch. 123, was situated north of the River Gui. However, in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded: "The seat of the royal government of the state of the Da Yuezhi is at the town of Jianshi 監氏." It has been suggested that the town of Jianshi was exactly the royal court which was situated north of the River Gui.^[47] It has also been suggested that the town must have been Lanshi, the original capital of the Daxia, because the Da Yuezhi moved their royal court to south of the River Gui after Zhang Qian had returned.^[48] In my opinion, the latter theory may be correct.

1. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded both that the state of the Da Yuezhi was situated to the west of Dayuan, and that Daxia was situated to the southwest of Dayuan. However, the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, records only that the state of the Da Yuezhi was situated to the southwest of Dayuan.^[49] These records show that the town of

Lanshi, the original capital of Daxia, was taken as a datum point when the *Hanshu* marked the location of the state of Da Yuezhi.

2. The passage "the Da Yuezhi was originally a land of nomads... were termed the Xiao Yuezhi" in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, was a record about the prehistory of the Da Yuezhi. The statement, "the principal city was established north of the River Gui to form the royal court", obviously refers to the situation before they established the royal government at the town of Jianshi. We cannot regard this as a self-contradiction of the *Hanshu*, cannot yet consider that the town of Jianshi was precisely the royal court which was established north of the River Gui.^[50]

3. "Jian-shi" [*heam-tjie*] may be identical with "Lanshi" [*lam-zjiə*] as both their pronunciations and shapes of characters were similar. Since Lanshi had been the capital of the Hellenic kingdom of Bactria, the town of Jianshi was undoubtedly Bactra.

4. According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, the town of Guishan 貴山, the royal government of Dayuan, was 690 *li* distant to the southwest of the Da Yuezhi. It has been suggested that if the town of Jianshi was really situated south of the River Gui, the distance of 690 *li* would be too short.^[51] However, in fact, the territory of the Da Yuezhi described by the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* was precisely the former land of Daxia. Because of this, even if the town of Jianshi was the royal court of the Da Yuezhi which was situated north of the River Gui, it must have been situated to the south of Tiemen. In other words, this distance was still too short.

In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded: "The seat of the royal government [of the state of Xiuxun 休循 is Niaofei 鳥飛 valley. ...To the northwest it is a distance of 920 *li* to the state of Dayuan, and 1,610 *li* to the west, to the Da Yuezhi." This shows that from Xiuxun to the Da Yuezhi one could go northwest by the roundabout way of Dayuan, but could also go west and reach straight there. The "1,610 *li*" must have been the distance from Xiuxun if one went west to the Da Yuezhi. However, it was mistaken for the distance to the Da Yuezhi from Xiuxun if one went northwest by the roundabout way of Dayuan by the editor of the *Hanshu*, who, based on this distance, calculated further the distance from Dayuan to the Da Yuezhi: $1,610 - 920 = 690$ *li*. Thus it can be seen that we cannot decide the location of the town of Jianshi on the basis of the distance from Dayuan to the Da Yuezhi recorded by the *Hanshu*.^[52]

5. The Da Yuezhi were originally a nomadic tribe. Their king toured both banks of the River Gui, probably because their old customs still were kept up after they had moved to the valleys of the River Gui from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu.

However, it was a natural phenomenon that a nomadic people would gradually turn towards farming and at long last found a capital after they had entered an agricultural area. When Zhang Qian was sent to the Western Regions as an envoy, he discovered that the Da Yuezhi "had set their minds on [a life of] peace and contentment" "as the land was fertile", which shows that this trend was already showing some symptoms.

Also, when Zhang Qian was sent to the Western Regions, the Da Yuezhi had already conquered the whole territory of Daxia. Their king also frequently toured on the south bank of the River Gui, but their royal court was still situated north of the river after all, and the town of Lanshi, the original capital of Daxia, was probably an active center of the Daxia people at that time. Therefore, there still is a special section about Daxia in the *Shiji*, ch. 123. Up to the time described by the *Hanshu*, the Da Yuezhi had already established their capital on the southern bank of the River

Gui. Not only their territory, but also their capital were identical with that of Daxia. Because of this, the editor of the *Hanshu* has canceled the special section about Daxia, and added the corresponding contents into the special section about the Da Yuezhi.^[53]

(G)

The four boundaries of the state of the Da Yuezhi can be ascertained roughly in the light of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, and the *Shiji*, ch. 123.

1. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded: "There is Kangju to the north [of the Da Yuezhi]." Since Sogdiana had been controlled by the Kangju, the boundary line between the Da Yuezhi and the Kangju may have been at Tiemen, which was situated on the northern bank of the Amu Darya.

2. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded that Dayuan "adjoins the state of the Da Yuezhi in the south." Dayuan was situated in the present Ferghāna Basin. Since the eastern territory of the Da Yuezhi included Badakhshān and Wakhan, etc., the state of the Da Yuezhi may have been in contact with Dayuan at Karategin.^[54]

3. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded: "There is Anxi (Parthia) to the west of the state of the Da Yuezhi." In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is also recorded: "East of Anxi are the Da Yuezhi." The eastern boundary of Anxi was at the town of Mulu 木鹿 (Mōuru), which was situated east of the present Merv.^[55] East of Mulu was a desert, the boundary of the state of the Da Yuezhi may consequently have extended to the present valley of the Ab-i Maimana River in the west.

4. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded: "To the south the state of the Da Yuezhi adjoins Jibin." Jibin described by the *Hanshu* was situated in the middle and lower reaches of the River Kabul, to the south of the Hindukush.^[56] Therefore, the boundary line between both states was roughly the Hindukush. However, the manor of the Xihou of Shuangmi was situated to the south of the mountains.

5. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded that both the state of Wulei 無雷 and the state of Nandou 難兜 "adjoins the state of the Da Yuezhi in the west." Wulei was situated in the present Lettle Pamir, which was between the valley of the River Aksu which flows northeast to the upper reaches of the River Murg-āb, and the valley of the River Aksu which flows west to the upper reaches of the Āb-i Panja.^[57] And Nandou was situated in the present lower reaches of the Gilgit River.^[58] Therefore, Wulei and Nandou may respectively have adjoined the manors of the Xihou of Guishuang 貴霜 and the Xihou of Shuangmi 雙靡 which was subject to the Da Yuezhi.

(H)

The Da Yuezhi people were Europoid and spoke an Indo-European language.

1. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

To the west of the [Da]yuan and as far as Anxi, there are many different languages spoken, but they are in general the same, and people understand each other clearly. The inhabitants of the area all have deep-set eyes, and many wear moustaches and beards.

The area which was situated "to the west of [Da]yuan and as far as Anxi" included obviously the state of the Da Yuezhi. Therefore, the record shows that the Da Yuezhi were Europoid and spoke an Indo-European language just as the Anxi (Parthians) did.^[59]

2. In the *Nanzhouzhi* 南州志 of Wan Zhen 萬震 cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, it is recorded: "[In the state of the Da Yuezhi (i.e. the Guishuang kingdom)] the people are of a reddish-white color." This shows that the people under the Guishuang kingdom were Europoid, and the Da Yuezhi people who had been conquered by the Guishuang were undoubtedly included among them. Even if we disregard that the Yuezhi and the Guishuang come from one and the same origin, we should not doubt that the Yuezhi people were Europoid.^[60]

3. It has been suggested that the Yuezhi were a Türkic tribe, because they had the title of "Xihou". This theory is obviously wrong.^[61] It has also been suggested that the tribal name "Yuezhi", which can be explained in the Türkic language, means "jade (qāsch)", and the Yuezhi were consequently a Türkic tribe.^[62]

In my opinion, the pronunciation of "Yuezhi" was similar to that of "qāsch", if not by a coincidence, because the Yuezhi monopolized the trade of jade at one time. Jade was called "qāsch", just as wool was called "qusou" 毳毼, which was originally the tribal name of Qusou 渠搜.^[63] In other words, the Türkic word, qāsch, was possibly named after the tribal name of the Yuezhi, and it is not necessary that the Yuezhi called themselves "jade". It is obviously incorrect that we take "Qusou" as "a kind of woollen" just because the pronunciation of their tribal name was similar to that of "qusou", a Chinese word, which means a kind of woollen, and to decide consequently that the Qusou were Chinese.

4. There is no evidence to prove that the Yuezhi spoke the Tokharian language when they lived in their former land, even that they had spoken an Indo-European language before moving west has not yet been verified thoroughly. Scholars have made great efforts toward solving this problem, but, up to now a satisfactory conclusion has yet to be reached.^[64] However, I would rather believe that the original language of the Yuezhi belonged possibly to the Indo-European language family, if seeing that the Yuezhi and the Guishuang had one and the same origin.

Notes:

1. In the *Yugong* 禹貢 it is recorded: "...Wool spinning: Kun-lun, Xizhi 析支 and Qusou 渠搜. The Western Rong 西戎 were then reduced to order." "Qusou" here is precisely "Jusou 巨蒐" of the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*, ch. 4, and "Qusou" of the "Wanghuipian" of the *Yizoushu*. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 28B, it is recorded that there was a county named "Qusou 渠搜" in the prefecture of Shuofang 朔方. And the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, ch. 3, records also that "the River (Yellow River) turns east from Shuofang, flows to the north of the former town of Qusou." Because the pronunciation of "Jusou" was similar to that of "Yuezhi" in old Chinese, Shiratori (1941-3), infers that their former land was situated in the Hexi Region and "Qusou" was a transcription of "Yuezhi". In my opinion, both "Yuzhi" and "Qusou (Jusou)" are listed in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* and the *Yizhoushu*, since "Yuzhi" was identical with "Yuezhi", "Qusou (Jusou)" seemed not to be "Yuezhi". However, the Qusou (Jusou) and the Yuezhi had possibly the same origin. The *Yizhoushu*, etc. mistakes one and the same kind of people who lived in different regions for two kinds. In the *Xiyutuji* 西域圖記

- of Pei Ju 裴矩 and the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. 83, it is recorded that the state of Bohan 鉢汗 (or Pohan 鐵汗) was "the state of the Qusou 渠叟 (or 渠搜) in ancient times", probably because the pronunciation of "Guishuang", the name of the capital of Dayuan, was similar to that of "Qusou". This is not necessarily to show that the Qusou described by the Yizhou, etc. moved to Frghāna later.
2. He, Q. says that "the only difference between the pronunciation of 禺 and 月 was in tone. The Yuzhi were precisely the Yuezhi." In my opinion, The "Wanghuipian" records that "the Yuzhi [contribute] *taotu* (variety of horse)", which shows that the Yuzhi were a nomadic tribe. This can also be taken as evidence to prove that the Yuzhi were identical with the Yuezhi.
 3. Wang (1959-2).
 4. See Ma & Wang. Moreover, Enoki (1985), has suggested that, for a long time, "Yuzhi" of the "Qingzhongpian" of the *Guanzi* has been taken for "Yuezhi", but this theory is inadequate. The "Qingzhongpian" was based on the knowledge during the period from Emperor Wu to Wang Mang 王莽. And Chinese jade have come from Yutian 于阗 in the Tarim Basin since ancient times. "Yuzhi" would rather be taken as the Yuezhi who monopolized the jade trade, than as Khotan itself. Khotan was known by the Han people after Emperor Wu had opened up the Western Regions, and was mostly noted as "于寘 [*Yú-zhi*]" in the old editions of the *Shiji*, probably because the pronunciation of "Yuzhi" was the same as that of "Yuzhi". Khotan was precisely noted as "Yuzhi" in the *Shiji* that the author of the "Qingzhongpian" had seen, and was mistaken for "Yuzhi". The author had simply changed "Yuzhi" into "Yuzhi" in order to pass off his works as of *Guanzi*. In my opinion, Enoki's theory is inadequate. Firstly, the "Qingzhongpian" of the *Guanzi* including the records about the Yuzhi was not necessarily completed in Han times. Enoki's theory is based on Ma's theory; however the theory of Ma is not necessarily a final conclusion. See Rong and Hu. Secondly, even if the "Qingzhongpian" of the *Guanzi* had been composed in Han times, the records about the Yuezhi in this chapter would not necessarily be based on the information from Han times. Since the author wanted to forge an ancient literary work, it is very possible that he had used sources from the pre-Qin period. Thirdly, "Yutian" 于寘 [*hiua-dyen*] and "Yuzhi" 于寘 [*hiua-tjiek*] not only can be taken as different transcriptions of "Yuzhi", but also that of "Yuezhi". However, since "Yuzhi" must have been identical with "Yuzhi 禺知", which was different from Yutian in geographical position, it is more appropriate that one takes "Yuzhi 禺氏" as the Yuezhi. Also, Ogawa (1929), p.377, has already pointed out that the "Yutian" and "Yuzhi" were different transcriptions of one and the same name. If this is correct, it seems that both "Yuzhi" and "Yutian" had the same origin.
 5. See: Ma & Wang. Enoki (1959), considers also that the former land of the Yuezhi extended west as far as the Altai Mountains. This theory has been put forward by Enoki as a component of his hypothesis, the Yuezhi-Scythian identity. According to Enoki, "Yuezhi", whose old pronunciation is supposed to have been "*zgudcscha*", was a transcription of "Skuja (Scythia)". Herodotus records that the so-called "Detached Scythians", who were rebels against the Royal Scythians, lived in the neighborhood of the Altai Region. These "Detached Scythians" may have been the ancestors of the Yuezhi. In my opinion, his theory is inadequate. The settlement of the "Detached Scythians" recorded by Herodotus must have lain to the west of the hill belt of Kazakstan. It is consequently very difficult to identify these Scythians as the Yuezhi.
 6. The *Shiji Zhengyi* says that "formerly, the Yuezhi lived to the east of Dunhuang, to the west of the Qilian Mountains. The prefecture of Dunhuang was the present prefecture of Sha 沙. The Qilian Mountains lay to the southwest of the prefecture of Gan 甘." Based on this annotation, it has been suggested that "Dunhuang" where the Yuezhi had lived must refer to the prefecture of Dunhuang in the Han times.
 7. Cf. Kuwabara (1934-1).
 8. On the date that the prefecture of Dunhuang was established, cf. Zhou, pp. 157-171.
 9. Cf. chapter 2.

10. The statement of the *Shiji Zhengyi* (see Note [6]) is the basis of the theory that the Qilian of Han can be identified with the present Qilian Mountains.
11. Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentary says that "the Qilian Mountains were precisely the Tian Mountains; the Xiongnu people called Heaven Qilian." The theories which rest on the basis of Yan's commetary are: Uchida (1938:1); Cen (1981), pp.518-535. In my opinion, the theories of Uchida and Cen are correct, but they believe that "Dunhuang" refers to the prefecture of Dunhuang in the Han times, which seems to be inadequate. Also, Fujita (1943-2), suggested that "Qilian" recorded by the *Hanshu* refers to the present Tian Mountains, but "Qilian" recorded by the *Shiji* refers to the present Qilian Mountains. I consider that Fujita's theory is inadequate.
12. Shiratori (1941-1), has pointed out that "Longxi" here is redundant.
13. The Juyan Marsh occurs also in the *Hanshu*, ch. 8B. Shiratori (1941-1), suggested that "Juyan" was a river name, which refers to exactly the present Edsina River. I think that his theory is inadequate.
14. This is the theory of Uchida (1938:1) and Cen (1981), pp.518-535. Fujita (1943-2), suggested that starting from the prefecture of Beidi 北地 Qubing must have advanced west by a roundabout route along the edge of the Gobi Desert, passed the Juyan Marsh and moved south tracking back the Edsina River, reached the territory of the Xiao Yuezhi and thereupon attacked the Qilian Mountains (the present Qilian Mountains). I think that his theory is inadequate.
15. English translation of the *Hanshu*, ch. 61 & 96, including the identical passages in the *Shiji*, used here is based on that of Hulsewé & Loewe.
16. Cf. Shiratori (1941-1). Moreover, in the *Houhanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87, it is recorded that "the ancestry of the Hu 胡 of Yuezhi in Huangzhong 湟中 was a detached tribe of the Da Yuezhi. Originally, they had lived in the territories of the prefectures of Zhangye and Jiuquan. After the king of the Yuezhi had been killed by Modu of the Xiongnu, their remnants separated, moved west, and crossed the Congling 葱嶺 (Pamir). Those who were weak moved into mountain passes and settled down there depending on the various Qiang, and thereupon were related by marriage. Up to the time when Huo Qubing, the General of Piaoqi, attacked the Xiongnu, occupied the Xihe 西河 Region and opened up Huangzhong, these Yuezhi come to surrender and lived together with the Han people." Based on this, Shiratori suggests that the territory of the Xiao Yuezhi where Qubing had reached must have lain near the present Qilian Mountains. In my opinion, his theory is inadequate. Firstly, Qubing had opened up Huangzhong in the spring of the 2nd year of the reign period Yuanshou, but his attack on the "Qilian" Mountains was in the summer of the same year. These two events should not be confused with each other. Secondly, since "the Hu of Yuezhi in Huangzhong" were only one branch of the remnants of the Yuezhi, their territory should not be taken as the territory of the Xiao Yuezhi who had been attacked by Qubing. In addition, Shiratori takes the statement "originally, they had lived in the territories of the prefectures of Zhangye and Jiuquan" as evidence to prove that the former land of the Yuezhi lay only in the Hexi Region. In my opinion, his theory is inadequate. This is because the text states only that the territories of the prefectures of Zhangye and Jiuquan were the former land of "the Hu of Yuezhi in Huangzhong", who were one of the detached tribes of the Yuezhi.
17. This is the theory of Cen (1981), pp. 518-535.
18. In the "Xiyupian" 西域篇 of the *Yantielun* 鹽鐵論 it is recorded that after Ershi had defeated Yuan, "the Xiongnu were scared out of their wits, ran and fled; although they did not yet surrender completely, lived distantly in poverty-stricken and barren places, their able-bodied men had all died in the Qilian-Tian Mountains, their orphans have not been regained...." This also is evidence to prove the the Tian Mountains were called "the Qilian-Tian Mountains" in Han times.
19. This is the theory of Uchida (1938:1) and Cen (1981), pp. 518-535. Moreover, Shiratori (1941-1) also believes that the Qilian Mountains which Ershi had attacked must be the present Tian Mountains.
20. Shiratori (1941-1), suggests that both "the Tian Mountains" and "the Qilian Mountains" are mentioned in the *Hanshu*, which shows that both were not one and the same mountains. In

- my opinion, "Tian" is a translation, and "Qilian" is a transliteration. The reason why the mountains were noted as "Qilian-Tian Mountains" is due to the doubling up of "Qilian" and "Tian".
21. This is the theory of Uchida (1938:1).
 22. Cen (1981), p.526, suggests that the statement "form a line of prefectures as far as the Qilian Mountains" is only decorating ornate phraseology and attaching importance to rhyme.
 23. On the date that the Da Yuezhi moved west to the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu, Shiratori (1941-1), suggests that this event took place between 174 and 160/158 B.C.; Kuwabara (1934-1), between 172 and 161/160 B.C.; Fujita (1943-2), 177-176 B.C.; Yasuma, 168-161 B.C.; the theory of Uchida (1938:1) is the same as that of Fujita. Moreover, Komai, suggests that this event took place at the end of the 3rd century.
 24. Shiratori (1941-1), has pointed out that, in the 3rd year of the reign period of Emperor Wen, according to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, the Right Xian King had invaded the Henan 河南 Region, therefore his attack on the Yuezhi was between the 3rd and the 4th year.
 25. Cf. chapter 7.
 26. See Mori.
 27. Matsuda (1970), p.37.
 28. Uchida (1938:1) and Cen (1981), pp.518-535.
 29. Cf. chapter 7.
 30. The date that Jia Yi presented his memorial, according to *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, was in the 6th year of the reign period of Emperor Wen (174 B.C.). I follow the record in the *Hanji* 漢紀 of Xun Yue 荀悅. Cf. Kuwabara (1934-1). Also, based on the record of Xun Yue, Kuwabara suggests that the Yuezhi moved west after 172 B.C. I think that his theory is inadequate.
 31. Uchida (1938:1), suggests that Jia Yi's enumerating the Yuezhi and the Guanyu was only writing in an ornate style.
 32. On the date that the Da Yuezhi gave up the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu, Shiratori (1941-1), suggests that this event took place about 158 B.C.; Kuwabara (1934-1), 139-129 B.C.; Fujita (1943-2), 162/161 B.C.; Yasuma, 138-130 B.C.; Uchida (1938:1), 133-129 B.C.
 33. Cf. chapter 7.
 34. Fujita (1943-2), suggests that the "deserters from the Xiongnu" might have surrendered before Emperor Wu came to the throne. They did not necessarily know that the Da Yuezhi had given up the valley of the Ili River. As to the words of the Chanyu, "the Yuezhi are to the north of us" was only diplomatic language. In my opinion, as Uchida (1938:1), has pointed out, if this event had taken place during the reign period of Laoshang, it would be difficult to believe that Han did not know it at all 20 years later. Fujita's theory is inadequate.
 35. This is the theory of Kuwabara (1934-1).
 36. This is the theory of Uchida (1938:1).
 37. Cf. chapter 9.
 38. This theory is based on Sun, Y.
 39. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that "the king of the Da Yuezhi had already been killed by the Hu, and his crown prince had been established as a king. Having subjugated Daxia, they settled down there...." Matsuda (1970), pp. 29-33, suggests that this record was enough to prove that the final attack the Yuezhi suffered came from Laoshang. In my opinion, it was possible that the son (or wife) of the king of the Yuezhi who was killed by the Xiongnu was still on the throne when Zhang Qian arrived in the state of the Da Yuezhi. In addition, the Yuezhi did not necessarily migrate west as soon as their king had been killed by Laoshang. Matsuda's theory is inadequate.
 40. Shiratori (1941-3), has pointed out that the statement of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, "originally, Daxia had no major overlord or chief.... They made them all into their subjects." Was only a memorandum of the text of the *Shiji*, and did not contain new information. Markwart (1901), pp. 202-203, suggests that this statement of the *Hanshu*, shows the Da Yuezhi's expedition to the Daxia had begun in the time described by the *Shiji*, and had been completed in the time described by the *Hanshu*. I think that Markwart's theory is inadequate.

41. Kuwabara (1934-1).
42. This is the theory of Kuwabara (1934-1).
43. Cf. chapter 5.
44. Markwart (1901), pp.202-203, believes that the Daxia had already acknowledged allegiance to the Da Yuezhi, but had still kept its power south of the River Gui, when Zhang Qian arrived in the state of the Da Yuezhi as an envoy. After Zhang Qian had returned home, the Da Yuezhi must have crossed the river, advanced south, and occupied the whole territory of Daxia. I think his theory is inadequate. Cf. Shiratori (1941-3).
45. This theory is based on Uchida (1938:1). Moreover, having occupied the valley of the River Gui, the Hephthalites adopted the same dominant way as the Da Yuezhi did. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, it is recorded that "their king went on making an inspection tour a place per month." Song Yun 宋雲, who had personally arrived in their territory, called the dominant way "government which was carried out from travelling encampments." (See the *Luoyang Qielanji* 洛陽伽藍記, Vol. 5). This also explains the same problem.
46. Egami (1987), pp. 234-235.
47. Kuwabara (1934-1) suggests that the royal court of the Da Yuezhi must have been located at Samarkand. "Jianshi" is a transcription of "-kand". The main thesis is that the distance from the capital of the Da Yuezhi to that of Dayuan was 690 *li* in the light of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A. I think his theory is wrong. For details, see below. Moreover, Fujita (1943-1) suggests that the royal court of the Da Yuezhi must have been "Jianshi", which was situated in Khuttal, in the upper reaches of the River Gui. I think that this theory is also wrong. Cf. Kuwabara (1934-4).
48. Markwart (1901), pp. 202-203, suggests that the Da Yuezhi had wholly migrated to the south of the River Gui, and then moved their royal court to south of the river until the end of the Western Han Dynasty. In my opinion, his theory is inadequate. The Da Yuezhi occupied the southern bank of the River Gui from the outset, but only established their royal court on the northern bank of the river. Cf. Shiratori (1941-3).
49. Kuwabara (1934-4) suggests that the statement of the *Shiji*, ch. 123, "the Da Yuezhi are to the west of Dayuan", shows that the capital of the Da Yuezhi was situated at Samarkand at that time. In my opinion, his theory is wrong. The statement "to the west of Dayuan", in fact, means "to the southwest of Dayuan". In other words, as compared with the location of the capital of Daxia, the royal court of the Da Yuezhi can be considered to be situated "to the west of Dayuan". We should not mechanically understand the text.
50. Kuwabara (1934-1) suggests that the statement of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, "the seat of the royal government of the state of the Da Yuezhi is at the town of Jianshi", would not be true, if "Lanshi" was indeed identical with "Jianshi". This is because it contradicts the statement that "the principal city was established north of the River Gui to form the royal court". Thus it can be seen that the former was added by Ban Gu 班固, the editor of the *Hanshu*, in order to satisfy the requirements of the biographical form. That is to say, since the Da Yuezhi did not establish their capital, Ban Gu had to take the capital of Daxia, their vassal state, as their capital. Kuwabara also says that if the former statement is true, "Jianshi" would not be identical with "Lanshi". In my opinion, his theory is wrong.
51. This is the theory of Kuwabara (1934-1).
52. Cf. chapter 4.
53. Kuwabara (1934-4) suggests that since Sogdiana had still been under the control of the Hellenic kingdom of Bactria up to the eve of the destruction of the kingdom, Sogdiana had possibly been subject to Daxia before the Da Yuezhi moved west. Therefore, the statement of the *Shiji*, ch. 123, that the Da Yuezhi "passed [Da]yuan and proceeded west to attack and subjugate Daxia" shows that the Da Yuezhi first conquered Sogdiana which was subject to Daxia. "The state of the Da Yuezhi" described by the *Hanshu* must have included the states of the Da Yuezhi and the Daxia described by the *Shiji*. In my opinion, the Hellenic kingdom of Bactria was destroyed by the Daxia. What was conquered by the Da Yuezhi was the state of the Daxia, but not the Hellenic kingdom of Bactria. The detailed route by which the Daxia destroyed the Hellenic kingdom of Bactria remains unknown, but it is affirmable that the state of Daxia did not include Sogdiana, even if the Hellenic kingdom of Bactria had

occupied Sogdiana until the eve of its destruction. This is because "the former land of Tuhuoluo" recorded by the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記 (i.e., "the land of the Daxia" of the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu*) does not include Sogdiana. The data seem to show that the Asii, the Tochari and other tribes had also occupied Sogdiana when they moved south from the northern bank of the Syr Darya, but Sogdiana never was termed "the land of the Daxia" as Bactria, probably because the Tochari there never had occupied a dominant position. It can be taken as evidence to prove this that "the former land of Tuhuoluo" was limited to the south of Tiemen. In other words, the statement, "proceeded west to attack Daxia", should not be considered to be the Da Yuezhi's attack on Sogdiana.

54. Shiratori (1941-4).
55. Sun, Y.
56. Cf. chapter 8.
57. This is the theory of Matsuda (1975).
58. This is the theory of Enoki (1941). Moreover, Matsuda (1975), suggests that the state of Nadou was situated at Kara Penja. This theory seems to be incorrect, because the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, records clearly that the state of Wuzha "adjoins Nandou in the west", and the state of Wuzha, as Matsuda has pointed out, may be identified with Hunza.
59. Cf. chapter 2. Moreover, in the *Tongdian* 通典, ch. 192, it is recorded that "*Yuanzhongji* 元中記 states: The Da Yuezhi produce agate. There is also a kind of ox named *riji* 日及. If one takes out a piece of her meat, the open part of the sore would heal up just a day later." Shiratori (1941-3), suggests that in the Wakhan language cow was called *ĉat-ghü*, which might be a transcription of *riji*. This does not prove that the Da Yuezhi were an Iranian tribe, because *riji* might be a word of the Iranian tribe which was subject to the Da Yuezhi. In my opinion, we do not know whether "the Da Yuezhi" recorded by the *Yuanzhongji* refers to the Da Yuezhi who conquered Daxia or the Guishuang. However, if it is the latter, according to Shiratori's logic, the possibility that the Da Yuezhi were an Iranian tribe has not yet been ruled out.
60. There is no tribe which can be identified as the Da Yuezhi in the western historical records, and the Chinese historical records also call the Guishuang "the Da Yuezhi". These all constitute excellent evidence to prove that the Yuezhi and the Guishuang had one and the same origin. Probably because, after having conquered Daxia, the Da Yuezhi were conquered by the Gasiani (Kushan or Guishuang), who originally had been subject to the Daxia, and the Da Yuezhi and the Daxia were the same in language and race, thus it is very difficult to distinguish strictly both of them, and they were thereupon lumped together in the Chinese and Western historical sources.
61. Cf. chapter 2.
62. Cf. Egami (1951:1). Egami suggests that "Yuzhi" was identical with "Yuezhi", and "mountains nearby the Yuzhi" can be identified with the present Kunlun Mountains. The jade consequently was called "jade of the Yuzhi". Ptolemy calls the present Kunlun Mountains "the Casius Mountains", and the mountains must have taken their name from the Yuezhi. In my opinion, Egami's theory is inadequate. Firstly, if, during the pre-Qin period, the jade of Yutian had indeed been imported into the Central Plains, it would be possible to have been resold by the Yuezhi. However, Yutian was not necessarily the only origin of jade in the Western Regions. In other words, "jade of the Yuezhi" was not necessarily jade from Yutian. Secondly, there is not enough evidence to prove that the Yuezhi had expanded as far as the present Kunlun Mountains during the pre-Qin period. However, the theory that the Casius Mountains were named after the Yuezhi might be an acceptable theory, because the remnants of the Yuezhi may have stayed in "the Southern Mountains in the Western Regions", after the Da Yuezhi had moved west. However, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the Casius Mountains were named after the Gasiani who moved south to the Pamir region from "the land of the Sai" and then moved east into the Tarim Basin.
63. Ma, Y. (1984:2).
64. Bailey (1985), pp. 129-137; Pulleyblank (1966); Enoki (1978).

CHAPTER 4 THE STATE OF DAYUAN

(A)

Most scholars believe that the state of Dayuan 大宛 must have been situated in Ferghāna.^[1] This theory is correct. According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123 and the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, Dayuan was situated to the southwest of Wusun 烏孫, to the southeast of Kangju 康居, the northeast of Daxia 大夏 or the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, and to the northwest of Juandu 捐毒 and Xiuxun 休循. Since Wusun was situated in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu,^[2] Kangju in the valleys of the Syr Darya and the Talas River,^[3] Daxia or the Da Yuezhi in Tukharestan,^[4] and Juandu and Xiuxun at the source of the Kizil River and on the Alai Plateau respectively,^[5] the dominant center of Dayuan must have been in the Ferghāna Basin. In addition, the four boundaries of its territory can roughly be determined.

1. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded that "[Wusun adjoins] Dayuan in the west."^[6] In the same book, ch. 70, it is also recorded:

Zhizhi 鄯支, the Chanyu 單于 of the Xiongnu 匈奴, turned west and went to Kangju, and borrowed troops from Kangju. With troops [given by Kangju], he attacked Wusun many times and penetrated as far as the town of Chigu 赤谷. He slaughtered and plundered the people and seized their domestic animals. The Wusun dared not pursue him. The west of [the state of Wusun] was then weakly defended, an uninhabited area extending for 1,000 *li*.

This shows that the town of Chigu, the seat of the royal government of Wusun, which was situated in the upper reaches of the Narin River, was about 1,000 *li* from the western boundary of the state. Therefore, the natural boundary between Dayuan and Wusun may have been Kagart Mountain and Yassi Mountain.

2. In the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96A, it is recorded that "[Dayuan adjoins] Kangju in the north." Since the metropolitan territory of Kangju lay on the northern bank of the Syr Darya and its eastern boundary extended as far as the east of the Talas River, the natural boundary between Dayuan and Kangju may have been Chatkal-tāu and Urtak-tau.

3. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded that "[Dayuan] adjoins the Da Yuezhi in the south." The Da Yuezhi had already occupied the land of the Daxia at that time and its eastern territory covered Badakhshan and Wakhān. Therefore, the common boundary between Dayuan and the Da Yuezhi may have been Karategin in the west of the Alai Plateau.^[7]

4. In the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96A, it is recorded: "[To the east, Xiuxun] is a distance of 260 *li* to the Yandun 衍敦 valley of Juandu; to the northwest it is a distance of 920 *li* to the state of the Dayuan." In the same chapter, it is also recorded: "[To the northwest, Juandu] is a distance of 1,030 *li* to Dayuan." This shows that going to

Dayuan from Juandu one must have crossed the Terek Pass, but not crossed the Talduk Pass through Xiuxun. Therefore, the boundary between Dayuan and Juandu was the Terek Pass, and between Dayuan and Xiuxun, the Talduk Pass.^[8]

5. On the location of the western boundary of Dayuan, there is no evidence in the *Shiji* or the *Hanshu*. But in the *Tongdian* 通典, ch. 193, it is recorded: "The state of Shi 石, whose capital is the town of Zhezhe 柘折 (Chaj, Tashkend), covers more than 1,000 *li* square, and was originally the northern region of Dayuan territory in Han times." In the *Kuodizhi* 括地志 cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, it is recorded: "The state of Shuaidushana 率都沙那, also named Suduishana 蘇對沙那 (Sutrūshana, Ura-tūbe), was originally the state of Dayuan in Han times." This seems to show that the area from Tashkend to Ura-tūbe had belonged to the state of Dayuan.^[9]

(B)

On the derivation of the name of Dayuan, there have been various theories, but none are convincing, probably because most scholars set forth their views only on the basis of phonetic identifications. Although some scholars also try to find explanations from the historical background, the evidence offered is insufficient.^[10] In addition, these scholars only consider the character "yuan" and ignore "da" when they make phonetic identification. They believe that since there is another name "Xiao Yuan" 小宛 in the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96A, "Dayuan" must have been named in contrast with "Xiao Yuan" (= the Little Yuan), just as "Da Yuezhi" (=Great Yuezhi) was named in contrast with "Xiao Yuezhi" (=Little Yuezhi). Both "da" mean "great".^[11] In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. In the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96A, it is recorded:

The state of Xiao Yuan: The seat of the royal government is at the town of Wuling 扞零, and it is 7,210 *li* distant from Chang'an 長安. There are 150 households, 1,050 individuals, of which 200 persons are able to bear arms. ...To the northwest it is a distance of 2,358 *li* to the seat of the protector general. In the east it adjoins the Ruo Qiang 婁羌. It lies secluded to the south and is not situated on the route.

Since the state of Xiao Yuan, which had only 1,050 individuals, was situated to the west of the Ruo Qiang and "lies secluded to the south and is not situated on the route", this state was not necessarily known to Zhang Qian 張騫, though he returned from the Da Yuezhi by the Southern Route through the Western Regions. Only after the Han's contacts with the Western Regions had become increasingly frequent would the state of Xiao Yuan have been known. However, according to the *Shiji*, ch. 123, "the information of the Dayuan had been provided by Zhang Qian", which shows that the name of Dayuan was known by the Han since Zhang Qian's first western mission. Therefore, it is difficult to believe that Zhang Qian intended a contrast with "Little Yuan" when he named the state "Dayuan".

Or to be more exact, it is very possible that "Dayuan" [*dat-ian*] is a transcription of "Tochari (Taḫuār)" just like "Daxia".^[12] The tribal confederacy of the Sakās, which was composed of the Tochari, the Asii, the Gasiani, and the Sacarauli, had

lived in the vast area from the Ili River to the Syr Darya long before. In C.177/176 B.C., because of the Da Yuezhi attack, they had given up the valleys of Rivers Ili and the Chu. From there a group of them moved south and entered the Pamir region. In about 140 B.C., another group of the Sakās who remained on the northern bank of the Syr Darya crossed the Syr Darya and entered Sogdiana and Bactria. At the time when the Sakās made their two large-scale migrations, the Ferghāna Basin, which lies on the southern bank of the Syr Daria, would certainly have been occupied by the Asii, the Tochari, and other tribes. Probably because of this, Ferghāna was called "Dayuan", just as Bactria was called "Daxia"; the town of Guishan 貴山, the seat of the royal government of Dayuan, was named after the Gasiani just like the Xihou 翮侯 of Guishuang 貴霜 of the Daxia was; and Yucheng 郁成, a vassal town on the eastern boundary of Dayuan, was possibly named after the Asii.^[13]

As for "Xiao Yuan (Little Yuan)", it is very possible that it was later discovered that the inhabitants in the state had a common origin with the Dayuan; the inhabitants of Xiao Yuan were probably the Tochari who moved east into the Tarim Basin from the Pamir Region. Their state would naturally have been named "Little Yuan" since "Dayuan" (this name was easily taken for "Great Yuan") had already been named.

(C)

On the location of the town of Guishan, the seat of the royal government of Dayuan, there are five theories. They are: a) Kokand,^[14] b) Ura-tübe,^[15] c) Akhsī kath,^[16] d) Kāsān^[17] and e) Khojend.^[18] Up to now, the first three have already been discarded.^[19] But which of the last two is correct has not been determined. I believe that Khojend is better than Kāsān.

1. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that "Wusun is situated some 2,000 *li* northeast from Dayuan." The "2,000 *li*" was roughly equal to the distance from Khojend to the town of Chigu, the seat of the royal government of Wusun.^[20]

2. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that "Dayuan is situated more than 2,000 *li* southwest of Dayuan, south of the River Gui 媯." The "2,000 *li*" was roughly equal to the distance from Khojend to the town of Lanshi 藍市, the capital of Daxia.^[21]

3. In the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96A, it is recorded that "[to the northwest the state of Xiuxun] is a distance of 920 *li* from the state of Dayuan;" and that "[to the northwest the state of Juandu] is a distance of 1,030 *li* from Dayuan." The "920 *li*" and "1,030 *li*" were equal to the distances from Khojend to the Alai Plateau and the upper reaches of the Kizil River respectively.^[22]

4. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

While living among the Xiongnu, as the guard become increasingly lax, Zhang Qian found an opportunity to escape with his followers in the direction of the Yuezhi, and after speeding west several tens of days he reached Dayuan. Dayuan had heard of Han's abundant wealth and wished to establish contact, but had not been able to do so. [The king of Dayuan] was delighted when he received [Zhang] Qian and asked him where he was going. [Zhang] Qian said: "I was going on a mission to the Yuezhi for Han and my way was blocked by the Xiongnu. Now that I have escaped, it rests with you to send someone to guide me on my way; if I do actually succeed in reaching my destination and returning

to Han, the wealth and goods which Han will present to you will beggar description."

There are identical records in the *Hanshu*, ch. 61. This shows that the town where Zhang Qian reached must have been the town of Guishan, the seat of the royal government of Dayuan. However, it was unnecessary for Zhang Qian to go out of his way to visit the royal government of Dayuan when he escaped from the Xiongnu and looked for the road to the Da Yuezhi who had migrated to the valley of the River Gui at the time. Therefore, that he arrived at the town of Guishan shows that the town must have been on his way. In fact, Khojend was exactly on the only way to Bactria.

The following are some additional pertinent observations:

1. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that "Kangju is situated some 2,000 *li* northwest of Dayuan". However, in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded that to the north the state of Dayuan is at a distance of 1,500 *li* from the town of Beitian 卑田 in Kangju. This shows that the seat of the royal government of the Kangju was at a distance of 1,500-2,000 *li* to the northwest of the town of Guishan. Based on this, those who advance the theory that "Guishan" can be identified with "Kāsān" believe that the seat of the royal government of Kangju must have been situated between Chemkent and Turkestan, which is 1,500-2,000 *li* distant from the northwest of Kāsān. If the town of Guishan was exactly Khojend, the seat of the royal government of Kangju would be situated in the Kizil Kum.^[23]

In my opinion, this argument is unconvincing. Chemkent or Turkestan may also be considered to be situated to the northwest of Khojend 1,500-2,000 *li* away, as the so-called "northwest" was not necessarily due northwest. The record concerning the distance from the seat of the royal government of Kangju to that of Dayuan is no bar to setting up the theory that "Guishan" should be identified with Khojend.

2. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that when Li Guangli 李廣利, the Ershi 貳師 General, attacked Dayuan,

Inside the town of the [Da]yuan king there were no wells, and [the inhabitants] drew [what they needed] from water outside the walls. So [he] despatched water workers to divert the course of the river that lay at the foot of the walls, in order to undermine the walls. ...He then marched first to [Da]yuan, and cut off and diverted the source of its water. As a result [Da]yuan was in serious difficulties.^[24]

There are also identical records in the *Hanshu*, ch. 61. The scholars who advance the argument that "Guishan" may be identified with "Kāsān" argue that since Khojend bordered such a great river, the Syr Darya, it was certainly impossible to cut off and divert the source of the water. However only a small river called Kāsān flowed by Kāsān, so "to divert the course of the river that lay at the foot of the walls" would be possible.^[25]

In my opinion, this argument is unconvincing. The statement "[the inhabitants] drew [what they needed] from water that flowed outside the walls" does not necessarily mean that the inhabitants went out of the town to draw water, for they might have drawn it from the channels which led "the water that flowed outside the walls" into the town. "The source of the water" that had been cut off and diverted must

have been the source of water in the channels. A similar situation occurred in other places in Central Asia.^[26] According to the *Anabasis Alexandri* of Arrian,^[27] Alexander besieged the town of Cyropolis, and was unable to overcome it.

But when he personally observed that the channels of the river which, being a winter torrent only, runs through the city, were dry at the time, and did not reach up to the wall, but were low enough to permit a passage to soldiers by which to pass into the city, he took the bodyguards and the shield-carrying guards, the archers and the Agrianes, and while the tribesmen were engaged with the siege-engines and those assaulting on this side, he slipped through the channels, at first with only a few men, and penetrated into the city; then breaking open from within the gates which were on that side, he easily admitted the rest of the troops. (IV, 3)

Alexander attacked the city by using the channels which drew water into the city, as the water became shallow in winter; whereas Li Guangli contributed to the capture of the city by cutting off and diverting the water source of such channels to create a lack of water. This was the only difference between Alexander and Li Guangli. In other words, we should not consider that Li Guangli failed to cut off the source of the water because Khojend bordered the Syr Darya, and infer further that the town of Guishan cannot be identical with Khojend.

3. The scholars who advance the theory that "Guishan" must have been identified with "Kāsān" also have another argument: Sogdiana may have been subject to Kangju at that time and one must have passed through Khojend when he went to Sogdiana from the metropolitan territory of Kangju. Such a situation shows that the area from Tashkend to Zamin, including Khojend, must have been subject to Kangju. Even if Khojend was in the possession of Dayuan, it would be inconceivable for Dayuan to establish its capital there because the capital was exposed to invasion from Kangju.^[28]

In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. Firstly, the area from Tashkend (at the least its southern portion) to Ura-tübe must have been the territory of Dayuan. Secondly, Sogdiana was only subject to Kangju, but was not a portion of the territory of Kangju, and so just offered a tribute of local products to Kangju. Such a relationship could still be maintained though their territories did not adjoin. Thirdly, according to the *Shiji*, ch. 123, and the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, Kangju's forces were strong and Dayuan's forces were weak. So Dayuan was also possibly a tributary state to Kangju to a certain extent. Kangju sent its troops to rescue Dayuan when Li Guangli besieged the town of Guishan. Later the king of Yucheng also escaped to Kangju. These all show a very close relationship between Kangju and Dayuan. Therefore, the people of Kangju would have gone to Sogdiana by way of Dayuan or its western border region without obstacles.

4. In the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. 83, it is recorded:

The state of Pohan 鐵汗, whose capital is over 500 *li* from the west of the Congling 葱嶺 (Pamir), was originally the state of Qusou 渠搜 in ancient times. The king, whose surname is Zhaowu 昭武, styles himself Aliqi 阿利柒. The capital covers four *li* square. ...To the east it is 1,000 *li* distant from Shule 疏勒.

To the west it is 500 *li* distant from the state of Suduishana. To the northwest it is 500 *li* distant from the state of Shi.

The scholars who advance the theory that "Guishan" can be identified with Kāsān argue that since Pohan was Ferghāna, judging from the distances from its capital to Shi and Suduishana, the capital must have been Kāsān. Pohan was termed "the state of Qusou in ancient times", obviously because the old Chinese pronunciation of "Qusou" and "Kāsān" were approximate.^[29]

In my opinion, if this is correct, it would only show that the state of Pohan in Sui times established its capital at Kāsān, but would not show that the state of Dayuan in Han times also established its capital there. Furthermore, the old Chinese pronunciation of "Qusou" was also very similar to Khojend. It is possible that "the state of Qusou in ancient times" refers to the state of Dayuan, whose capital was established at Khojend. Pohan and Dayuan all lay in Ferghāna, but the locations of their capitals were different.

5. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded that to the southwest the state of Dayuan "is 690 *li* distant from the Da Yuezhi", and that Xiuxun was 920 *li* and 1,610 *li* distant from Dayuan and the Da Yuezhi respectively. The last number is exactly equal to the sum of the first two numbers. Based on this, the scholars who advance the theory that "Guishan" can be identified with Khojend argue that when going to the Da Yuezhi from Xiuxun one would have had to pass the capital of Dayuan, and since the Da Yuezhi established their capital at Samarkand about 700 *li* away from Khojend, the town of Guishan, which was on the only way to Samarkand from the Alai Plateau, must have been Khojend.^[30]

In my opinion, this argument is unconvincing. The main problem is that the capital of the Da Yuezhi recorded by the *Hanshu* was not Samarkand, but Bactra. Going to Bactra from the Alai Plateau one would not necessarily pass Khojend. For example: by traveling southwest along the Surkh-āb River by way of Karategin one could also arrive at Bactra.^[31] Therefore, the "1,610 *li*" was possibly the distance from Xiuxun to the Da Yuezhi directly, but this was mistakenly taken by the editor of the *Hanshu* for the distance from Xiuxun to Bactra by way of the town of Guishan. On this basis, the editor infers the distance between the capital of the Da Yuezhi and the town of Guishan to be 690 *li*.^[32] To sum up, the distance between the Da Yuezhi and Dayuan was in error, and cannot be taken as evidence for an identification of "Guishan" with Khojend.

6. The scholars who advance the theory that "Guishan" can be identified with Khojend argue that "Guishan" can be taken as a transcription of Kāsān, but it would be more appropriate to take it as a transcription of Khojend (Khujond).^[33]

I consider that both Khojend and Kāsān were possibly named after the Gasiani. Therefore, we should not infer which one can be identified with "Guishan" only based on phonetic evidence.

7. It has been suggested that Khojend was the city of Cyropolis, which was founded by Cyrus II (559-529 B.C.) of the Achaemenids. Another suggestion is that the town was Alexandria Eschata, which was founded by Alexander the Great of Macedonia (336-323 B.C.). The scholars who advance the theory that "Guishan" can be identified with Khojend believe that Khojend had undoubtedly been founded before the 2nd century B.C., but Kāsān had not necessarily been founded at this time.^[34]

In my opinion, the Sakās tribes (of which the Gasiani were one), which had originally lived in valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu, had possibly extended as far as

the northern bank of the Syr Darya at the earliest before Darius I (521-486 B.C.) ascended the throne.^[35] Therefore, the possibility cannot be ruled out that Kāsān was named after the Gasiani earlier than Khojend.

(D)

On the location of the town of Ershi, there have been four theories. They are: A) Ura-tūbe,^[36] B) Margilan,^[37] C) Kāsān,^[38] D) Jizak.^[39] I believe that the first is most likely to be correct.

1. In both the *Shiji*, ch. 123, and the *Hanshu*, ch. 61, it is recorded that "the horses of Ershi are [Da]yuan's treasured horses". "The horses of Ershi" (the Nesean horse) were a breed of fine horse in ancient times. They occur first in the *History of Herodotus*.^[40] According to Herodotus, the horses were originally bred on a great plain called Nesean (VII,40). Based on Western historical records, there were a number of places called Nisaya, which produced fine horses, mostly on both banks of the Amu Darya, from southwest of Midia through Khorasan, to Ferghāna.^[41] Thus it can be seen that "the town of Ershi [*njiei-shei*]" was also one place which produced the Nesean horses.

2. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

Li Guangli was appointed General of Ershi [with orders] to call out a force of 6,000 cavalry from the dependent states and some tens of thousands of poorly disciplined young men from the prefectures and kingdoms, and to set out on his way. As it was intended that he should reach the town of Ershi and take possession of its horses, he was given the title of the Ershi General.

There are identical records in the *Hanshu*, ch. 61. This shows that the destination of Li Guangli's expedition was the town of Ershi. But the text subsequently mentioned only the campaigns of Yucheng and the capital of Dayuan, and there is not even a single word about the town of Ershi.^[42] This is probably because the town of Ershi was situated to the west of the capital of Dayuan, and if the capital of Dayuan had not been captured, Li Guangli could not have reached the town of Ershi. In addition, the sole purpose of Li Guangli's expedition may not have been to take possession of the fine horses at the town of Ershi, but it is not logical that the General of Ershi would ignore it completely, if the town of Ershi was situated to the east of the capital of Dayuan. On the other hand, it is evident that Li Guangli did not necessarily march towards the town of Ershi after he had captured the capital of Dayuan and obtained the horses of Ershi.^[43]

3. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

The Ershi General attacked the town of Yucheng but could not capture it. The general and his assistants reckoned that since they could not take the place when they reached Yucheng, their failure would be even more certain were they to reach the royal capital.

There is an identical record in the *Hanshu*, ch. 61. With the above-cited statement "it was intended that he should reach the town of Ershi and take possession of its fine horses", it seems to show that the town of Ershi that "he should reach" was exactly the

capital of Dayuan. Also, in the same chapter it is recorded that after Li Guangli had captured the capital of Dayuan,

[Da]yuan thereupon brought out its fine horses, letting the Han [officers] take their pick, and provided an ample supply of food to feed the Han army. The Han army selected some of the best horses, numbered in the tens, and over three thousand stallions and mares of the medium grades and below....

This seems to give further evidence.

Based on these records, it has been suggested that the town of Ershi was in fact the town of Guishan.^[44] And another suggestion is that Dayuan had first established its capital at the town of Ershi, and moved it to the town of Guishan later.^[45] In my opinion, both arguments are unconvincing.

Firstly, in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is clearly recorded that "the seat of the royal government of Dayuan is at the town of Guishan", and never says that its capital was moved elsewhere. Therefore, the capital of Dayuan that Li Gungli had captured was undoubtedly the town of Guishan.

Secondly, in the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

Once a large number of Han envoys had made the journey, junior members of the mission were ordinarily introduced to the Son of Heaven and become familiar with him. They said: "Dayuan has fine horses which are kept in the town of Ershi and inhabitants are unwilling to show them to Han envoys." As the Son of Heaven had a fondness for the horses of [Da]yuan, he heard this news with pleasure, and he sent a party of men of valour, including Che Ling 車令, to take a thousand pieces of gold and a golden horse with which to request [to exchange them for] the fine horses of Ershi from the king of [Da]yuan.

There is an identical record in the *Hanshu*, ch. 61. If the capital of Dayuan were really the town of Ershi, once the text had said that "[Da]yuan has fine horses which are kept in the town of Ershi", it would be sufficient to say "to request the fine horses from the king of [Da]yuan". Otherwise, the statement would be superfluous.

Thirdly, the statement "since when they reached Yucheng they could not take the place, their failure would be even more certain were they to reach the royal capital" may mean that Li Guangli's target had been Yucheng, the capital (Guishan) and Ershi in succession. Now that they had been unable to capture Yucheng and reach the capital, they would of course have been even less able to take the town of Ershi.

4. In the *Xin Tangshu*, ch. 221B, it is recorded:

The state of Eastern Cao 曹 which also was called Shuaidushana, Suduishana, Jiebudanna, 劫布旦那 Suduishini, 蘇都識匿 four names in all, is situated on the north side of Boxi 波悉 Mountain. This was originally the town of Ershi in the Han times.

This shows that the Tang people believed that the town of Ershi had been situated near Ura-tübe. Ura-tübe was situated to the west of Khojend (the town of Guishan), so the Han troops could not reach it. The place was named "Ershi", probably because

Nesaeen horses were herded there. Thus, there may have been some basis for the records of the Tang people.

(E)

On the location of Yucheng, there have been three theories. They are: A) Ush,^[46] B) Uzgent,^[47] C) Aksīkath.^[48] In my opinion, the third is incorrect, and it is very hard to tell which is better, Ush or Uzgent.

1. It is possible that the name of "Yucheng" was a transcription of "Ush" or "Uz[gent]".

2. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that Emperor Wu sent envoys to request the fine horses of Ershi from the king of Dayuan. The king was unwilling to give them to the Han envoys.

The Han envoys spoke in anger and without restraint, and went away after smashing the golden horse. The noblemen of [Da-]yuan, who were furious, said: "the Han envoys have belittled us extremely." They sent the Han envoys off and ordered the king of Yucheng, on their eastern side, to block the way, to attack and kill the Han envoys and to seize their wealth and goods.

There is an identical record in the *Hanshu*, ch. 61. This shows that Yucheng was situated to the east of the state of Dayuan (the Ferghāna Basin), which tallies with both Ush and Uzgent.

3. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that Li Guangli was not able to reach the capital of Dayuan during his first expedition, because he failed to capture Yucheng and was defeated. In the same chapter, it is also recorded that when he made his second expedition, "[Li Guangli] wished to attack the town of Yucheng, but was afraid that if he delayed his advance he would allow [Da]yuan to resort to more deception. He then marched first to [Da]yuan." However, his colonel, Wang Shensheng 王申生 and others were sent and "reached the town of Yucheng separately." Taken in conjunction with the previously above-cited record that the Han envoys who were sent to request the horses were killed by Yucheng on their return, it can be seen that the town of Yucheng was not on the only way to the capital of Dayuan, but going to the capital of Dayuan by way of Yucheng must have been the main route at that time. Unfortunately, we are in no position to know whether the route passed Ush or Uzgent. In other words, on the basis of sources now available, we are not able to decide whether Ush or Uzgent was more likely to have been on the way to the capital of Dayuan (Khojend).

4. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

When the Ershi [General] had initially set out from west of Dunhuang 敦煌, owing to the large number of his men, the states along the route were unable to supply food. He had divided his forces into several units, which were to make their way by the Southern and the Northern Routes. Colonel Wang Shensheng and Hu Chongguo 壺充國, the former Honglu 鴻臚 (Superintendent of State Visits), reached the town of Yucheng separately with over 1,000 men. The town defended itself and was unwilling to provide food. [Wang] Shensheng was

200 *li* from the main army. He relied [on the main army] and, underestimating [the enemy], pressed Yucheng [for food]. Yucheng was unwilling to provide food, and observed that [Wang] Shensheng's army was small, and attacked it at dawn with 3,000 men, killing [Wang] Shensheng and others. The troops were defeated and some of the men escaped and fled to the Ershi [General], who ordered Shangguan Jie 上官桀, Sousu Duwei 搜粟都尉 (Superintendent of Grain Collection), to attack and defeat Yucheng. The king of [Yucheng] fled to Kangju, and [Shangguan] Jie pursued him there. When Kang-ju heard that Han had defeated [Da]yuan they brought out the king of Yucheng and turned him over to [Shangguan] Jie, who ordered four cavalymen to put him in bonds and take him under guard to the supreme general.

There is an identical record in the *Hanshu*, ch. 61. On the basis of this record, it has been suggested that Li Guangli had started to besiege the capital of Dayuan when Wang Shensheng's troops reached the town of Yucheng. The statement "[Wang] Shensheng was 200 *li* from the main army" means that Yucheng was situated at a distance of 200 *li* from the capital of Dayuan, from which the location of Yucheng and the capital of Dayuan may be inferred.^[49]

In my opinion, this argument is unconvincing. Li Guangli had divided his forces into several units when he made his second expedition against Dayuan, and Wang Shensheng's troops was possibly one of these units, which was at a distance of 200 *li* from the main army, because both did not set off on their journey at the same time. To put it simply, when Wang Shensheng's troops reached Yucheng, Li Guanli should still have been on his way to the capital of Dayuan. We should not infer that Yucheng was situated at a distance of only 200 *li* from the capital of Dayuan.

(F)

The date that Li Guangli made his first expedition on Dayuan, according to the *Hanshu*, ch. 6, was in the autumn of the first year of the reign period Taichu 太初 of Emperor Wu (104 B.C.). The year he was defeated and returned, according to the "Hanji" 漢紀 of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 should have been the second year of the Taichu (103 B.C.). This took place in the autumn of this year; for the event is listed after the entry "in the autumn, there was a plague of locusts" and before "in the twelfth month of the winter, Ni Kuan 倪寬 died". In addition, in the *Hanshu*, ch. 61, it recorded:

[Emperor Wu] then brought up a case against Deng Guang 鄧光 and those others who had declared that an expedition against [Da]yuan would be extremely impractical. Granting an amnesty to incarcerated convicts [so that they could be used to] ward off the raiders, he called out a further force of poorly disciplined young men and cavalry from the border. After about a year 60,000 men set out from Dunhuang, exclusive of followers carrying personal goods.

This shows that Li Guangli's setting out from Dunhuang again "after about a year" must have been in the autumn of the third year of Taichu. Li Guangli's defeat of

Dayuan and obtaining the horses, according to the *Zizhi Tongjian*, was in the third year of Taichu (102 B.C.). And, according to the *Hanshu*, ch. 6,

In the spring of the fourth year of Taichu (101 B.C.), the General of Ershi, Li Guangli, cut off the head of the king of Dayuan, took the blood-sweating horses, and returned. The Son of Heaven composed the Songs of the Horses of the Extreme West and of Heaven.

Emperor Wu composed the songs after Li Guangli had withdrawn troops from the front. Therefore, the treaty was signed below the town wall in the winter of the third year of Taichu (102 B.C.).^[50] As the water in winter was shallow, it is possible that Li Guangli took advantage of the weather when he "despatched water workers to divert the course of the water that lay at the foot of the walls."

On the location of the "Southern and Northern Routes" by which Li Guangli made his second expedition, there have been two theories. The first suggests that the Southern and the Northern Routes were exactly "the Southern and the Northern Routes in the Western Regions" described by the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96A.^[51]

Starting from the Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 passes there are two routes which lead into the Western Regions. The one which goes by way of Shanshan 鄯善, skirting the northern edge of the southern Mountains and proceeding along the course of the river west of Suoju 莎車, is the Southern Route. To the west, the Southern Route crosses the Congling and then leads to Da Yuezhi and Anxi. The one which starts from the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師, running alongside the northern mountains and following the course of the river west of Shule 疏勒, is the Northern Route. To the west, the Northern Route crosses the Congling and leads to Dayuan, Kangju and Yancai 奄蔡.

The second record suggests that the routes by which Li Guangli made his second expedition should be as the same as those by which Chen Tang 陳湯 attacked Zhizhi.^[52] In the *Hanshu*, ch. 70, it is recorded:

They led their troops and divided them into six *xiao* 校 (a military unit). While three *xiao*, following the Southern Route, crossed the Congling and went by way of Dayuan, the other three, which were under the command of the Protector General himself, started from the state of Wensu 溫宿, following the Northern Route, entered the town of Chigu, passed through Wusun, set foot within the boundaries of the state of Kangju, and reached to the western region of Tian 闐 Lake.

The Southern Route by which Li Guangli went was the same as the Southern Route which Chen Tang followed, and it was exactly the Northern Route described by the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96A. The Northern Route by which Li Guangli went was roughly the same as the Northern Route which Chen Tang followed. This was the route that crossed over Bada 拔達 Mountain, after which one went west along the Narin River and reached the capital of Dayuan. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 61, it is recorded:

The state of [Da]yuan had a rich supply of Han goods, and [the leaders] took counsel together as follows: "Han is a long distance away from us, and fatal accidents have occurred frequently in the Salt Marsh. If travellers evade it to the north, they will be subject to raids by the Hu (i.e. the Xiongnu); if they do so to the south, they will be short of water and pasture; in addition they will be cut off everywhere from human settlement, and those who lack food will be many."

Since Li Guangli had divided his forces into several units in order to be able to supply food, he would certainly not have marched by way of the Southern Route in the Western Regions. Furthermore, the decree of Emperor Wu as recorded by the same chapter says:

[Li] Guangli, the Ershi General, set out to punish these crimes and fought and conquered Dayuan. With the aid of Heaven's spiritual powers, he made his way across the course of rivers and over mountains, and he crossed the wastes of the Flowing Sands, to lead to the Western Sea. The mountain snows were not piled high, and our officers and men made their way through directly. They took the heads of kings and captured precious and strange objects, and these have finally been arranged in the palace.

"The Western Sea" must have been identical with the Tian Lake (the Issyk Kul). Therefore, this also can be taken as supporting evidence. In my opinion, the second theory is unconvincing.

1. It seems that there was a shortage of water and pasture on the Southern Route in the Western Regions, but the troops were not necessarily unable to pass through it. And according to the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96B, Li Guangli returned by the Southern Route in the Western Regions:

When on an earlier occasion the Ershi General Li Guangli had attacked Dayuan, he had passed through Wumi 扞彌 on his return. Wumi had sent its heir apparent, Laidan 賴丹, to be a hostage at Qiuci 龜兹, and [Li] Guangli had upbraided Qiuci, saying: "The outer states are all subject to Han; by what authority has Qiuci accepted hostages from Wumi?" He immediately sent Laidan to the capital city.

The statement that "[Li] Guangli had upbraided Qiuci" implies that he must have sent an envoy to upbraid it. In addition, if it was true, as the noblemen of Dayuan said, that there were Hu bandits on the Northern Route, and that the Southern Route was difficult to pass through, would the attack against Dayuan actually have not been achieved?

2. The so-called "Western Sea" in the decree of Emperor Wu must have been identical with "the Western Sea" in the statement of the same book, ch. 96A, "the state of Tiaozhi is situated on the Western Sea". There is an identical record in the *Shiji*, ch. 123. The sea can be identified with the Mediterranean, which was the extreme boundary of the Western Regions known by the Han people at the time.^[53] Therefore, "to lead to the Western Sea" was equivalent to saying to open up the way to the Western Regions. If "the Western Sea" was referring to the Tian Lake, "to lead to the Western Sea" would be meaningless. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 22, it is recorded that

in the fourth year of the reign period Taichu, Emperor Wu had composed "The Song on the Horses of Heaven", which said:

Horses of Heaven come over,
From the Western Extreme,
Crossing the Flowing Sands,
Nine Border Tribes Surrender.

The meaning of "the Western Extreme" was the same as "the Western Sea". This can be taken as collateral evidence.

3. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 61, it is recorded:

When the Ershi [General] had set out on his later journey, the Son of Heaven had sent messengers to notify Wusun that it should call out large forces to attack [Da]yuan. Wusun sent 2,000 cavalry there, but refused to commit itself, and would not advance.

If the Northern Route by which Li Guangli went was really the same as that taken by Chen Tang, he must have passed the royal government of Wusun, and Wusun would not have had the courage to refuse to commit itself and hesitate to move forward.

Summarily, Li Guangli made his second expedition by "the Southern and the Northern Routes" described by the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A. In the same book, ch. 61, it is recorded:

So, when the Ershi General subsequently set out on the march again, his forces were numerous, and none of the small states which he reached failed to meet him and bring out supplies for the army. When he reached Luntai 輪臺, it did not surrender and after several days' attack he butchered [its inhabitants].

This seems to show that in personal command of the main army, Li Guangli marched out by the Northern Route and returned by the Southern Route. In fact, the Northern Route by which Li Guangli went west, must have passed the ruins of Loulan 樓蘭, which lay northwest of the Lob Nor, because the eastern region of the Tian Mountains controlled by the Xiongnu at that time.

(G)

Han's attack against Dayuan came about because Emperor Wu "had a fondness for the horses of [Da]yuan". In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

Moreover, when the Han envoys to Wusun came to leave thence by the south, they made their way first to Dayuan and then to the Da Yuezhi. Wusun now grew apprehensive, and sent envoys with presents of horses [to the Emperor], in the hope of obtaining a princess in marriage and of forming a fraternal alliance. ...When he obtained horses from Wusun, he liked them and named them "the Horses of Heaven"; but when he came to acquire the horses from [Da]yuan who sweated blood, they were even finer. So he changed the name of the horses of Wusun, calling them "the Horses of the Extreme West",

and he called the horses of Dayuan "the Horses of Heaven". ...As the Son of Heaven had a fondness for the horses of [Da]yuan, the envoys were in sight of each other on the roads.

The Han envoys requested the horses, but failed to obtain them, and were killed; this was the incident that touched off the war. According to the same chapter, Emperor Wu was told by the envoys that "[Da]yuan has fine horses which are kept in the town of Ershi but the inhabitants are unwilling to give them to Han envoys", and so he sent envoys with a thousand pieces of gold and a golden horse to request them. The noblemen of Dayuan refused to give them to the Han envoys and ordered that the way be blocked, the Han envoys be attacked and killed, and their wealth and goods seized. So the Son of Heaven was furious, and appointed Li Guangli, the Ershi General, with the intent that he reach the town of Ershi and take possession of its fine horses. As in the *Hanshu*, ch. 54, it is recorded:

The Southern Yue 越 had killed the Han envoys, so they were conquered and returned into the nine prefectures. The king of [Da]yuan had killed the Han envoys, so his head was hung on the Northern Palace Gate. Chaoxian 朝鮮 had killed the Han envoys, so soon met with destruction.

Obviously, Emperor Wu was unable to tolerate such affronts.

However, we must pay attention to the fact that the root cause was that Dayuan had been a great obstacle of the Han's administration of the Western Regions. According to the *Shiji*, ch. 123, Han built a line of government posts and defences stretching as far as the Yumen pass after having captured the king of Loulan and defeated Gushi 姑師 in the first year of the reign period Yuanfeng 元封 (110 B.C.), but "[Da]yuan and the states to the west all relied on their remote situation and retained an air of arrogance, and were not worried at all; they could not be won over by a sense of suitable conduct nor managed by the establishment of ties." The situation was entirely at odds with the objective of Emperor Wu. In the same chapter, it is recorded that as early as Zhang Qian's first mission to the Western Regions,

The Son of Heaven heard that [states] such as Dayuan as well as Daxia and Anxi were all large states with many rare goods; that the people were attached to the land and that their way of life was rather similar to that of Zhongguo 中國; however, their forces were weak, and they prized Han wealth and goods. [He heard that] to their north, there were [people or states] such as the Da Yuezhi and Kangju, whose forces were strong; it would be possible to present them with gifts and hold out advantages with which to bring them to court. If they were really won over and made into subjects by the exercise of moral pressure it would be possible to extend [Han] territory for ten thousand *li*. With [the help of] a series of interpreters, those whose customs were strange could be brought to court, and imperial power and prestige could be exercised throughout the area within the four seas.

Originally, Emperor Wu used military forces against Loulan and Gushi in order to "stage a display of his military power so as to put states like Wusun and Dayuan into

dire straits". However, it could not prove effective. Dayuan refused to submit to control.

What was more, according to the *Hanshu*, ch. 61:

Weixu 危須 and [the states to the] west as far as Dayuan made a compact, killing Qimen 期門 (Guard of the Gate), Che Ling 車令, Zhonglangjiang 中郎將 (Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace), Chao 朝 and our envoys to the state of Shendu, and severing the route that leads from east to west.

That Che Ling was killed was not entirely because he "spoke in unrestrained terms". The main cause was probably that Dayuan wanted to make a compact with Weixu, etc. and to sever the route that led from East to West. Therefore, it was imperative for Emperor Wu to attack Dayuan.

In a word, if Dayuan did not submit, not only, as the *Shiji*, ch. 123, records, would "places such as Daxia gradually come to despise Han; the [supply of] fine horses of Dayuan would be cut off and not reach Han; Wusun and Luntai could easily harass Han envoys, and [Emperor Wu] would become a laughing stock among the outer states"; the routes that led from East to West would be severed and the national prestige would be swept into dust; but also the Xiongnu's right flank could not be cut off, because the Han's administration of the Western Regions would have to stop.

Therefore, according the same chapter, after his first expedition had been defeated, Li Guangli returned, "The Son of Heaven was furious when he was informed of this. He sent commissioners to have the Yumen pass closed and to proclaim that any soldier who dared to make his way in would be beheaded." Then he "brought up a case against Deng Guang and those others who had declared that an expedition against [Da]yuan would be impractical" and did not hesitate to put "the whole world in turmoil" to carry out one more expedition against Dayuan on a large scale. Obviously he would not stop until he reached his goal. When Li Guangli returned in triumph, "In view of the long distance at which the campaign had been fought, the Son of Heaven took no notice of their faults. He had [Li] Guangli be invested with the title of noble of Haixi 海西." Rewards and honors for merit were dispensed to the others on an unprecedented scale.

Some have suggested that the campaign against Dayuan was caused by Emperor's fondness for the horses of Dayuan, and proceeded to probe his motives on that basis. There are a number of theories from reforming the Horses Administration to seeking to ride to Heaven on the Horse of Heaven. The dispute is long-standing.^[54]

In my opinion, no matter what motives led Emperor Wu to have "a fondness for the horses of [Da]yuan", that fondness for the horses of [Da]yuan and the incident when the Han envoys were killed as a consequence of this were only immediate causes of the attack against Dayuan. If Dayuan had not had the horses of Ershi, it still might have been attacked if it had hampered Emperor Wu's administration of the Western Regions. The reason for this is that the administration of the Western Regions, just as the expedition to Chaoxian, putting down the two states of Yue, and making contact with the barbarian peoples of the Southwest, were steps that Emperor Wu would necessarily have taken in order to achieve his political ideal of a unified domain. That Dayuan had possession of fine horses was only happenstance, making the attack against Dayuan seem outwardly different from those against Chaoxian and the two states of Yue.

On the success or failure of the attack against Dayuan there have always been different evaluations. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 70, the words of Liu Xiang 劉向 are recorded :

Li Guangli, the Ershi General, abandoned 50,000 troops, wasted hundreds of millions in expenses, underwent four years of toil, and as a result obtained only 30 fine horses. Although he beheaded Wugu 毋鼓, the king of [Da]yuan, this still was not enough to compensate for the expense. They were guilty of a lot of secret evil. However, in view of the 10,000 *li* of distance at which the campaign had been fought, Emperor Xiaowu 孝武 took no notice of their faults, let two men be invested with noble titles, three men obtain the position of Qing 卿, over a hundred men become officials with stipends of 2,000 *shi* 石 (a unit of weight) a year. Now the state of Kangju is stronger than Dayuan; the fame of Zhizhi is higher than the king of [Da]yuan; the crime of killing envoys is more serious than withholding horses. [Gan] Yanshou 甘延壽 and [Chen] Tang, however, never troubled the Han forces, and expended a *dou* 斗 (Chinese bushel) of grain. Their merits and virtues are a hundred times superior to the Ershi [General].

Contrasting Li Guangli with Chen Tang was actually a criticism of Emperor Wu's expedition against Dayuan on the grounds that the loss outweighed the gain, and the successes could not offset the failures. His view was quite representative at that time.

It can not be denied that the expense of the attack against Dayuan was so immense as to make "the whole world pay the cost for several years in succession" (*Hanshu*, ch. 27B) and "[resources] within the four seas were spent and wasted" (*Hanshu*, ch. 96B), this aggravated the turbulence of the political situation, which had been caused by opening up the frontier and promoting what was beneficial since the Yuanshou 元狩 and Yuanding 元鼎 reign periods. However, the positive aspect to Han also should be noticed. According to the *Shiji*, ch. 123,

When the Ershi General marched east, all the small states which he traversed had heard of the defeat of [Da]yuan. They sent their [king's] sons or younger brothers to accompany the army with tributary gifts, and they were to be received by the Son of Heaven and become hostages.

In the same chapter it is also recorded:

After Han had attacked [Da]yuan, they installed Meicai 昧蔡 as the king of [Da]yuan and returned. Over a year later the noblemen of [Da]yuan took the view that Meicai had brought about the destruction of their state by his ingratiating behaviour; and together they killed Meicai and established Chanfeng 蟬封, younger brother of Wugu, as king. They sent a son to attend at the Han [court] as a hostage.

This shows that the victory in the attack against [Da]yuan led to the situation where "the outer states are all subject to Han" (the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A).

The *Hanshu*, ch. 96, sums up Emperor Wu's administration of the Western Regions and points out:

From the rise of the Han dynasty, we come to the time of Emperor Xiaowu. He undertook the task of subduing the various barbarian peoples and spreading [Han] prestige, and Zhang Qian for the first time opened up a way to the Western Regions. Thereafter Piaoqi General (the general of cavalry on the alert), [Huo Qubing 霍去病) attacked and vanquished those lands of the Xiongnu that lay to the right. He forced the kings of Hunxie and Xiutu 休屠 to surrender and thereupon had those territories evacuated. For the first time [fortifications] were built at Lingju; 令居 and farther west; and, once Jiuquan 酒泉 had been founded, members of the [Han] population were gradually removed there to fill that area. This was then divided; Wuwei 武威, Zhangye and Dunhuang were founded to form a line of four prefectures based on the two passes.

After the Ershi General's attack on Dayuan, the Western Regions were shocked and frightened. Most of the states sent envoys to Han to present tributary gifts, and those persons who were sent by Han on missions to the Western Regions felt more satisfied [with the reception that they now received]. Government posts were thereupon established at frequent intervals in a series running westwards from Dunhuang to the Salt Marsh, and a complement of several hundred agricultural conscripts was stationed at both Luntai and Quli 渠犁. A colonel [for the assistance of imperial] envoys, Shizhe Xiaowei 使者校尉, was established to protect them and to provide supplies for the Han envoys who were proceeding to the outer states.

The so-called "Shizhe Xiaowei" was undoubtedly the forerunner of the later Protector General of the Western Regions. It can be believed that because Han defeated Dayuan, Han's prestige in the Western Regions increased greatly, victory in the war against the Xiongnu was ensured, contacts between the Western Regions and the Central Plains were officially established, and the economic and cultural exchanges between the East and West reached a new stage ever since.

(H)

Under the reign of Wang Mang 王莽, the Western Regions became resentful, rebelled and submitted to the Xiongnu. According to *Houhanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88,

The Xiongnu extorted heavy taxes [from the Western Regions] and the states could not endure their rule, and during the Jianwu reign period 建武 all sent their envoys to ask to make themselves Han's subjects and ask for a Protector General. Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 actually refused them because the country was just beginning to regain its stability and had no time for external affairs. At that juncture the Xiongnu were weak, and Xian 賢, the king of Suoju, wiped out the various states.

The Western Regions were thereupon for a time under Suoju's control. Dayuan also was subject to Suoju. According to the same chapter:

Xian took personal command of men numbering in the tens of thousands from the various states to attack Dayuan, for Dayuan's tributes and taxes had decreased. Yanliu 延留, the king of Dayuan, met him and surrendered. So Xian took [Yanliu] back to the homeland and brought Qiaosaiti 橋塞提, the king of Jumi 拘彌, to establish him as the king of Dayuan. Qiaosaiti remained inside the state for more than a year but then fled back, as Kangju attacked him frequently. Xian made him the king of Jumi again and sent Yanliu back to Dayuan and made him pay tribute as usual.

This situation must have continued until Xian died. In the same chapter it is recorded that the states in the Western Regions "attacked each other after Xian had died". During this period, Dayuan's circumstances are unknown. In the same chapter it is also recorded:

During the Yongping 永平 reign period of Emperor Ming 明帝 the northern robber (i.e. the Xiongnu) coerced the various states into invading the prefectures and counties in the Hexi 河西 Region together, and the gates of the towns were closed during the daytime. In the 16th year (A.D.73), Emperor Ming commanded the generals and the supreme commanders to go north on an expedition against the Xiongnu, occupy the land of Yiwulu 伊吾廬 and establish the post of Commandant of Yihe 宜禾 to set up agricultural colonies. The Western Regions were opened up, states such as Yutian all sent their princes to attend [at the Han court]. The Western Regions had been opened up again 65 years after being cut off. Only the next year had the Protector General and Wuji 戊己 colonel been established.

After the Western Regions had been opened up again, there is only one record about Dayuan's contacts with the Eastern Han dynasty, as recorded by the *Houhanshu*, ch. 6, "In the 5th year [of the Yongjian 永建 reign period (A.D. 130)], ...Dayuan and Suoju all sent their envoys to offer tribute." The historical records are bound to have oversights and omissions, but according to the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88:

From the Jianwu reign period to the Yanguang 延光 reign period, the Western Regions' contacts [with Han] were cut off three times and were opened up three times. In the 2nd year of the Yongjian reign period of Emperor Shun 順帝 (A.D. 127), [Ban] Yong 班勇 attacked and subdued Yanqi 焉耆 once more, thereupon the 17 states such as Qiuci, Yutian and Suoju all came and expressed their subordination. However, contacts [with Han] were broken off by the Wusun and west of the Congling (Pamir).

Therefore, it is not impossible that the only time when Dayuan officially sent its envoys to the Eastern Han was in the 5th year of the Yongjian reign period, at least after Ban Yong.

It must be pointed out that there was just one time that Dayuan came to pay tribute during Eastern Han times, but blood-sweating horses, the special local product of Dayuan, were frequently introduced. For example, in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 42, it is recorded:

In the 3rd year of the Jianchu 建初 reign period (A.D.78), [Emperor Zhang 章帝 bestowed a letter upon Cang 蒼 and Jing 京, the king of Langya 琅邪, which said: "...And present a horse of [Da]yuan, whose blood flows from small holes in its front thighs. I have heard that Emperor Wu sang of the Horses of Heaven, which were moist with red sweat, now I have seen for myself it really is so."

And in the same book, ch. 51, it is recorded:

Li Xun 李恂 again was summoned to be appointed Yezhe 謁者, and was sent with emblems of authority to hold the office of vice-colonel of the Western Regions concurrently. The Western Regions is abundant and has a lot of treasure. The various states' attendants, inspectors of envoys and the foreign merchants frequently presented [Li] Xun with slaves and maid-servants, horses of [Da]yuan, gold and silver, perfumes and woollen blankets, etc. Nothing was accepted.

And in the same book, ch. 65, it is recorded:

In the spring of the 3rd year of the Jianning 建寧 reign period (A.D.170), [Duan Jiong 段熲] was summoned to return to the capital. He took command of infantrymen and cavalymen numbering more than 50,000, who were composed of the Qin and the Hu peoples, with blood-sweating horses which covered a thousand *li* a day, and war prisoners numbering more than 10,000.

And the same book, ch. 34, mentions that Liang Ji 梁冀, who lived a life of wanton extravagance, "secured the famous blood-sweating horses from afar." In addition, Ban Gu's 班固 "Liangdu Fu" 兩都賦 (a rhapsody about both the capitals of Han), recorded in the same book, ch. 40, also refers to "the horses of Dayuan". Thus it can be seen that the channels of Dayuan's contacts with the interior of the Central Plain were still unimpeded at that time.

(I)

In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

To the west of [Da]yuan as far as the state of Anxi there are many different languages spoken, but they are in general the same, and people understand each other clearly. The inhabitants of the area all have deep-set eyes, and many wear moustaches and beards. They are expert traders, haggling over fractions of a *zhu* 銖 (a unit of weight).

here is an identical record in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A. This shows that the nationality of the Dayuan was similar to or the same as Anxi, and thus were also Europoid. Moreover, "Dayuan" was a transcription of "Tochari", and the Dayuan were possibly a group of the Sai who had come from the northern bank of the Syr Darya. Therefore,

the language the Dayuan spoke may have been the same as that of the Daxia, and possibly belonged to the Indo-European language family, and at least the original language of a portion of the inhabitants was the Tocharian language.^[55] In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

In Dayuan and to its left and right *putao* 葡萄 (grapes) are used to make wine. Rich people store up to ten thousand shi or more, and in cases when it is kept for a long period it may last for several decades without being spoilt. The general custom is to enjoy wine; and the horses enjoy *muxu* 苜蓿 (lucerne).

It has been believed that *putao* and *muxu* were transcriptions of the Iranian words *budāwa* and *buksuk*, respectively.^[56] If this is correct, it could be taken as evidence to prove that the Dayuan and the Anxi people "understand each other clearly".

In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is mentioned that Li Guangli had captured "a nobleman of Dayuan named Jianmi 煎靡". It has been suggested that "Jianmi" can be explained in the Türkic language. The "mi" may have been a transcription of *bag* or *bi* in the Türkic language. From this, it is inferred further that numbers of the upper strata (the king and nobles) of Dayuan were Türks.^[57] In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing.

Firstly, *mi*, etc. also can be explained in Indo-European languages.^[58]

Secondly, the possibility cannot be ruled out that some words, especially official titles, of the Türkic languages were taken from Indo-European tribes in ancient time.

(J)

According to the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96A, the state in the Pamir region founded by the Sai were Juandu and Xiuxun. The locations of these two states have an important bearing on some of the above-mentioned problems concerning Dayuan, and consequently are mentioned as an appendix here.

In the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96A, it is recorded:

The state of Juandu: The seats of the royal government is at Yandun 衍敦 valley, and is 9,860 *li* distant from Chang'an. There are 380 households and 1,100 individuals, including 500 persons able to bear arms. To the east it is 2,861 *li* distant from the seat of the Protector General. ...(text defective) to Shule. To the south it adjoins the Congling, where there are no human inhabitants. Ascending the Congling on the west, one is at Xiuxun. To the northwest it is a distance of 1,030 *li* to Dayuan, and to the north [the state] adjoins Wusun. Clothing is of the same type as that of Wusun. [The people] wander to find water and pasture, keeping close to the Congling. Originally they were of the Sai race.

On the location of Juandu, there have been various theories.^[59] However, most scholars have gradually come to the view that the state must have been situated at Irkeshtam.^[60] Only one or two scholars do not approve and believe that Juandu was identical with Shendu (India).^[61] In my opinion, the Irkeshtam theory is more convincing and the reasons are as follows:

1. In the *Shuijing Zhu* 水經注, ch. 2, it is recorded:

The River's (the Yellow River) multiple sources are three, not two. One of the sources rises in the state of Shendu, which was on the Congling. To the west it is more than 200 *li* distant from Xiuxun. The inhabitants are all of the former Sai race. To the south it is linked with the Congling, which is 1,000 *li* high. ...The source of the River rises from beneath the mountains and divides into streams. One of them flows west to the south of the state of Xiuxun, which was situated to the west of the Congling.

Those who hold to the Irkeshtam theory suggested that "Shendu" here is a textual error for "Juandu". The three river sources referred to are the Yutian River, the Southern and the Northern Rivers of the Congling (i.e. the Kashghar River). Those who hold to the latter theory believe that Li Daoyuan 酈道元, the editor of the *Shuijing Zhu*, first took "Juandu" as "Shendu", which is right. "The sources of the River" refers to the source of the Xintou 新頭 River (the Hunza River). "The Congling" here refers to the Hindukush, from which one could go south to enter India. "Juandu" was a transcription of "Hindu" and the state of Juandu must have been situated in the mountain valley near Taghadum bash.

In my opinion, "Shendu" here was noted as "Juandu" in a certain edition.^[62] Therefore, Li Daoyuan did not necessarily take Juandu as Shendu. Yan Shigu's commentary on the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96A, reads: "'Juandu' was just 'Shendu' or 'Tiandu' 天篤. They were originally one and the same name, and the only difference between them was lightness and heaviness in tone." This merely shows that "Juandu" and "Shendu", etc. supposedly had a similar etymology. It is impossible to infer the location of Juandu based on this commentary. In addition, the statement "the River's multiple sources are three" must refer to the Congling River, the Yutian River and the river that flows west from the Congling (Pamir).^[63] Since they were called "multiple sources", the three sources were situated in the same place to Li Daoyuan's mind. The location of the river source in which the state of Juandu was situated must have been the same as that of the Congling River and the Yutian River, even if this source, as the scholars who hold to the latter theory have said, was the source of the Xintou River.

2. In the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96A, it is recorded:

[The route] which starts from the royal court of Nearer Jushi, running alongside the Northern Mountains and following the course of the river west to Shule, is the Northern Route. To the west, the Northern Route crossed the Congling and leads to Dayuan, Kangju and Yancai.

Taken in conjunction with the statement of the same chapter "to the northwest it [Juandu] is a distance of 1,030 *li* to Dayuan", those who hold to the former theory point out that Juandu must have been situated at the hub of the mountain road from Shule to Dayuan, namely Irkeshtam, by which one could reach Ferghāna crossing the Terek Pass. However, those who hold the latter theory suggest that the text "至疏勒南與葱嶺屬" should be read as "至疏勒南, 與葱嶺屬" and "至疏勒南", should be a textual error for "北至疏勒" (advancing north one can reach Shule), which was changed improperly into "南至疏勒", probably because the preceding sentence "南與

烏耗接" was written as "北與烏孫接" by mistake, and eventually was reversed into "至疏勒南".

In my opinion, the original text was arbitrarily emended in order to prove their theory, and it is difficult to approve of this. In fact, the three characters "至疏勒" should be regarded as a sentence; the character of "東" was omitted before "至" simply because it was continued from the preceding sentence "東至都護治所". And after "疏勒", the distance to Shule was missed.^[64]

3. In the text it is recorded that Juandu adjoined Wusun in the north. Those who hold to the latter theory suggest that the text should be emended to read "Juandu adjoins Wuzha in the south", because "Juandu", which may have been identical with "Shendu", obviously could not adjoin Wusun, which was situated far away in the Tian Mountains. In addition, the "Wusun" in the statement "clothing is of the same type as that of Wusun" also was probably a textual error for "Wuzha".

In the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96B, it is recorded that "among the people of Wusun there are [elements of] the Sai race and the Da Yuezhi race." The people of Juandu were originally the Sai, and made a living as a nomadic tribe, and their clothing consequently was of the same type as that of Wusun. However, in the same book, ch. 96A, it is recorded that the people of Wuzha "live in the mountains, and work the land that lies between the rocks". Obviously, they had already settled down. How could the clothing of the Juandu people be of the same type as that of Wuzha? Moreover, since the western boundary of Wusun was Kagart Mountain and Yassi Mountain, and Juandu was a land of nomads, whose nomadic sphere was not limited to the place of Irkeshtam alone, it also was very possible that the northern boundary of Juandu adjoined Wusun.

4. In the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96A, it is recorded:

When, formerly, the Xiongnu conquered the Da Yuezhi, the latter moved west and established themselves as masters of Daxia; it was in these circumstances that the king of the Sai moved south and established himself as master of Jibin 屬賓. The Sai tribes split and separated and repeatedly formed several states. To the northwest of Shule, states such as Xiuxun and Juandu were all of the former Sai race.

This shows clearly that Juandu was situated to the northwest of Shule. Those who hold to the latter theory also emend "the northwest" to "the southwest". I believe that this is wrong as well.

5. According to Yan Shigu's commentary, the pronunciation of "Juandu" was the same as that of "Shendu". It is consequently possible that "Juandu" took its name from "Hindu", and that "Yandun", the name of the royal government of Juandu, also had the same origin as "Juandu".^[65] Therefore, it seems that the Sai in Juandu were those who did not move directly south from "the land of the Sai", but moved north from Shendu and entered Irkeshtam after having moved south and crossed over the Hindukush.

(K)

In the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96A, it is recorded:

The state of Xiuxun: The seat of the royal government is the Niaofei 鳥飛 valley. It is west of the Congling, and is 10,210 *li* distant from Chang'an. There are 358 households, including 480 persons able to bear arms. To the east it is a distance of 3,121 *li* to the seat of the Protector General, and 260 *li* from the Yandun valley [in the state of] Juandu; to the northwest it is a distance of 920 *li* to the state of Dayuan; and 1,610 *li* to the Da Yuezhi in the west. Popular customs and clothing are of the same type as in Wusun, and in company with their stock animals they wander to find water and pasture. Originally they were of the Sai race.

On the location of Xiuxun, there have been various theories.^[66] However, since Juandu has been verified as being situated at Irkeshtam, Xiuxun was undoubtedly situated on the Alai Plateau.^[67]

1. In the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96A, it is recorded that "ascending the Congling on the west, one is at Xiuxun" from Juandu, and that to the east Xiuxun is a distance of "260 *li* from the Yandun valley, [in the state of] Juandu". Since Juandu was situated at Irkeshtam, Xiuxun must have been on the east of the Alai Plateau, and the boundary between Juandu and Xiuxun would have been the Taum Murun Pass. Crossing over Talduk Pass from Xiuxun, to the northwest one could reach Ush in Ferghāna by way of Gulcha. Following the course of the Surkh-āb River, one could go and reach Bactria by way of Karategin. This accords with the statement "to the northwest it is a distance of 920 *li* to the state of Dayuan; and 1,610 *li* to the Da Yuezhi in the west".

2. It has been suggested that Juandu was situated at Irkeshtam, and Xiuxun at Gulcha.^[68] This theory is based mainly on the inference that the royal court of the Da Yuezhi was situated at Khuttal.

In my opinion, this is undoubtedly wrong, especially since Gulcha is situated to the northwest of Irkeshtam, not to the west. In addition, Gulcha was on the only route from Irkeshtam to Ferghāna, but Xiuxun was not necessarily on the only route from Juandu to Dayuan, judging from the distances from Juandu and Xiuxun to Dayuan and the distance between Xiuxun and Juandu. Therefore, the Gulcha theory is unconvincing.^[69]

3. It has been suggested that Juandu was situated south of the Hindukush, and that Xiuxun was consequently identical with Hunza. The evidence to prove this is the statement of the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96A, that the state of Nandou "adjoins Xiuxun in the north".^[70]

In my opinion, there were only 350 households and 1,030 individuals in the state of Xiuxun, which was situated on the Alai Plateau as a small state, thus its boundary may not actually have reached to Nandou, which was situated south of the Hindukush. However, we should not move the state of Xiuxun to south of the Hindukush merely on the basis of this statement. In the above-cited text it is clearly recorded that Xiuxun was situated to the northwest of Shule. The statement, Nandou "adjoins Xiuxun in the north", might show that Xiuxun was the only state known by the Han people at one time north of the Hindukush.^[71] To sum up, since Juandu was situated at Irkeshtam, Xiuxun must not have been situated at Hunza.

4. In the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96A, it is recorded that "to the northwest [Xiuxun] it is a distance of 920 *li* to the state of Dayuan". It has been suggested that this was not the actual distance between the two states, but a figure that was obtained by the editor of

the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96, by deducing the distance between Dayuan and the Da Yuezhi (690 *li*) on the basis of the distance between Xiuxun and the Da Yuezhi (1,610 *li*).^[72]

In my opinion, this opinion is incorrect, because the distance from the Alai Plateau (Xiuxun) to Khojend (the town of Guishan, the capital of Dayuan), was roughly equal to 920 *li*. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A it is recorded that the distances from Dayuan and Xiuxun to the seat of the Protector General were 4,031 *li* and 3,121 *li* respectively, the difference between both was 910 *li*, which shows that the record regarding the distance from Xiuxun to Dayuan is correct.^[73]

Also, in the *Hanshu*, Ch. 96A, it is recorded that the distances from Xiuxun and Dayuan to Chang'an were 10,210 *li* and 12,550 *li* respectively, and the difference between both was 2,340 *li*. Based on this, it has been suggested that the distance from Xiuxun to Dayuan (920 *li*) was wrong and consequently Xiuxun was a state on the Southern Route in the Western Regions. In my opinion, this is also unconvincing.

One went to both Dayuan and Kangju by way of the Northern Route. However, in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded that "to the north [Dayuan] is at a distance of 1,500 *li* from the town of Beitian in Kangju", and that Kangju was at a distance of 12,300 *li* from Chang'an. The latter distance, on the contrary, was 250 *li* shorter than the distance to Chang'an from Dayuan. This shows that the distance to Chang'an from Dayuan in the text was unreliable.

5. The name of "Xiuxun" was possibly a transcription of "Gasiani".^[74] The Gasiani were one of the Sakā tribes, which moved south into the Pamir region from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu in 177/176 B.C.^[75]

Notes:

1. At first, the Western scholars, suggested that Dayuan was situated in Ferghāna. Cf. Richthofen, pp. 449-551, and others all follow his theory. However, their analyses of the sources are insufficiently thorough. For example, Richthofen believed that Xiuxun was situated east of Ferghāna, and Dayuan, to the west. Shiratori (1941-4), has pointed out errors in Richthofen's study. On other various theories, see Cen (1981), pp. 281-307. The theories which Cen has not referred to are mainly as follows: A) Tsutsui. In this paper, it has been suggested that Dayuan was situated at Badakshan. B) Pulleyblank (1966). In this paper, it has been suggested that the Dayuan which Zhan Qian passed through during his first mission to the Western Regions was not identical with the Dayuan described by the *Hanshu*, ch. 96. The latter must refer to Sogdiana. In my opinion, this conclusion seems to be inadequate, as it is drawn from a mechanical contrast between the relative records in the *Hanshu* and *Shiji*. Pulleyblank suggests further that the town of Guishan, the capital of Dayuan, was identical with Guishuangni 貴霜匿, and that the town of Ershi was Neseft. I think that these opinions are all wrong.
2. Cf. chapter 7.
3. Cf. chapter 5.
4. Cf. chapter 2 & 3.
5. Cf. Sections J in this chapter.
6. The English translation of the *Hanshu*, ch. 61 & 96, (including the parallel passages in the *Shiji*.) used here are based on that of Hulsewé & Loewe, with a few of my own changes.
7. For the boundaries between the state of Dayuan and the state of Wusun, the state of Kangju and the state of Da Yuezhi, cf. Shiratori (1941-4).
8. Cf. Shiratori (1941-4) and Sections J in this chapter.
9. Cf. Uchida (1938: III). Shiratori (1941-2, 4), suggests that Sogdiana must have been subject to Kangju at the time. Furthermore, the only route to Sogdiana from the

metropolitan territory of Kangju, which was situated on the northern bank of the Syr Darya, was that starting from Tashkend going south, crossing over the Syr Darya and reaching Khojend, then skirting the northern edge of the Turkestan Mountains and leading west to Jizak by way of Nau, Ura-tübe, and Zamin. Therefore, none of regions from Tashkend as far as Ura-tübe were the territory of Dayuan. In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. See Section C in this chapter. In addition, in the *Xin Tangshu*, ch. 221B, it is pointed out that the state of Shi "was originally the northern region of Dayuan territory in the Han Times". At the same time, it is recorded that the town of Zhezhe, the seat of the royal government [of Shi], "was originally the former land of the town of Yuni 窳匿, one of the lesser kings of Kangju". This shows that this land belonged partly to Dayuan, and partly to Kangju in Han times. Cf. Uchida (1938: III). In addition, Shiratori (1941-2, 4) suggests that the governor of Xiuxun was established at Ningyuan 寧遠 in Tang times, which shows that the Tang people believed Xiuxun was situated in Ferghāna in Han times, and consequently placed the state of Dayuan at Tashkend and Ura-tübe. In my opinion, that the seat of the Xiuxun governor was situated at Ningyuan in Tang times does not show that the Tang people believed the state of Xiuxun to be situated in Ferghāna in Han times, and the statements that Ura-tub was called "the state of Dayuan in Han times" and the state of Shi, "the northern region of Dayuan territory in the Han times" does not show that the state of Dayuan in Han times only included the south of Tashkend and Ura-tübe.

10. Shiratori (1941-4) has criticized various theories advanced before him. He himself believes that the inhabitants in Ferghāna were the Tapurei people of Ptolemy (VI, 14). "Tapurei" was misread as "Tawar" in Persian, and "Dayuan" was only a transcription of "Tawar". In my opinion, the theory of Shiratori is wrong. "Tapurei" is a textual error for "Tagurei". The Tagurei lived near Issy Kul [See Tarn (1951), pp. 516-517]. They may have been Tochari who remained in "the land of the Sai" (see Chapter 2). Shiratori's theory is unconvincing. Ogawa (1929-1), suggests that "Dayuan" may be identified with "Dayun 大運" in the "Haiwaixijing" 海外西經 of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 and Yanshan 彛山 in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* 穆天子傳, ch. 3. However, as Cen (1981), pp. 281-307, has said, in ancient historical study, one is not able to come to a conclusion on the basis of a few words. Cen himself believes that "Dayuan" was a transcription of "Andijan". Andijan is said to be a rich place where merchants gathered, so the merchants in Ferghāna were generally called "Andijani", and the character *yuan* 宛 had a pronunciation similar to "An[dijan]". In my opinion, Cen's theory is also unconvincing.
11. Cen (1981), pp. 281-307 and others hold this theory.
12. See Pulleyblank (1966).
13. Cf. chapter 2.
14. Naka Michiyo 那珂通世, "Tangdai Xiyu 唐代西域圖" (A Map of the Western Regions in the Tang Times), a draft cited by Kuwabara (1934-2).
15. Richthofen, p. 451.
16. Cf. Wylie.
17. Lacouperie, pp. 220-225; Fujita (1943-1) and Uchida (1938:III).
18. Gutschmid (1888), p.63. Miyake Yonekichi (1900: II); Shiratori (1941-1), had once supported this theory, but later changed over and supported the Kāsān theory. The first comprehensive proof of this theory is Kuwabara (1934-2, 3, 4).
19. For critiques of the three theories, see Kuwabara (1934-2, 3, 4).
20. Kuwabara (1934-2, 3, 4) points out that according to the *Da Tang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, ch. 1, it was a distance of over 2,100 *li* from Ling 凌 Mountain to Zheshi 赭時 via the Great Clear Pool 大清池 and the town of the Suye 素葉 River. Of this, the distance from Ling Mountain to the Great Clear Pool was over 400 *li* and the town of Chigu was situated halfway, so the distance from the town of Chigu to Zheshi was about 1,900 *li*. According to the *Xin Tangshu*, ch. 221B, the distance from Zheshi to Juzhandi 俱戰提(Khojend) was 200 *li* 二百里; "二" may be a textual error for "三", so the distance from the town of Chigu to Khojend was about 2,100 (or 2,200) *li*. The length of 1 *li* in the Han and Tang times was about 400 meters. Fujita (1943-1), points out that to reach the town of Guishan (Kāsān)

- from the town of Chigu (in the upper reaches of the Narin River), one would have to have crossed over the Bada Mountain and gone to the present Narynsk alongside the Kala River, and from there gone north and arrived at Kāsān proceeding along the Narin River, and crossed over Ferghāna Kette by way of Andijan, Namangan. However, Kuwabara suggests that this route was not opened up until Chen Tang attacked Zhizhi, and had not yet been a common route before this, and that even if one proceeded west along the route described by Fujita, the distance on the map from the town of Chigu to Khojend would be about 770-780 kilometers, which was equal to 1,950 *li*, and the distance from the town of Chigu to Kāsān would be only 1,540-1,550 *li*. Moreover, Uchida (1938:III), suggests that the town of Chigu was situated at Narikol, so the town of Guishan which was 2,000 *li* distant from the town of Chigu, to the southwest, must have been Kāsān. In my opinion, Uchida's theory is unconvincing; cf. chapter 7.
21. Kuwabara (1934-2, 3, 4) points out that the distance on the map from Khojend to Balkh via Samarkand was 580 km, which was equal to less than 200 *li*. The same conclusion also could be drawn from Arabian geographies and the records in Tang times. He also points out that the statements of the *Shiji*, ch. 123, that the distance from Han to Dayuan was "about 10,000 *li*", and, to Daxia "12,000 *li*", which may be offered for comparison. Shiratori (1941-4) suggests that the distance from Daxia to Dayuan as recorded in the *Shiji*, ch. 123, should not be taken as evidence, as the same chapter records that the state of Da Yuezhi which was situated on the northern bank of the River Gui was 2,000 or 3,000 *li* from Dayuan. In my opinion, Shiratori's theory is unconvincing. The distance from Dayuan to Daxia cannot be refuted on the basis of the error in the distance between Dayuan and the Da Yuezhi.
 22. Kuwabara (1934-2, 3, 4) argues that Juandu and Xiuxun were at Irkeshtam and Dsiptik respectively, and that if the distances to Khojend from both states, according to the present distances on the map (in kilometres), is converted into *li*, the error would be less than 40 *li*. However, the error would be more than 300 *li* if one takes the town of Guishan as Kāsān. Fujita (1943-1) believes that Xiuxun was situated at Gulcha. Kuwabara points out that this theory is unconvincing, as the distance from Khojend to Kāsān was only 530 *li*. Moreover, Uchida (1938: III) also holds to the theory that Guishan should be identified with Kāsān, so he criticizes Kuwabara and says that the routes from Xiuxun and Juandu to Kāsān were mostly rugged mountain paths, and the actual distances therefore would be longer than the distances on the map. In my opinion, if this is correct, Uchida has only established that the records in the *Hanshu* concerning the distance from Juandu to the town of Guishan are no bar to establishing the identification of the Guishan with Kāsān. He never denies the identification of Guishan with Khojend.
 23. See: Uchida (1938: III).
 24. The text of "徙其城下水空以空其城" occurs as "徙其城下水空以穴其城" in the *Hanshu*, ch. 61. Shiratori (1941-4) believes that the latter is right. If the sources of water were cut off and diverted, the canals which led the water into the town, of course, would change into empty holes in the walls. Cen (1981), pp. 281-307, considers that the former text is reliable. According to this text the statement means that the water outside the town was diverted in order to weaken gradually the inside of the town. In my opinion, both the theories are acceptable.
 25. Cf. Shiratori (1941-4); Uchida (1938: III). Moreover, Kuwabara (1934-2, 3, 4), points out that the water in the Syr Darya was too muddy to drink, so the inhabitants drew water from its tributaries. Li Guangli was consequently able to cut off their source of water. However, Uchida considers that even if the water was muddy, it could be drunk during war. In my opinion, both these theories are not unconvincing.
 26. Shiratori (1941-4).
 27. Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, with an English translation by Robson, E.I., New York: 1929.
 28. Shiratori (1941-4).
 29. Shiratori (1941-1); Ma Yong (1984:2); and the chapter 3.

30. Cf. Kuwabara (1934-2, 3, 4). The Da Yuezhi was 4,740 *li* from the seat of the Protector General, and 4,031 *li* from Dayuan. The difference was 709 *li*, and according to Kuwabara, this shows that "690 *li*" as the distance between the Da Yuezhi and Dayuan is reliable. Fujita (1943-1) points out that Dayuan belonged to the states on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, and the Da Yuezhi, the Southern Route. Therefore, the difference between distances from these two states to Wulei were not equal to the distance between Dayuan and the Da Yuezhi. Kuwabara refuted this, saying that, in going from Wulei to Da Yuezhi, one must have proceeded along the Northern Route, not the Southern Route. If one went along the Southern Route, the only route would be via Suoju, but, according to the relative records, the distance between Suoju and Wulei was 4,746 *li*, which was farther than the distance from Wulei to the Da Yuezhi. This shows that, when starting from Wulei one did not go to the Da Yuezhi along the Southern Route. In my opinion, both the theories are unconvincing. Although going from Wulei to the Da Yuezhi, as Kuwabara pointed out, one went along the Northern Route, but apparently not by way of Dayuan, by way of Xiuxun directly. Therefore, it may not be accidental that the distance between the seat of the Protector General and the Da Yuezhi (4,740 *li*) was roughly equal to the sum of the distances from Xiuxun to the seat of the Protector General (3,121 *li*) and to the Da Yuezhi (1,610 *li*).
31. Shiratori (1944-1).
32. Shiratori (1941-4), and Fujita (1943-1), consider that the "690 *li*" was a textual error for "1,690 *li*" and "2,690 *li*" respectively. In my opinion, both the theories are unconvincing.
33. Kuwabara (1934-2, 3, 4).
34. Kuwabara (1934-2, 3, 4).
35. Cf. chapter 1.
36. Those who hold to the theory are Chavannes (1985), pp.75-76, Note 1; (1906), p. 253, Note 2; Tarn, (1951), p. 309; Kuwabara (1934-2); Uchida (1938: III).
37. See: Shiratori (1941-4). In his opinion, the capital of Dayuan that Li Guangli attacked was the town of Ershi, which was 200 *li* distant from Yucheng (Ush). The town was located at the present Margilan, which was named "Ershi" because Nesaeen horses were raised there at the time. Kuwabara (1934-2, 3, 4). Fujita (1943-1) and Cen (1981), pp. 281-307, all have put forward criticisms of his theory.
38. See Fujita (1943-1). He suggests that the capital of Dayuan that Li Guangli attacked was the town of Ershi, which thus must have been the town of Guishan (Kāsān). "Ershi" was a transcription of "Gidghil", which was situated to the north of Kāsān. I consider that his theory is unconvincing, and Kuwabara (1934-3, 4), has also criticized it.
39. This is the theory of Cen (1981), pp. 281-307. In his opinion, "Ershi" was a transcription of "Jizak", which, with plenty of water and lush grass, was situated on the northern edge of the Turkestan Mountains. This town was not attacked by the Ershi General, because it was located southwest of Dayuan. I believe that his theory is unconvincing, because it can not yet be confirmed that the western boundary of Dayuan extended as far as Jizak.
40. Herodotus' *History*, English Translation by Grene.
41. Shiratori (1941-4).
42. Cen (1981), pp. 281-307.
43. Uchida (1938: III), believes that when the army invaded, Dayuan had amassed the people and livestock of its vassal towns (the town of Ershi was one of those) to the capital in order to avoid the vanguard of the enemy, hence Li Guangli was able to obtain the fine horses after he had breached the capital. Furthermore, Li Guangli's destination was not the town of Ershi, but the capital of Dayuan, in order to punish the king of Dayuan for killing the Han envoys. In my opinion, his theory is not necessarily correct. The town of Ershi was situated to the west of the capital of Dayuan, and, therefore, it seems that there was no need to amass people and livestock of the town to the capital. The capital of Dayuan would naturally have had fine horses of its own. Since Li Guangli had been given the title "the Ershi General", the town of Ershi was, of course, one of his destinations; that he never reached the town of Ershi was only because the capital of Dayuan had not been breached.
44. Fujita (1943-1).

45. Cf. Shiratori (1941-4). Also, Cen (1981), pp. 281-307, believes that the capital of Dayuan was first established at Andijan, and was later moved to Kāsān. I believe that his theory is unconvincing.
46. Shiratori (1941-4).
47. This is the theory of Cen (1981), pp. 281-307. In addition, Uchida (1938: III), suggests that Yucheng may be identified with Terek or Uzgent.
48. See Fujita (1943-1). Fujita suggests that Aksikath was the largest town to the east of Kāsān according to Arabian records, but it is not known whether Ush or Uzgent had already been founded in Han times. I believe that we are equally ignorant of whether Aksikath had already been founded at that time.
49. Shiratori (1941-4); Fujita (1943-1) and Cen (1981), pp. 281-307 all believe that the capital of Dayuan that Li Guangli attacked was 200 *li* from Yucheng, so they regarded the two as Margilan and Ush, Kāsān and Aksikath, and Andijan and Uzgen respectively.
50. Feng, Y.
51. Shiratori (1941-4).
52. Fujita (1943-1).
53. Yu, T. (1985).
54. Yu; Zhang, W.; Xing; Waley.
55. Cf. chapter 2.
56. Laufer, 1919. pp. 208-209.
57. Shiratori (1941-4).
58. Pulleyblank (1962), p. 227, and (1966).
59. For the essentials and critiques of the various theories, see Shiratori (1941-4) and Cen (1981), pp. 318-322.
60. Shiratori (1941-4).
61. This is the theory of Cen (1981), pp. 318-322.
62. For example: the *Yongle Dadian* 永樂大典 of the Liu 柳 Version. See Wang (1984), p. 29.
63. Cf. Mori, S. & Hibino, p. 29.
64. Cf. Hulsewé & Loewe, p. 139, note 360.
65. Shiratori (1941-6) believes that "Juandu" was a transcription of ändü, a Türkic word. I think the theory of Shiratori is incorrect. Moreover, Fujita (1943-1) believes that "Yandun" was a transcription of Irkeshtam, and Kidshabai, a pass, which was on the way from Irkeshtam to Gulcha, may have been named after Juandu.
66. For essentials and critiques of the various theories, see: Shiratori (1941-4), and Cen (1981), pp. 310-317.
67. Shiratori (1941-4). In addition, Matsuda Hisao 1975, holds to a similar theory. The former believes that Xiuxun was situated at Disppitik, and the latter, Sari-tash.
68. Fujita (1943-1).
69. Kuwabara (1934-2, 3, 4).
70. This is the theory of Cen (1981), pp. 310-317.
71. Cf. Enoki (1941).
72. This is the theory of Cen (1981), pp. 310-317.
73. Matsuda (1970), p.71, points out that the "4,031 *li*" was a textual error for "4,021 *li*".
74. Shiratori (1941-6) believes that "Xiuxun" was a transcription of üšün, a Türkic word. In my opinion, his theory is unconvincing.
75. Cf. chapter 2.

CHAPTER 5 THE KANGJU

(A)

The location of the state of Kangju 康居, in the light of the *Shiji* 史記 and the *Hanshu* 漢書, can be ascertained as follows.^[1]

1. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded: "[Kangju] is a neighbouring state of Dayuan 大宛." In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded: "[Dayuan] Adjoins Kanju in the north."^[2] Since Dayuan was situated in the Ferghāna Basin, the natural boundary line between Dayuan and Kangju must have been the Chatkal Tau and the Urtak Tau.^[3]

2. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded: "Yancai 奄蔡 is some 2,000 *li* northwest of Kangju. ...It is situated on the Great Marsh, which has no [farther] shore and which is presumably the Northern Sea." There is an identical passage in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A. Since the Yancai lived to the north of the Aral and Caspian Seas and the so-called "Great Marsh" might refer to the Aral, the boundary between Kangju and Yancai must have been in the lower reaches of the Syr Darya.^[4]

3. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, it is recorded: "[Wusun] adjoins Kangju in the northwest." In chapter 70, it is recorded that when Gan Yanshou 甘延壽 and Chen Tang 陳湯 attacked Chanyu Zhizhi 郅支單于 of the Xiongnu 匈奴,

they led their troops and divided them into six *xiao* 校 (a military unit). While three *xiao*, following the Southern Route, crossed the Congling 葱嶺 and went by way of Dayuan, the other three, which were under the command of the Protector General himself, started from the state of Wensu 溫宿, following the Northern Route, entered the town of Chigu 赤谷, passed through Wusun, set foot within the boundaries of the state of Kangju, and reached to the western region of Tian 闐 Lake.

Since Tian Lake may be the Issik Kul, and the territory of Wusun lay around the lake, its western boundary with Dayuan was marked by Kagart and Yassi mountains; its northwestern border with Kangju was formed by the Alexandrovski Mountains and the River Chu.^[5]

4. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 94B, it is recorded that having killed the Han envoys, and being afraid of the strength of Huhaxie 呼韓邪, Zhizhi decided to go far away;

It happened, that, having often been defeated by the Wusun, the king of Kangju deliberated with all his Xihou, and concluded that: "Xiongnu is a great state and Wusun has always been subject to it. Recently, Chanyu Zhizhi has been in distress outside his state. We may meet him and find a place for him in the east [of our country], then we can mount a joint attack, occupy the land of

Wusun and establish him there. If we did this, we would never have to worry about the Xiongnu."

In the same book, ch. 70, it is recorded that, after having fled west to Kangju, "Zhizhi did not treat the king of Kangju with due respect and, in anger, killed his daughter, nobles and several hundred people. Some of them were dismembered and thrown into the River Dulai 都賴." The River Dulai is the present River Talas. The valley of the river would be the place which the king of Kangju found for Zhizhi. In the same chapter, the following words by Chen Tang are also recorded:

Recently, Zhizhi has made a name for himself. He has invaded Wusun and Dayuan and has plotted frequently with the Kangju in order to conquer them. If he conquers these two states, he will attack the state of Yilie 伊列 to the north; occupy Anxi 安息 to the west; repel Yuezhi 月氏 and Shanyiwuli 山離烏弋 to the south and the various states of the walled towns will be in danger in the years to come.

"Yilie" was named after the River Ili, whose upper and middle reaches may have been subject to Wusun. The record states that Zhizhi was going to have Kangju subjugate Wusun and then attack Yilie to the north, and also that "[the Protector General] passed through Wusun, set foot within the boundaries of Kangju". This shows that the eastern part of Kangju was situated to the east of the River Talas and extended as far as the River Chu.^[6]

5. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, it is recorded: "The state of Zheshe 者舌 was formerly the state of Kangju and was situated northwest of Poluona 破洛那." In the *Tongdian* 通典, ch. 193, it is recorded: "The state of Shi 石 established its capital at the town of Zhezhe 柘折. It covers more than 1,000 *li* square and was originally part of the remote northern districts of Dayuan." The state of Zheshe was in fact the state of Shi. "Zheshe" is a different transcription of "Zhezhe". These citations show that at least the north of Tashkent had once been subject to Kangju.^[7]

(B)

In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded:

The seat of the royal government [of Kangju] in winter is in [the region from] Yueyuenidi 樂越匿地 to the town of Beitian 卑闐. It is 12,300 *li* from Chang'an 長安 and is not subject to the Protector General. One reaches Yuenidi 越匿地 after a journey of seven days on horseback, and it is 9,104 *li* from Fannei 蕃內, the royal summer residence. There are 120,000 households; 600,000 individuals with 120,000 men able to bear arms. To the east it is a distance of 5,550 *li* to the seat of the protector General. The way of life is identical with that of the Da Yuezhi. In the east it was constrained to serve the Xiongnu.

The distances "12,000 *li*", "a journey of seven days on horseback", "9,104 *li*" and "5,550 *li*" may refer to the distances from Beitian to Chang'an, Yuenidi, Fannei and the seat of the Protector General respectively.^[8]

In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded: "The seat of the royal government [of Dayuan] is at the town of Guishan 貴山. ...[It is] 1,510 *li* north to the town of Beitian in Kangju." Since Guishan was situated at Khojend,^[9] the town of Beitian must have been situated to the south of the Kara Tau and north of the Syr Darya, around Turkestan.^[10]

As for "Beitian", it has been suggested that it was either a transcription of *bicīn*, a word of the Čagatai language, or of *bizān*, a word of the Osman language, both of which mean "town".^[11] It has been also suggested that it was a transcription of *batar*, a Türkic word, which means "marshland".^[12] In my opinion, these theories are unconvincing, because they are based on the hypothesis that the Kangju were a Türkic tribe, for which there is not enough evidence. There still remains much research to do on the etymology of "Beitian".

Yueyuenidi or Yuenidi, the winter residence of the Kangju king, must have lain to the south of Beitian and, since it is stated that it was a seven days' journey on horseback, it may have been situated in the vicinity of Tashkent. In regard to its name, it has been suggested that it was a transcription of *ottok*^[13] or that it originally was derived from *lux yañāq*, which means "edge of the reed marshes".^[14] These theories are based on the hypothesis that the Kangju were a Türkic tribe; they therefore are mistaken.^[15]

There is no correct explanation for the meaning of the name "Fanneidi".^[16] In the text it is recorded that it was 9,104 *li* from Beitian. But this data is inconsistent with other records in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, where it is stated that Chigu, the seat of the royal government of Wusun, "is 1,721 *li* east to the seat of the Protector General, and 5,000 *li* the west to Fanneidi in Kangju." This latter description shows that Fanneidi was 6,721 *li* from the seat of the Protector General. The distance, minus 5,550 *li*, the distance from Beitian to the seat of the Protector General is 1,171 *li*, that is the distance from Beitian to Fanneidi. Therefore, "9,104 *li*" in the text may be a textual error for "1,104 *li*".^[17] Moreover, since Fanneidi was the royal summer residence, its location must have been over 1,000 *li* northwest of Turkestan.

(C)

From the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu*, it can be inferred that Sogdiana was a dependency of Kangju in the Han times.^[18]

1. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that when Zhang Qian 張騫 was sent as an envoy to Da Yuezhi and passed the capital of Dayuan, "[the king of Dayuan] provided him with interpreters and guides. He reached Kangju, who passed him on to Da Yuezhi." There is an identical record in the *Hanshu*, ch. 61. At that time, the Da Yuezhi established their royal court on the northern bank of the River Gui 媯 (the Amu Darya). Going to the royal court of Da Yuezhi from the capital of the Dayuan (Khojend) Zhang Qian must have proceeded west, skirting the northern edge of the Turkestan Mountains, and then moved south by way of Sarmarkand. There was absolutely no need to go via the roundabout way through the metropolitan territory of Kangju on the northern bank of the Syr Darya. Because of this, the "Kangju" here

can only be regarded as Sogdiana, a dependency of Kangju. The Da Yuezhi established their royal court on the northern bank of the River Gui, but their territory lay mainly on the southern bank (Tukhārestān). In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that to the north of the Da Yuezhi was Kangju. The so-called Kangju here must also be taken as Sogdiana, a dependency of Kangju.^[19]

2. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded: "[Anxi] is situated on the River Gui." In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded: "[Anxi] adjoins Kangju in the north." Since Mulu 木鹿 was occupied by Anxi at that time, the River Gui on which Anxi was situated might be the middle sector of the Amu Darya. Since the area opposite of Mulu were oases, such as Bokhāra, the statement "[Anxi] adjoins Kangju in the north" must be considered to mean that Anxi adjoined Sogdiana, a dependency of Kangju.^[20]

3. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded that during the reign period of Emperor Cheng 成, the king of Kangju sent his son to attend at the Han court with gifts, and Guo Shun 郭舜, the Protector General, consequently submitted a report, which stated that "they desired to trade [with us] and it is just a pretext to establish friendly relations".^[21] The Kangju, who were a nomadic tribe, did not necessarily understand the interests of trade. However, they would send a son to attend at the Han court and go so far as to make a pretext of establishing friendly relations, probably because they were affected by the Sogdians who were subject to them. The circumstance were similar to that of the Hephthalites and Türks who had occupied Sogdiana. This seems to show that Sogdiana was under the reign of the Kangju at that time.^[22]

4. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 118, it is recorded: "The state of Suyi 粟弋 is subject to Kangju." It is also recorded:

...The seat of the royal government [of Anxi] is at the town of Hedu 和犢. It is 25,000 *li* from Luoyang 洛陽. [Anxi] adjoins Kangju in the north. ...The town of Mulu lying on the eastern boundary is known as Little Anxi, which is 20,000 *li* from Luoyang.

This also shows that Sogdiana (Suyi) was a dependency of Kangju in Eastern Han times.

The following are some additional explanations:

1. It has been suggested that since it is recorded that Kangju was a small state in the *Shiji*, ch. 123, there seemed no reason to believe Kangju took possession of such a vast sphere of influence.^[23]

In my opinion, the *Shiji*, ch. 123, the *Hanshu*, ch. 96 and the *Hou Hanshu*, ch. 118 all have recorded minutely the numbers of households, individuals and people able to bear arms in various states in the Western Regions. However, the four boundaries of their territories have not been described in detail. This shows that the Han regime attached more importance to "the numbers of people" than to field-land or territory. In fact, the standard by which to measure the size of a state was not its territory, but its population.^[24] In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded: "The states reached by [Zhang] Qian in person comprised Dayuan, Da Yuezhi, Daxia and Kangju, and those of whom he heard included five or six large states at their side." The "five or six large states at their side" may refer to Anxi, Yancai, Tiaozhi 條枝, Lixuan 黎軒, Shendu 身毒 and Wusun. The population of Kangju was only slightly more than that of Wusun, so its being regarded as a smaller state had nothing to do with its territory or the sphere of its

influence. In the same chapter it is recorded that Kangju's "forces were strong", therefore it is very likely that Sogdiana was subject to Kangju.

2. As mentioned above, the south of Tashkent was subject to Dayuan; and in the *Kuodizhi* 括地志 cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義 it is recorded: "The state of Shuaidushana 率都沙那(Sutrūshna, Ura-tūbe) ...was originally the state of Dayan in the Han times." Thus it can be seen that the whole area from Tashkent to Ura-tūbe was subject to Dayuan in Han Times.

It has been suggested that going to Sogdiana from the metropolitan territory of Kangju, one had to pass through Tashkent-Ura-tūbe. If Tashkent-Ura-tūbe was controlled by Kangju at that time, Sogdiana would not have been subject to Kangju.^[25]

In my opinion, the fact that Sogdiana was subject to Kangju does not mean that Sogdiana wholly turned into the territory of Kangju, but that Kangju established a general there to supervise Sogdiana, or that Sogdiana acknowledged allegiance to Kangju and paid tribute on time.

Moreover, as recorded in the *Shiji*, ch. 123, Dayuan's "forces are weak", and Kangju's "forces are strong", which shows that Dayuan was also possibly subject to Kangju to some extent. The Kangju people were therefore able to go to Sogdiana by way of Dayuan. For the same reason, Kangju was separated from the Xiongnu by Yilie and Wusun, but could not avoid the destiny of being "constrained to serve the Xiongnu in the east". Additionally, the area from Ura-tūbe to Tashkent was not necessarily subject to Dayuan throughout the Han times. Growth and decline of Kangju and Dayuan in strength during this period cannot yet be known as relevant sources are deficient. In other words, Tashkent and Ura-tūbe may have belonged to Kangju and Dayuan separately or successively.

3. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded: "Kangju is some 2,000 *li* northwest of Dayuan." It has been suggested that, if the "Kangju" which Zhang Qian passed through when he went to Da Yuezhi from Dayuan was a dependency of Kangju, such information would not have been reported, and that it is also reasonable to assume that Dayuan, whose forces were weak, first led Zhang Qian to Kangju because it was afraid of Kangju, whose forces were strong. Additionally, Zhang Qian was sent to Da Yuezhi, in order to resist the Xiongnu. It was therefore very important to foster good relations with the Kangju; in other words, he was not necessarily unwilling to visit the capital of Kangju.^[26] In the same chapter, it is recorded: "Da Yuezhi is perhaps 2,000 or 3,000 *li* west of Dayuan." It is also recorded: "Daxia is over 2,000 *li* southwest of Dayuan, south of the River Gui." The fact that Da Yuezhi were situated north of Daxia, but the distance from Da Yuezhi to Dayuan was farther than to Daxia, simply shows that the distance, "some 2,000 *li* or 3,000 *li*", includes the journey from Dayuan to the capital of Kangju.^[27]

In my opinion, the statement "Kangju is some 2,000 *li* northwest of Dayuan" refers to the distance from the capital of Kangju to that of Dayuan. This information could have been heard, even if Zhang Qian personally did not reach the capital of Kangju. Since Zhang Qian could know the distance from the capital of Dayuan to that of Kangju, it is unconvincing to infer that he would add this distance into that from the capital of Dayuan to the royal court of the Da Yuezhi. The states reached by Zhang Qian in person during his first mission to the Western Regions were the Dayuan, Da Yuezhi, Daxia and Kangju. Of them, the report about Kangju is the most sketchy, just like that of Yancai. This also shows that Zhang Qian did not personally arrive at the capital of Kangju.

Additionally, in the same chapter it is recorded that "the states such as Da Yuezhi and Kangju, whose forces were strong" and that "in the south [Kangju] is constrained to serve the Yuezhi." This shows that Da Yuezhi's forces were stronger than Kangju's. Would Dayuan fear only Kangju, but not Da Yuezhi, and go so far as to have to lead first Zhang Qian to Kangju? Since Kangju "is constrained to serve the Xiongnu in the east", Zhang Qian evidently did not need to visit the capital of Kangju.

As for the fact that the *Shiji*, ch. 123, states that the distance from Dayuan to the Da Yuezhi was 2,000 *li* or 3,000 *li*, this may be because Da Yuezhi territory was a land of nomads, and there was no telling where their king was. If this distance refers to the journey from Dayuan to Da Yuezhi by way of the capital of Kangju, according to the same logic, the distance from Dayuan to Daxia would exceed "2,000 *li* or 3,000 *li*", as Da Yuezhi were located to the north of Daxia.

4. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that the Da Yuezhi were driven off by the Xiongnu and moved far away, "passing Dayuan and proceeding west to attack and subjugate Daxia".

Based on this, it has been suggested that Sogdiana must have been included within the territory of Daxia at that time, and that the Da Yuezhi had first occupied Sogdiana, which was situated to the west of Dayuan, and then moved south and conquered the whole territory of Daxia. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded that Dayuan was "690 *li* south-west of Da Yuezhi". This also shows that the Da Yuezhi established their court at Samarkand after having attacked and defeated Daxia. In other words, Sogdiana must have belonged to Da Yuezhi, but not to Kangju.^[28]

In my opinion, Sogdiana was subject to Kangju at the time when Zhang Qian travelled there. The situation before Zhang Qian had been to Sogdiana is impossible to know. Even if it can be proven that the Da Yuezhi first occupied Sogdiana which belonged to Daxia when they moved west, it cannot yet be ruled out that the Da Yuezhi withdrew from Sogdiana, and that Sogdiana was re-controlled by the Kangju later. As for the "690 *li*"; this was a datum count by calculation based on the record that Xiuxun "is 920 *li* northwest of the Dayuan, and 1,610 *li* west of Da Yuezhi", which cannot to be taken as evidence as it was conflicts with the other known facts.^[29]

(D)

In the *Hanshu*, ch.,96A, it is recorded:

In Kangju there are five lesser kings. The first is entitled the Suxie 蘇偃 king and his seat of government is at the town of Suxie. It is 5,776 *li* from the [seat of the] Protector General and 8,025 *li* from the Yang 陽關 barrier. The second is entitled the Fumo 附墨 king and his seat of government is at the town of Fumo. It is 5,767 *li* from the [seat of the] Protector General and 8,025 *li* from the Yang barrier. The third is entitled the Yuni 罽匿 king and his seat of government is at the town of Yuni. It is 5,266 *li* from the [seat of the] Protector General and 7,525 *li* from the Yang barrier. The fourth is entitled the Ji 罽 king and his seat of government is at the town of Ji. It is 6,296 *li* from the [seat of the] Protector General and 8,555 *li* from the Yang barrier. The fifth is entitled the Aojian 奧鞞 king and his seat of government is at the town of Aojian.

It is 6,906 *li* from the [seat of the] Protector General and 8,355 *li* from the Yang barrier. All the five kings are subject to Kangju.

There are four points of importance in this passage:

1. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, the section about the five lesser kings of Kangju is separated from that on Kangju by the section on Yancai. This shows that the seats of government of the five lesser kings were not situated in the metropolitan territory of Kangju, and that they were only the vassals of Kangju ("subject to Kangju"). Since Sogdiana was a dependency of Kangju, the seats of government of the five lesser kings were possibly situated in Sogdiana. Evidently, the section about "the five lesser kings" is arranged after the section on Yancai in order to avoid misunderstanding. This shows that the editor of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, had known enough to distinguish the metropolitan territory of Kangju from its dependencies. Also, because the five lesser kings were vassals of Kangju, but they were within Kangju's sphere of influence after all, the same chapter states that Anxi "adjoins Kangju in the north", and calls Sogdiana which Zhang Qian passed through "Kangju".

There is no record concerning the five lesser kings in the *Houhanshu*, ch.118. This may be because the seats of Government of the five lesser kings were mostly situated in Suyi (i.e., Sogdiana). The editor summed it up in a word: "The state of Suyi is subject to Kangju."

2. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

The small states such as Huanqian 驩潛 and Dayi 大益, which are situated to the west of [Da]yuan, and Gushi 姑師, Wumi 扞彌, and Suxie 蘇薤, etc., which are to the east of [Da]yuan, all sent out [their own] envoys to come in company with the Han envoys so as to pay tribute and call upon the Son of Heaven.

It has been suggested that "Suxie" here may have been identical with "Suxie" of the *Hanshu* and that the seat of the royal government must have been situated to the east of Dayuan, to be more exact, to the northeast of Dayuan. Based on this, it has further been inferred that all the seats of government of the five lesser kings must have been situated in the eastern Kangju.^[30]

In my opinion, in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded that the seat of the royal government of Dayuan "is 4,031 *li* east to the seat of the Protector General". However, the seat of royal government of Suxie was 5,776 *li* from the seat of the Protector General. This shows that the latter must have been situated to the west of Dayuan. If the "Suxie" in the *Shiji* indeed was one of the five lesser kingdoms, the record of its location must be incorrect. This was probably because Suxie came to pay tribute in company with states, such as Gushi, which were situated to the east of Dayuan.^[31]

3. It has been suggested that "Yuni" was similar to "Yueni" in the old Chinese pronunciation, so the winter residence of the Kangju king may have been the town of Yuni.^[32]

In my opinion, this theory is probably correct. However, according to the distance to the seat of the Protector General, Beitian, the seat of the royal government of Kangju, was about 300 *li* from Yuni, the seat of the royal government of the Yuni. If it was correct that Yuni was the winter residence of the Kangju king, "a journey of seven days on horseback", the distance from the town of Beitian to Yueni, must be

wrong. Furthermore, "Yuenidi" is also noted as "Yueyuenidi". *yue* 越 [*jiuat*] might originally be a phonetic annotation for *yue* 樂 [*ngeok*], got mixed into the text proper, and then was abbreviated to "Yuenidi" later.

4. The differences between the distances from the seats of governments of the five lesser kings to the seat of the Protector General and the distance to the Yang barrier are 2,249, 2,258, 2,259, 2,259 and 1,449 *li* respectively. This shows that the some of the distances are incorrect. If we correct the distances from Suxie, Fumo, and Aojian to the seat of the Protector General into 5,766, 5,766, and 6,096 *li*, only three Chinese characters of the original text are changed, but the differences between distances to the seat of the Protector General and the distances to the Yang barrier would become identical (2,259 *li*), and all the numbers in units place of the distances to the seat of the Protector General would be "6", and to the Yang barrier "5". This shows that the datum points which were taken for surveying the distances to the seats of government of the five lesser kings were one and the same.^[33]

(E)

In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch.97, it is recorded:

The state of the Kangju is about 2,000 *li* northwest of Dayuan. It adjoins Suyi and Yilie. The king lives at the town of Suxie. Customs, features of men, and clothing are roughly of the same types as those of Dayuan. The land is warm and there is an abundance of phoenix parasol, willow, and grape. There are great many oxen and sheep. It produces fine horses. During the reign period Taishi 泰始, the king, Nabi 那鼻, sent his envoys to seal a memorial and to present fine horses.

On this record, there have been various misunderstandings:

1. It has been suggested that "Suxie" was a transcription of "Soghd (Sogdiana)". The text says that "the king of Kangju lives at the town of Suxie", which shows that the royal government of Kangju had already been moved south at that time.^[34]

In my opinion, if it is correct that Kangju had moved its capital south to Sogdiana, this would not only be in conflict with the statement "[Kangju is] northwest of Dayuan", but also with the statement "[Kangju] adjoins Suyi and Yilie". In fact, "Suyi" must have been identical with Sogdiana and cannot be taken as Sughdag in Crimea^[35], as has been suggested.

2. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that "Suxie was a small state which was situated to the east of Dayuan". On this basis, it has been suggested that the seat of the royal government of Kangju had already been removed east in Jin times, as the "east" of the text may refer to "northeast".^[36]

In my opinion, if "Suxie" of the *Shiji* was situated to the east of Dayuan, and the seat of the royal government of Kangju had been removed there, the text would not say that "the state of Kangju is situated about 2,000 *li* northwest of Dayuan". Furthermore, the statement "its land is warm" etc., does not correspond to the environment of eastern Kangju, the valleys of the Rivers Talas and Chu.^[37]

3. It has been suggested that the state of Kang (Samarkand) had already achieved independence from Kangju at that time, as its envoys reported that the

capital was located at Suxie (Sogdiana). However, the state of Kang was mistaken for the state of Kangju.^[38]

I think this theory is specious. First, Suxie had its own king, which did not show Suxie had already achieved independence from Kangju. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded clearly that there were five lesser kings in the dependency of Kangju. Second, "Suxie" may be taken as a transcription of "Soghd", but did not necessarily refer to the state of Kang (Samarkand). Therefore, it seems to be impossible to talk about mixing up "Kangju" and "Kang".

For these reasons, I suggest that the passage, "the king lives at the town of Suxie.... The land produces fine horses" (31 Chinese characters in all), is a report about Suyi. If we compare this with the record of the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, which says: "The state of Suyi is subject to Kangju. It produces fine horses, oxen and sheep, grapes and fruits. The land has fine water, so the grape wine is especially famous." It is seen that the relevant record of the *Jinshu* indeed describes the characteristics of Sogdiana. The text states that the "customs, features of men, and clothing are roughly of the same types as those of Dayuan", because the inhabitants of Soghd and Dayuan all settled on the soil, and because they were all Europoid. In fact, the above-cited record of *Jinshu* was composed of the sections on Kangju and Suyi:

The state of Kangju is about 2,000 *li* northwest of Dayuan. It adjoins Suyi and Yilie. During the reign period Taishi, the king, Nabi, sent his envoys to seal a memorial and to present fine horses.

[The state of Suyi is subject to Kangju]. The king lives at the town of Suxie. Customs, features of men, and clothing are roughly of the same types as those of Dayuan. The land is warm and there is an abundance of pheonix parasol, willow, and grape. There are a great many oxen and sheep. The land produces fine horses.

As for what caused the two sections to be mixed, it was probably that there were some errors and omissions in the sources on which the editor of the *Jinshu* based his account. It is also very likely that the section on Suyi was attached to the section on Kangju, or that the situation of Suyi was only mentioned in passing in the section on Kangju, because Suyi (Sogdiana) had been still subject to Kangju until the time as described in the *Jinshu*, ch. 97.^[39]

(F)

In the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. 83, it is recorded:

The state of Kang was the successor of Kangju. Their people frequently changed their residences, and did not stay in their former lands, but survived unbroken since the Han times. The royal family, which was originally surnamed Wen 溫, are the Yuezhi, and [their ancestors] had formerly lived at the town of Zhaowu 昭武, which was situated north of the Qilian Mountains. Because of being defeated by the Xiongnu, they moved west and crossed the Congling, and thereupon established their own state. The collateral branches [of the royal family] have been divided to establish themselves respectively as masters, so the

states which were situated to the left and right of the Kang state are all surnamed Zhaowu in order to show that they have not forgotten their origins.

It has been suggested that "Kang" and "Kangju" were mistaken for one and the same state by the editor of the *Suishu*, probably because the first Chinese character of their names are the same. The present scholars follow this error of the *Suishu* and believe that Kangju was situated in Sogdiana. The text says both that "the state of Kang" was "the successor of Kangju" and that the royal family "are the Yuezhi", which is evidently self-contradictory. As for the origin of the surname of Zhaowu mentioned in the text, it was only a conjecture of the Sui people. In other words, the above-cited record comprises a series of misunderstandings and fabrications, and is therefore worthless as historical evidence.^[40] In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing.

1. As mentioned above, Sogdiana, including Samarkand, had always been subject to Kangju at least in the period from Zhang Qian's mission to Da Yuezhi to the end of Eastern Han times. Therefore, the statement "the state of Kang was successor of Kangju" was in fact not wrong. This formulation is not exact, but is acceptable, in view of political subordination. In fact, the editor of the *Suishu*, who never said that the metropolitan territory of Kangju was Sogdiana, should not be held responsible for this mistaken opinion.

2. It has been suggested that "Kang" is a short transcription of "Samar[kand]".^[41] The reason why the Chinese character *kang* was used is possibly that the Sui people had known that this oasis was formerly a dependency of Kangju. In other words, it is not necessary that Samarkand was not associated with "the successor of Kangju" until this oasis was called "Kang". Moreover, even if Samarkand was mistaken for "the successor of Kangju" only because it was called "Kang", it could also be regarded as a case of hitting the mark by a fluke.

3. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that the Da Yuezhi moved west "passing [Da]yuan and proceeding west to attack and subjugate Daxia". Therefore, it was very likely that the Da Yuezhi passed through Samarkand, which was the only way from Ferghāna to Tukhārestān, and left some of their people there, who established themselves as masters of Samarkand and became the ancestors of the surname of Zhaowu later. The statement "they often change their residence, and do not stay in their former lands" may have been the situation at the initial stage. So far as the locality is concerned, they were "the successor of Kangju", but, so far as their royal family, they were the Yuezhi. The *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, ch. 221B, mentions that the king of An 安, Helingjia 訶陵迦, who paid tribute during the reign period Zhenguan 貞觀, flaunted an old blood lineage of his royal house and said: "One surname (Zhaowu) has been handed down for 22 generations." The same chapter also remarks that the state of the Eastern An, which paid tribute in the same time, also had the surname which had been "handed down for 10 generations". Both states were the collateral branches of the Kang state. Thus it can be seen that the origin of the surname of Zhaowu was extremely ancient. However, we cannot consider that Zhaowu established itself as master of Samarkand from the time when the Yuezhi "moved west and crossed the Congling". The statement "they have possessed their own state" is very sweeping and cannot be readily explained in detail. Also, we cannot infer hastily that the five lesser kings of Kangju recorded in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, were all the collateral branches of the surname of Zhaowu in Samarkand. The statement

"[they] survived unbroken since the Han times", however, shows that they had already lived in Samarkand as late as the end of Han times.

In the states surnamed Zhaowu, the royal family were the Yuezhi people, and the subjects were the Sogdians, the local inhabitants. Those bearing the surname of Zhaowu who came to China, of course, included the Sogdians, who assumed the royal surname. Probably because they were similar to the royal family in race, the Han people could not distinguish them.

4. The editor of the *Suishu*, ch. 83, seems to want to offer evidence to prove that the kings of the states which were to the left and the right of Kang were the descendants of the Yuezhi, and pointed out that their surname, "Zhaowu", could be traced back to "the town of Zhaowu north of the Qilian Mountains". By present scholars, this theory has always been taken as nothing more than fantastic talk.^[42]

According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, however, the former land of the Yuezhi, lay "between Dunhuang and Qilian"; and the "Qilian" and "Dunhuang" in the Han times may be identified as the present Tian Mountains and Qilian Mountains.^[43] According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 28B, the county of Zhaowu belonged to the prefecture of Zhangye 張掖 and was situated north of the present Qilian Mountains. The *Suishu*, ch. 83, says that the native place of the surname of Zhaowu was situated north of the Qilian Mountains, because the present Qilian Mountains had already been named "the Qilian Mountains" in the Sui Times.

Additionally, in light of the *Jinshu*, ch. 14A, the name of the country of Zhaowu had already been changed into "Linze 臨澤" in order to avoid the taboo of Emperor Wen 文帝 in Western Jin times. Thus it is both impossible and unnecessary that the Sui people took the archaic name of the county, which had sunk into oblivion, as the surname of the kings of Sogdiana. In other words, the record regarding the royal family of Kang and of the other states which indicates that they were surnamed Zhaowu and that they were the Yuezhi people who formerly lived at "the town of Zhaowu", is quite possibly correct. It is very likely that this information had been obtained from individuals bearing the surname of Zhaowu, who came to China at that time.

5. The statement "[the royal family] was originally surnamed Wen" and changed its surname to Zhaowu later shows that the states which were surnamed Zhaowu had once been reduced to dependencies of the Hephthalites.^[44]

(G)

In the *Xin Tangshu*, ch. 221B, it is recorded:

An, which also is named Buhuo 布豁 or Buhe 捕喝, and was called Niumi 忸蜜 in the Yuanwei 元魏 (i.e. Northern Wei) time. ...It was the former land of the king of Ji, one of the lesser chiefs of Kangju. ...Shi 石, which also is named Zhezhi 柘支 Zhezhe 柘折 or Zheshi 赭時.... It was originally the land of the town of Yuni, one of the lesser kings of Kangju. ...He 何, which is also named Qushuangnija 屈霜你迦 or Guishuangni 貴霜匿; it was the former land of the town of Fumo, one of the lesser kings of Kangju. ...Huoxun 火尋, which also is named Huoliximi 貨利習彌 or Guoli 過利.... It was the former land of the town of Aojian, one of the lesser kings of Kangju. ...Shi 史, which also is

named Qusha 佉沙 or Jieshuangna 羯霜那 and is situated south of the River Dumo 獨莫. It was the former land of the town of Suxie, one of the lesser kings of Kangju.

According to this, of five lesser kings of Kangju, the seats of the royal governments of Ji, Yuni, Fumo and Suxie were situated at Bokhāra, Tashkent, Kashania, and Kesh respectively. As mentioned above, these oases had been subject to Kangju in the Han times. As for "Huoxun" (Khwarizm), the seat of the royal government of Aojian, must have been identical with "Huanqian", a small state west of Dayuan, recorded in the *Shiji*, ch. 123. Khwarizm which lay on the left bank of the Amu Darya, had once confronted Anxi. In view of its location, since Sogdiana was subject to Kangju, Huanqian (Huoxun) also was possibly subject to Kangju.^[45] In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded that Anxi adjoined Kangju in the north. As mentioned above, this shows that Anxi adjoined Sogdiana, a dependency of Kangju, in the middle reaches of the Amu Darya. However, This statement may mean that Anxi adjoined Huanqian, another dependency of Kangju, in the lower reaches of the Amu Darya.^[46] As this was so, the relevant records in the *Xin Tangshu*, ch. 221B, are, generally speaking, reasonable. It has been suggested that the records are all fantastic talk.^[47] I disagree.

In the *Xin Tangshu*, ch. 221B, the seats of government of five lesser kings of Kangju are considered to be situated in the dependency of Kangju, which is correct, but all of the concrete identifications are not acceptable. According to the text of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, of the distances from the seat of the Protector General to the seat of the royal governments of the five lesser kings, the distance to Aojian was the greatest (6,906 *li*). So it seems to be reasonable to place Aojian in Khwarizm. As mentioned above, however, this distance is wrong, and is, in fact, "6,096 *li*". This shows that the distance from the seat of the Protector General to Aojian was nearer than to Ji. If Ji was indeed situated at Bukhāra, Aojian would not have been at Khwarizm. The identification made in the *Xin Tangshu* shows that the textual errors for the distances from the seats of the five lesser kings to the seat of the Protector General have been of long-standing, and the version of the *Hanshu* seen by the Tang people was the same as today's; and the editor of the *Xin Tangshu*, ch. 221B, had never discovered these textual errors. Thus it can be seen that the identification of Aojian was not based on the actual data obtained in the Tang times, but only on the erroneous number of the distance given by a bad version.

Of course, we cannot deny the concrete identification of the seats of the other four royal governments for this reason, as it is difficult to imagine the motive by which the editor of the *Xin Tangshu* would have practiced fraud. It is commonly known that the relations between Tang and the Western Regions were far closer than those of the preceding dynasties. It is therefore quite possible that the Tang people had indeed known the locations of the former lands of some lesser kings and left the relevant records. The editor of the *Xin Tangshu*, ch. 221B, only made up a deficiency depending on the records of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96. In fact, we will discover that the identifications of the seats of the other four seats of the royal governments are acceptable.

1. If, according to the distances to the seat of the Protector General, we arrange the seats of the other four royal governments from east to west, the order would be Yuni, Suxie, Fumo, and Ji. Therefore, it seems to be acceptable to identify them as

Shi 石, Shi 史, He, and An successively. Of them, the corrected distances from Suxie and Fumo to the seat of the Protector General were 5,766 *li*. If taking Samarkand as a datum point, the distances to both places from the seat of the Protector General could be considered to be equal.

2. "Yuni" [*jio-niət*] and "Suxie" can be taken as transcriptions of "Zheshi 赭時 [*tjya-zji*] and "Soghd" respectively. The state of Shi 史 may have been the political centre of Sogdiana in the Han Times, and was therefore named "Suxie".^[48] "The state of An", according to the Huichao's 慧超 *Wang Wutianzhuguo Zhuan 往五天竺國傳*, "also is named Niumisijie 忸密斯羯 (Numijkath)". "Ji" [*kiat*] may be a transcription of "[Numij]kath", which means "wall".^[49] Also, we cannot identify phonetically "Fumo" [*bio-mək*] with "He" [*hai*], but may imagine the oasis had another name, whose pronunciation was similar to that of "Fumo".

3. "Aojian", in my opinion, may be the former land of "Eastern An (Kharghānkath)". In the *Xin Tangshu*, ch. 221B, it is recorded: "The state of Eastern An, also named the state of the Little An and Hehan 喝汗, is situated north of the River Nami 那密. ...The seat of the royal government is at the town of Hehan, which also is named Houjin 瓠斤." "Ao-jian" [*uk-gian*] may be a transcription of "Hehan" [*hat-han*] or "Houjin" [*ho-kiən*]. In the *Suishu*, ch. 83, it is recorded that the state of He "is 300 *li* west to the state of the Little An". This distance also roughly tallied with the "330 *li*", the distance between Fumo and Aojian recorded in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A.

(H)

In this section, I will briefly discuss the relations between Kanju and the Han, Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties, and her neighboring countries.

1. Kangju appears first in the *Shiji*. The state had been known by the Han people before Zhang Qian reported upon completion of his mission to the Western Regions in 126 B.C. In the *Hanshu*, ch.57B, it is recorded that Sima Xiangru's 司馬相如 address to the people in Ba 巴 and Shu 蜀, which says: "Kangju and the Western Regions, with a series of interpreters pay tributes, kowtow and offer sacrifices." In the *Shiji*, ch. 117, there is an identical record. Also, in the *Hanshu*, ch.56, a memorial by Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 is recorded, which says: "Yelang 夜郎 and Kangju, the places beyond 10,000 *li*, enjoy virtue and submit to justice. This is caused by peace." Sima Xiangru addressed the people in Ba and Shu in the middle of the Yuanguang 元光 reign period (133/132 B.C.).^[50] Dong Zhongshu presented the memorial in the first year of the Yuanguang reign period (134 B.C.).^[51] Thus it is can be seen that before 134 B.C. the Han people had already known that there was a state of Kangju in the Western Regions. The reference by Sima Xiangru and Dong Zhongshu must have pointed to one and the same event. Undoubtly, Kangju had sent her envoys to the Han court during the Jianyuan 建元 reign period. It has been suggested that the above-cited records were only hyperbole of the writers,^[52] I disagree.

2. From the *Shiji*, ch. 123, we can infer that Zhang Qian had passed through Sogdiana, a dependency of Kangju, during his first mission to the Western Regions. In the same chapter it also is recorded that Zhang Qian had sent his deputy envoy to

Kangju during his mission to Wusun in the 2nd year of the Yuanding 元鼎 reign period (115 B.C.). This may be taken as the first envoy to Kangju sent by Han. So Kangju was one of the earliest states which came into contact with Han in the Western Regions.

3. Kangju had already come into contact with Han long before, but it had always obstructed the Han's administration of the Western Regions.

During the reign period of Emperor Wu, in the light of the *Shiji*, ch. 123, and the *Hanshu*, ch. 61, etc., Kangju had sent her troops come to rescue to Dayuan when Li Guangli 李廣利 attacked the state of Dayuan. When Shangguan Jie 上官桀 attacked and defeated Yucheng 郁成, a vassal state east of Dayuan, the king of Yucheng fled to Kangju. Kangju did not turn the king of Yucheng over to Shangguan Jie until Han defeated Dayuan.

In the light of the *Hanshu*, ch. 94B, "having killed the Han envoys during the reign period of Emperor Xuan 宣, the Chanyu Zhizhi made himself known as being ungrateful to Han. Hearing that Huhaxie was becoming increasingly strong, he was afraid that a surprise attack would be made against him, and wished to go far away." The Kangju king "sent noblemen, with camels, donkeys and horses, numbered in the thousands, and meeting Zhizhi", found a place for him in her eastern territory. Furthermore, in *Hanshu*, ch. 70, it is recorded that when Chen Tang besieged Zhizhi in the town of Zhizhi on the River Dulai, Kangju "sent a force of over 10,000 men, who were dispersed in more than ten places, and surrounded the town" to work in concert with Zhizhi. They did not "lead the troops to retreat" until the Han forces breached the town.

During the reign period of Emperor Cheng 成帝, in the light of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B,

At the death of Wujiutu 烏就屠, the Lesser Kunmi 昆彌 of Wusun, his son Fuli 拊離 took his place. He was killed by his younger brother Rier 日貳, and envoys sent by Han established Fuli's son Anri 安日 as Lesser Kunmi. Rier fled and entrusted himself to Kangju....

Beiyuanti 卑爰寔, younger brother of Mozhenjiang 末振將, had originally plotted to kill the Great Kunmi. Leading a group of over 80,000 persons north he attached himself to Kangju. He made plans in the hope of borrowing troops so as to annex [the lands of] the two Kunmi.

During the reign period of Emperor Zhang 章帝 in Eastern Han times, according to the *Houhanshu*, ch. 47, Kangju had once helped Ban Chao 班超 to attack Gumo 姑墨, but when Ban Chao attacked Zhong 忠, the King of Shule 疏勒,

[Kangju] sent his crack troops to relieve Zhong. [Ban] Chao was unable to defeat Zhong. At the time, the king of Yuezhi had just married a Kangju princess and was on intimate terms [with Kangju]. [Ban] Chao sent envoys to present the king of Yuezhi with a large number of brocades, and ordered him explicitly to tell the king of Kangju [to desist]. Only then had the king of Kangju retreated.

Examples like these show that Kangju was antagonistic to Han, and become a backer of anti-Han powers.

4. From the *Shiji*, ch. 123, the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, 70, and the *Hou Hanshu*, ch. 118, etc., it can be seen that Kangju had once been subject to Da Yuezhi, but became powerful later. They controlled not only the states such as Suyi, Yancai, 奄蔡 and Yan 嚴國, but also violated Dayuan and Wusun, etc. Kangju was also an unstable element in the Western Regions.

5. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded :

At the time of Emperor of Cheng, [the king of] Kangju sent a son to attend at the Han [court] with a present of gifts. However, Kangju felt that it was separated [from Han] by a long distance, and alone in its arrogance it was not willing to be considered on the same terms as the various other states. Guo Shun 郭舜, the Protector General, submitted a number of reports to the following effect:

"The prosperity which the Xiongnu originally enjoyed was not due to the fact that they had achieved united possession of Wusun and Kangju; and when the time came that they declared themselves [our] servants, this was not because they had lost those two states. Although Han has received hostages from them all, amongst themselves these three states are sending each other presents and communicating as they did previously. Likewise they keep a watch on one another; and if they see a suitable opportunity, they then send out troops [against each other]. If they unite, they are incapable of enjoying each other's friendship or trust; if they are split apart, they are unable to make subjects of one another. In terms of the present [situation], the conclusion of a matrimonial relationship with Wusun has never brought any advantage, but has, on the contrary, involved trouble for Zhongguo 中國. Nevertheless, since Wusun has been so related previously, and now together with the Xiongnu declares its allegiance [to Han], it would not be right to refuse [its request]. However, Kangju is behaving arrogantly, even refusing to treat our envoys with the respect that is their due. When the officials of the Protector General go to the state, they are seated below the envoys of Wusun and the various other [states]. The king and nobility take their food and drink first, and when they have finished they then have the officials of the Protector General served with theirs; hence they make out that there is nobody to whom they need pay attention and thereby they show off to the neighboring states.

"If in view of these considerations we ask why [Kangju] sends its sons to attend [at the Han court], [we find] that desiring to trade, they use a pretence couched in fine verbiage. The Xiongnu are the largest state of the many barbarians. At present they serve Han scrupulously; but if they are informed that Kangju is not treating [our envoys] with proper respect, it will soon come about that the Chanyu will believe that he is being humiliated. It is fitting to send back the son of [Kangju] who is now attending at court and to sever relations and send no further envoys. Thereby we would demonstrate that the Han Dynasty has no dealings with states that lack a sense of proper behavior. Dunhuang and Jiuquan, which are small prefectures, and the eight states of the Southern Route, have supplied, our envoys in their coming and going with men, horses, asses, camels and food, and have all suffered thereby. The places en-route have been emptied and their resources spent, in providing an escort or

welcome for [envoys of] an arrogant state that lies cut off at a great distance. This is no wise policy."

For the reason that communication had only recently been started and that it attached importance to bringing people from remote places to court, Han in the end maintained its ties and did not sever relations.

This shows that Kangju dared to oppose Han because of being separated from Han by a long distance, and the counter measure of Han was to maintain its ties. This also shows that there was much discussion over how Kangju should be dealt with in the Han court.

Han had finally decided to continue to receive hostages from Kangju and had not spared labor or money to keep such an "arrogant state that lies cut off at a great distance" under control. This was mainly to demonstrate the national prestige and to achieve the political ideal of a unified domain, as is indicated by the statement "attached importance to bringing people from remote places to court". In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that after Zhang Qian had returned from Da Yuezhi,

[Emperor Wu] heard that [states] such as Dayuan as well as Daxia and Anxi were all large states with many rare goods; that the people were attached to the land and that their way of life was rather similar to that of Zhongguo; however, their forces were weak, and they prized Han wealth and goods. [He heard that] to their north, there were [peoples or places] such as the Da Yuezhi and Kangju, whose forces were strong; it would be possible to present them with gifts and hold out advantages with which to bring them to court. If they were really won over and made into subjects by the exercise of moral pressure it would be possible to extend [Han] territory for ten thousand *li*. With [the help of] a series of interpreters, those whose customs were strange could be brought to court, and imperial power and prestige could be exercised throughout the area within the four seas.

This shows that the polity towards Kangju, as a component of the general policy towards the Western Regions, had already been decided upon as early as the time of Emperor Wu.

The second reason for continuing ties with Kangju was the actual need to administer the Western Regions, because Kangju's forces were strong and her support or opposition would directly or indirectly affect the stability of the situation in the Western Regions.

According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, Kangju was not subject to the Protector General. However, one of duties of the Protector General was to keep under observation the activities of the various outer states such as Wusun and Kangju and, when incidents occurred, he submitted a report to the throne. "If the situation was suitable for peaceful settlement, he settled it peacefully; if it was suitable for launching an attack, he attacked." In the case of Kangju an attack was unsuitable and the matter had to be settled peacefully as it lay cut off at a great distance. Keeping it under observation, Han therefore continued friendly relations with Kangju as far as possible, by exchanging envoys and presenting them with gifts and holding out advantages.

As for the Kangju, they remained arrogant, but paid frequent tribute and went so far as to send a son to attend at the Han court. The cause, as Guo Shun had pointed

out, was that Kangju desired trade. This may have been instigated by the Sogdians as mentioned above. However, another important element was that the Kangju, as a nomadic tribe, needed various agricultural products. To seek trade by paying tribute and sending a son to attend at the Han court, or to oppose Han by invading and controlling the various neighboring states were, in fact, two mutually complementary aspects of one policy. Kangju did so in order to supplement the congenital deficiency of nomadism, a single-product natural economy, and, in addition, to satisfy the extravagances of the rulers of Kangju.

6. Down to the Wei and Jin times, there is very little information about Kangju in Chinese history books. In the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 30, it is only mentioned that Kangju had paid tribute at the Wei court. In the *Jinshu*, ch. 3, it is mentioned that Kangju had sent its envoy(s) to pay tribute at the Jin court in the 8th year of the Taikang 太康 reign period (A.D. 280) and in the middle of the Taishi 泰始 reign period (A.D. 265-274). In the same book, ch.113, it is also mentioned that Kangju had sent its envoy(s) to pay tribute at the Former Qin 前秦 court. This was probably because the Central Plains, which was in the midst of an eventful period, had not clearly known the activities of Kangju. However it is also very likely that the power of Kangju was not as strong as in the past. The "Xirongzhuan" 西戎傳 of the *Weilue* 魏略 tells us that Yancai had not yet been subject to Kangju as late as by the beginning of the 370s A.D.. Sogdiana had also broken away from Kangju and was subject to the Hephthalites. Therefore, the sphere of its influence had indeed been far less than before.

(I)

In the *Gaosengzhuan* 高僧傳, the *Kaiyuan Shijiaolu* 開元釋教錄 and the *Datang Neidianlu* 大唐內典錄, it is recorded that there were a number of monks surnamed "Kang", who had translated Buddhist sutras in China, in the period from the end of the Eastern Han to the Eastern Jin. Among them, the most famous were Kang Ju 康巨, Kang Mengxiang 康孟祥, Kang Sengkai 康僧鎧, Kang Senghui 康僧會, Kang Sengyuan 康僧淵, Kang Fasui 康法邃, Kang Daohe 康道和, and others. These monks were said to be masters of the Tripitaka, and all were reputed to have been knowledgeable and wise. According to the *Kaiyuan Shijiaolu*, Kang Mengxiang's "ancestors were the Kangju people." According to the same book and the *Gaosengzhuan*, the ancestors of Kang Senghui were also the Kangju People.

In the light of the usual practice that the people of the Western Regions who arrived in China adopted Chinese surnames, all these monks seemed to be the Kangju people. However, it has been suggested that they must have been Sogdians, as the Kangju were a nomadic tribe and did not necessarily enjoy such a high level of civilization.^[53] If this is correct, it would be reasonable to infer further that these monks came from Samarkand. The reasons for this conclusion are as follows:

As for the dates when the monks arrived in China and translated the Buddhist sutras, in the light of the *Gaosengzhuan*, the *Kaiyuan Shijiaolu* and the *Datang Neidianlu*, Kang Ju and Kang Mengxiang were in 4th year of the Zhongping 中平 reign period of Emperor Ling 靈帝 (A.D. 187) and in the first year of the Xingping 興平 reign period of Emperor Xian 獻帝 (A.D. 194) in Eastern Han times respectively;

Kang Sengkai and Kang Senghui were in the 4th year of the Jiaping 嘉平 reign period of the King of Qi 齊王, Fang 芳, during the Caowei 曹魏 times (A.D. 252) and the 10th year of the Chiwu 赤烏 reign period in the Sunwu 孫吳 times (A.D. 247) respectively; Kang Sengyuan, Kang Fasui and Kang Daohe were in the reign period of Emperor Cheng (A.D. 326-342) and the 21st year of the Taiyuan 太元 reign period of Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝 in the Eastern Jin times (A.D. 396) respectively.

However, the date when they themselves or their ancestors actually left their homeland is unknown. Of Kang Senghui, both the *Gaosengzhuan* and *Kaiyuan Shijiaolu* only state that "his ancestors had lived in Tianzhu 天竺 (India) for generations." Hence the *Datang Neidianlu* called him "a śramaṇa [priest] of the state of Middle Tianzhu." The ancestors of the others, such as Kang Ju, Kang Mengxiang and Kang Sengkai, from the fact that the *Datang Neidianlu* calls them "a śramaṇa of the state of Tianzhu" or "a śramaṇa of the state of Middle Tianzhu", seemed to have moved to India long before, although there is no clear evidence for such a conclusion. Thus it can be seen that the earliest date when the monks surnamed Kang who translated the Buddhist sutras were in China was during the reign period of Emperor Ling in Eastern Han times. However, their ancestors may have left their homeland as early as Western Han times. In Western Han times, Sogdiana had been a dependency of Kangju, and was consequently called "Kangju" by the Han people. But it seems to be impossible that the Sogdians who left their homeland at that time called themselves the Kangju people. It is especially unlikely that those who came to China after having lived abroad acknowledged themselves to be the subjects of Kangju. In Eastern Han times, Sogdiana still was subject to Kangju, but the Han people already knew that the region should be called "Suyi". Therefore it is only remotely possible that the Sogdians who came to China at that time were called the Kangju people. As late as the 370s A.D., Sogdiana was subject to the Hephthalites. After that, of course, the Sogdians who came to China would not call themselves or be called the Kangju people. If it is true that these monks came from Sogdiana, they must have come from Samarkand, which was called "the state of Kang" by the Chinese, and "Kang" was mistaken as *kang* of "Kangju", thus those who come from Samarkand were consequently called "the Kangju people".

It must be pointed out that the Kangju were a nomadic tribe, but it is not impossible that a few of them believed in Buddhism and became scholars. Among the nomadic tribes of later ages, such as Rouran 柔然, there were quite a few Buddhists. In the *Weishu*, ch. 103, it is recorded that in the 4th year of the Yongping 永平 reign period (A.D. 511), the Khagan of the Rouran, "Chounu 醜奴, sent a śramaṇa, Hongxuan 洪宣, to offer a figure of Buddha which was covered with pearls as a tribute." Moreover, in the "Shi Fayuan Zhuan" 釋法瑗 of the *Gaosengzhuan*, it is recorded that the second elder brother of Fayuan,

[Faai 法愛] also is a śramaṇa priest. He thoroughly understood the Buddhist sutras and essays, mastered arithmetic as well, and was appointed the national tutor of Rouran with emoluments levied from 3,000 households.

In the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 95, it is recorded that the Rouran "were unable to read, but kept records on woodstrips" at the outset, and "gradually became familiar with commercial papers" later. Finally "they produced a number of scholars". This may

be taken as evidence of their latter-day learning. It should also be reasonable that, since the Kangju people were affected by the relatively highly developed civilization of Sogdiana, which was subject to Kangju, a number of them gradually became educated. Therefore, it is difficult to decide whether the monks surnamed Kang in China are the Kangju or the Sogdians.

(J)

Finally, we will discuss the name, the nationality, and the origin of the Kangju.

1. "Kang-ju" [*kang-kia*] may have been a transcription of Sacarauili (Sacaraucae) or Sakā (Sacae), as [*kang*] > [*ki*] can be palatalised to [*si*] > [*sa*]. If this is correct, the Kangju may have been the Sakās who had remained on the northern bank of the Syr Darya, and might have been comprised mainly of Sacarauili.^[54] The Kangju kept up the nomadic way of life for a long time, whereas the Sakās who had entered Ferghāna and Bactria all rapidly turned to farming and settled, probably because geography and other natural conditions played a decisive part. So in the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that the forces of Kangju were strong, and the forces of Dayuan and Daxia were weak.

2. According to Trogus' *Prologues* (XLI), among these nomadic tribes who occupied Sogdiana were those who comprised the Saraucae (Sacaraucae).^[55] These Sacaraucae and the other Sakās who entered Sogdiana may have been subject to the Kangju who lived on the northern bank of the Syr Darya later. The relations between the five lesser kings who were subject to Kangju recorded in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, and the Sakās who entered Sogdiana are unknown.

3. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

To the west of Dayuan and as far as Anxi there are many different languages spoken, but they are in general the same and people understand each other clearly. The inhabitants of the area all have deep-set eyes, and many wear moustaches and beards. They are expert traders, haggling over fractions of a *zhu* (a unit of weight).

This shows that the nationality and the language of the Kangju must have been similar to of the Dayuan and the Anxi, since in the same chapter it is recorded that "Kangju is situated northwest of Dayuan".^[56]

It has been suggested that the Kangju were a Türkic tribe, as in the *Hanshu*, ch. 94B, it is recorded that the Kangju used the title of "Xihou", which could be identified with "Yehu 葉護" of the Türks. In addition, in the *Jinshu*, ch.97, it is recorded that Kangju had a king whose name was Nabi. *Bi* may be identified with "bi" or "bak", a Türkic word.^[57]

In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. Xihou and Bi were not necessarily native words of the Türkic language. Also, in the *Shishuoxinyu* 世說新語, ch. 25, it is recorded that Kang Sengyuan had "deep-set eyes and high nose". Since the monks surnamed Kang were possibly Kangju, the appearance of Kang Sengyuan could be taken as collateral evidence to prove that the Kangju were Europoid.

4. It has been suggested that the Gaoche 高車 in the Northern Wei times, the Kangheli 康曷利 in the Tang times, the Kangli 康里 in the Yuan 元 times, the

Kängäräs as seen in the Tegin Que 闕特勤 inscription, and the Kaggar, one branch of the Pečeneg, who were mentioned in the *De Administrando Imperio* by Constantinus VII (A.D. 911-959) of Byzantium were all descendants of the Kangju.^[58]

In my opinion, all these theories, so far as study on the origin and development of the Kangju is concerned, can instruct us, but we cannot infer that the Kangju were a Türkic tribe based only on the fact that the Gaoche or the Kaggar, etc. may be taken as a Türkic tribe.

First, handicapped by the relevant sources, it is difficult to give specific explanations about the separation, reunion, and migration of the Kangju after the Southern and Northern Dynasties.^[59] In other words, we cannot infer that the Kangju were identical with the Kaggar, etc., based only on the similarity of their names.

Second, even through we ascertain a certain relationship between the Kangju and the Gaoche, etc., perhaps the Kangju could at most be taken as one of the tribal origins of the Gaoche, etc. We can not decide if the blood relationship and languages of the Gaoche, etc. were the same as those of the Kangju.

Notes:

1. At first, Western scholars mistakenly considered that the metropolitan territory of Kangju was Sogdiana. This theory was based on the misunderstanding of the record concerning Kangju given in the *Suishu*, ch. 83. The difference between Kangju and Sogdiana has been elucidated by Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2).
2. The English translations of the *Hanshu*, ch. 61 & 96, including the identical passages in the *Shiji*, used here are based on those of Hulsewé & Loewe, with a few changes of my own.
3. Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2); and chapter 4.
4. Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2); and chapter 6.
5. Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2); and chapter 7.
6. See Note [5].
7. Uchida (1938: 2).
8. Cf. Xu. Hulsewé & Loewe, pp.124-125, suggest that the distance from Beitian to the seat of the Protector General was 5,500 *li* and the distance from the Protector General to Chang'an was 7,288 *li*. From this, it can be inferred that the distance from Beitian to Chang'an was 12,738 *li*. Therefore, the "12,300 *li*" must have been the distance from Yuenidi to Chang'an. In my opinion, this theory is acceptable.
9. Cf. chapter 4.
10. Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2). Also, Xu suggests that the town of Beitian was named after the Tian Lake and the town was therefore situated to the west of the Lake. Ding suggests that it was situated on the Talas River. I think these theories are unconvincing. See Cen (1981), pp. 237-265.
11. Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2).
12. This is the theory of Cen (1981), pp. 237-265.
13. Cf. Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2). He suggests that *yue* 樂 was a transcription of "ulu (ulug)", a Türkic word, which means big, "Yueyuenidi" was just "big ottok".
14. See Note [13].
15. Pulleyblank (1962), p. 94, suggests that "Yueyuenidi" came from "Yaxartes".
16. Hulsewé & Loewe, p. 126, translate "Fanni" as "within the realm" and points out that it seems to be "Parni" in the north of Parthia. In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing.
17. Cf. Wang (1959-3), Cen (1981), pp. 237-265, believes that the "9,104 *li*" was correct. He also suggests that "5,550 *li*" was the distance from the eastern end of the territory of Kangju to the town of Chigu, and "9,104 *li*", from the western end, as the Kirghiz Steppes extends for several thousand *li*. Also, Hulsewé & Loewe, p. 125, suggest that the text may originally have read "九十一里". In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing.

18. Hirth (1900: 2), suggests that the metropolitan territory of Kangju included Sogdiana. I think that this theory is incorrect. Also, both Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2) and Cen (1981), pp. 237-265, suggest that Sogdiana was a dependency of Kangju. I think that their theory is correct. But, according to Shiratori, Sogdiana is taken for the metropolitan territory of Kangju, because in the *Suishu*, ch. 83, it is recorded that the state of Kang was the successor of Kangju. I disagree.
19. Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2); chapter 3.
20. See Sun, Y. Also, in the *Suishu*, ch. 83, it is recorded that "the state of An was the state of Anxi in Han times." However, the Sui people mistook An as Anxi of Han time, probably because they termed Bukhāra "An". This seems to show that Anxi had once occupied Bukhāra, which was on the right bank of the Amu Darya. Also, in the *Cefuyuangui* 册府元龜, Vol. 560, it is recorded that in the 17th year of the Zhenyuan reign period 貞元 (A.D.801), Jia Dan 賈耽 presented the memorial on "Maps of China and the Barbarians within the [Four] Seas, with an Account about the Prefectures, the States, the Counties and the Dao 道 (an administrative district) and the Barbarians on the Borders of China during Ancient and Modern Times", which stated that "Formerly, in the "Xirongzhi 西戎志" the state of An was taken for Anxi. Now [the state of An] has been attributed to Kangju. All errors such as this have been corrected." This shows that the Tang people had already discovered this mistake.
21. This is the theory of Cen (1981), pp. 237-265. He also has given as evidence the statement "永以為好也 (Our friendship might be lasting)" in the "Weifeng" 衛風 of the *Shijing* 詩經. Also, Hu Sanxing's 胡三省 commentary on the "Hanji" 漢紀 of the *Zizhitongjian* 資治通鑑 state: "They merely went to engage in trade and barter; the fact that they use fine words is to deceive." Hulsewé & Loewe, p. 128, follow Hu's commentary and offer as evidence "好辭請和親" and "好言甘辭求和親" in the *Hanshu*, ch. 94A. Yang, Sh., p.759, suggests that "the character hao 好 should be read in the falling tone and a pause should be made after it. The statement means that their desiring to trade and to ask for friendly relations was to deceive. Hu's theory is illogical and ungrammatical." In my opinion, Yang's theory is incorrect and Hu's theory also inadequate.
22. Yu, T. (1986), pp.107-108, 117.
23. Kuwabara (1934-1).
24. Cen (1981), pp. 237-265, suggests that Kangju was called a small state by Zhang Qian because he did not know that the territory of Kangju included Sogdiana. In my opinion, if Zhang Qian did indeed know the range of the territory of Kangju, he would not yet have known the ranges of the territory of other states. Thus it can be seen that he did not determine whether a state was big or small based on the range of the territories. Also, in Han times, establishing a county or township was not based on range of area, but numbers of households and individuals. The titles, rank and qualifications of officers also varied with the numbers of households and individuals. There were detailed numbers of households and individuals, but not of cultivated land in the records concerning various prefectures and states. This shows that documents concerning the political system in ancient times also paid more attention to households and individuals than farmlands. See Wang, Y.
25. Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2).
26. Kuwabara (1934-3), pp. 143-274.
27. Uchida (1938: 2).
28. Kuwabara (1934-1, 3).
29. Cf. chapter 4.
30. Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2).
31. Cen (1981), pp. 237-265.
32. Wang (1959-3).
33. Matsuda (1970), pp.71-72, corrects the distances to the five lesser kings as follows:

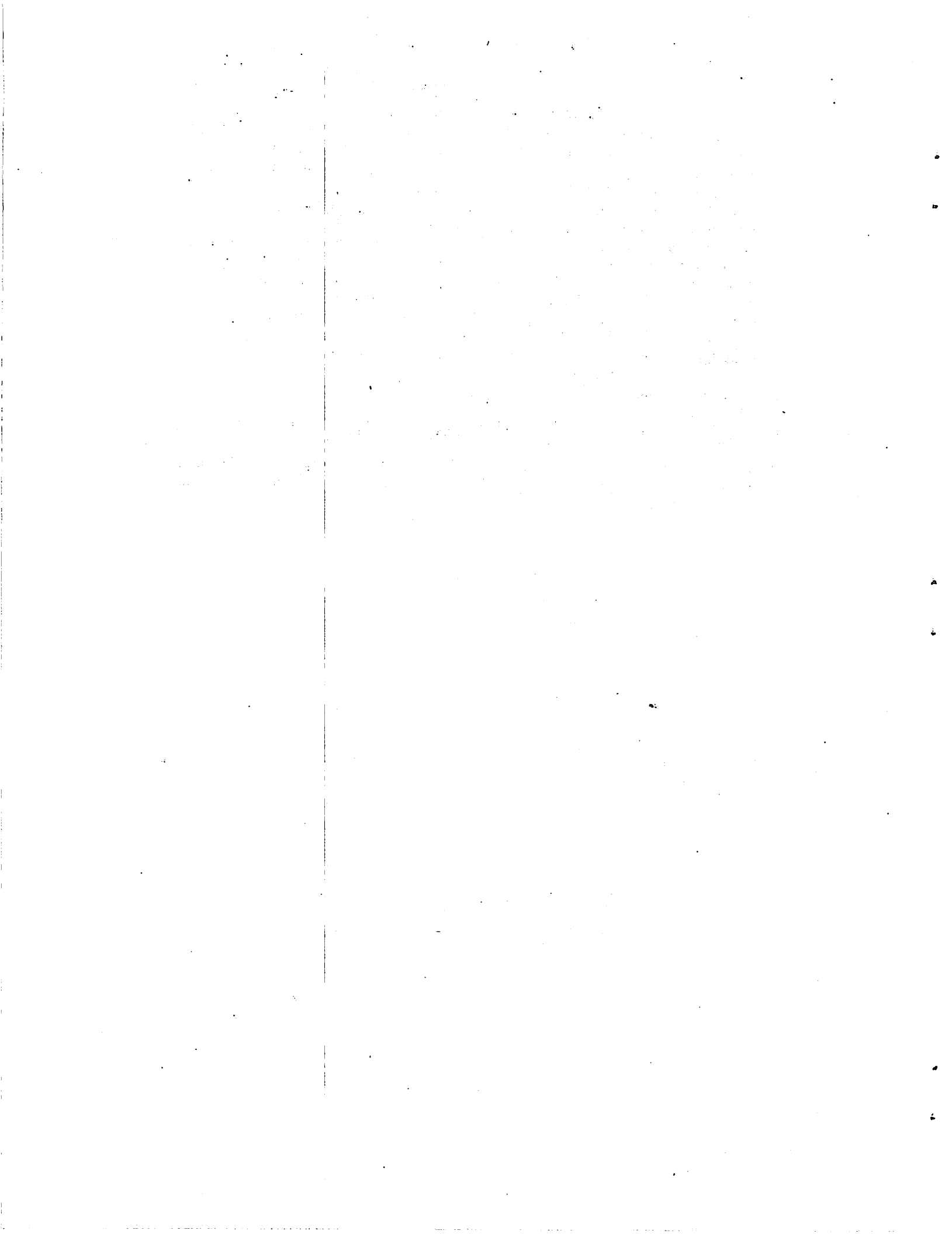
| | From Wulei | From Yang |
|------|------------|-----------|
| | | pass |
| Yuni | 5,266 li | 7,525 li |

| | | |
|--------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Fumo | 5,766 <i>li</i> | 8,025 <i>li</i> |
| Suxie | 5,776 <i>li</i> | 8,035 <i>li</i> |
| Aojian | 6,096 <i>li</i> | 8,355 <i>li</i> |
| Ji | 6,296 <i>li</i> | 8,555 <i>li</i> |

The theory of Cen (1981), pp. 237-265, is roughly the same as this, but he merely corrects the distance from Wulei to the town of Suxie into 5,766 (*li*) and does not change the distances from the Yang pass. In my opinion, both theories are acceptable.

34. Uchida (1975), pp.115-141.
35. Uchida (1975), pp.115-141 and Yu (1986), pp. 44-45.
36. Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2).
37. Cen (1981), pp. 237-265.
38. Cen (1981), pp. 237-265.
39. In the *Tongdian*, ch.193, it is recorded that "the royal government [of Kangju] is at Yueyuenidi and the town of Beitian, [but the king] also lives at the town of Suxie", which was merely a mechanical synthesis of the relevant records in the *Hanshu* and the *Jinshu*, etc. thus it can not be taken as evidence.
40. Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2).
41. Shiratori (1941-1).
42. For example: Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2).
43. Cf. chapter 3.
44. Yu (1986), pp. 44-65.
45. Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2), suggests that the fact that Huanqian and Kangju were juxtaposed in the *Shiji*, ch. 123, shows that the former was not subject to the latter. In my opinion, his theory is inadequate. Cf. Yu (1986), pp. 128-142.
46. Shiratori (1941-6), suggests that the statement "[Anxi] is situated on the River Gui" shows that Khwarizmia was included within the territory of Anxi. His theory seems to be inadequate. Cf. Sun, Y..
47. For example: Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2) and Uchida (1938: 2). Also, Cen (1981), pp. 237-265, believes rightly that the seats of the royal governments of the five lesser kings were situated in Sogdiana, the dependency of Kangju, but he mistakenly takes Suxie, Fumo, Yuni, Ji and Aojian as Samarkand, Bukhāra, Chinaz, Kath and Khwarizmia, respectively. The distances from the seat of the Protector General to Samarkand and to Kath would not be equal, and the distances from Samarkand to Kath and to Khwarizmia must have been more or the other 300 or 500 *li*. Finally, the name of Chinaz has still not been understood. Pulleyblank (1962), p.219, also takes Ji as Kath.
48. Markwart (1901), pp. 302-304; Chavannes (1903), p.146, Note 3; and Pulleyblank (1962), p.219, hold to similar theories.
49. "Ji" may first be a transcription of "kath" and was mistaken as a proper noun by the Han people later. Therefore, the term "the town of Ji" occurs. Cf. Cen (1981), pp. 237-265.
50. In the light of the *Hanshu* ch. 6, "in the Summer [of the 5th year of Yuanguang reign period, Han] requisitioned the people in Ba and Shu to open communications with the southwestern barbarians". Thus it can be seen that Sima Xiangru's declaration was completed the end of the Yuanguang 元光 reign period (130 B.C.).
51. On the date that Dong Zhongshu offered "Three Treatises on Heaven and Men", there have been various theories in historical circles. These can be made of two kinds: during the Jianyuan or Yuanguang reign periods. I follow the latter. Cf. Shi. Also, Su mistakenly suggests that this event was in the 5th year of the Yuanshuo reign period. Cf. Yue.
52. Wang, X..
53. Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2) and Cen (1981), pp. 237-265. Also, Shiratori suggests that the earliest record on the monks surnamed Kang who came to China was in the *Gaosengzhuan*, which was edited by Hui Jiao 慧皎 in Liang 梁 times. The fact that the monks were crowned with the surname of Kang had something to do with the translated term of "the state of Kang", as the Chinese had taken the state of Kang for Kangju from the Southern and Northern Dynasties to the Sui Dynasty. In my opinion, his theory is unconvincing. "The state of Kang" occurs first in the *Suishu*, and the records of the *Weishu*,

- ch. 102, and the *Beishi* 北史, ch. 97, given by Shiratori cannot be taken as evidence, because the sections on "the state of Kang" in both books all had been copied from the *Suishu*, ch. 83, directly or indirectly. The people during the Southern and Northern Dynasties called Samarkand "Xiwanjin 悉萬斤", and had never translated it into "the state of Kang".
54. Tarn (1951), pp. 291-292, pointed out that Sacarauili or Saraucæ undoubtedly represented the Sacaraucae (Sakā Rawaka), whose name and that of Sakā Haumavargā in the Naqš-e Rostam Inscription had been connected. In my opinion, his theory may be right. However, I remain unconvinced in his belief that the Sacaraucae, who were precisely Sagaraucae of Ptolemy (VI, 4), lived south of the Syr Darya. First, the two groups of the Sakās recorded in the Naqš-e Rostam Inscription must have lived north of the Syr Darya. Second, if it is correct that the Sagaraucae of Ptolemy lived south of the river, they must have come from north of the river later. Pulleyblank (1966), believes that the name of "Kangju" had something to do with "kañk-" in Tocharian A, which means "stone".
 55. Narain (1957), p.129, and chapter 2.
 56. Cf. chapter 2,3,4.
 57. Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2).
 58. Markwart (1898), pp.9-10; Barthold (1899), pp.12-14; Shiratori (1941-2) and (1944-2); Matsuda (1970), pp. 328-329, etc.
 59. Cen (1981), pp. 237-265, suggests that the Kangju who had migrated east in the third century A.D., were the same as Gaoche in the Northern Wei times. Of them, those who had migrated west later were the Kanghai and the Kangli.



CHAPTER 6 THE YANCAI

(A)

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded:

Yancai 奄蔡 is some 2,000 *li* to the northwest of Kangju 康居. It is a land of nomads; and has the same way of life as the Kangju. The trained bowmen number over 100,000. It is situated on the Great Marsh, which has no farther shore; it is presumably the Northern Sea.

There is an identical record in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A. The "some 2,000 *li*" refers to the distance between the seat of the royal government of Yancai and that of Kangju, the town of Beitian 卑闐. Since the latter was situated around Tūrkestan, south of the Kara Tau, north of the Syr Darya,^[1] the seat of the royal government of Yancai must have been situated north of the Aral Sea, and the statement "it is situated on the Great Marsh" must refer to it being situated on the Aral Sea in the south. However the "some 2,000 *li*" may refer to the distance from the town of Beitian to a center of activity in the east of Yancai, taking into consideration that, in fact, the seat of the royal government of Yancai is not recorded in the *Shiji* or the *Hanshu*, which shows that the circumstances of Yancai were evidently not very clear at that time. In other words, it is possible that Yancai's sphere of influence included the area north of the Aral and the Caspian Seas and that the seat of its royal government was situated north of the Caspian Sea.^[2]

In the *Hanshu*, ch. 70, it is recorded that after he had run west to Kangju, Zhizhi 郅支, the Chanyu 單于 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 "sent an envoy to require the states, such as Hesu 闐蘇 and Dayuan 大宛, to pay tribute every year. They have not dared to fail to obey him." Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentary says: "Hu Guang 胡廣 adds: Some 1,000 *li* to the north of Kangju was a state named Yancai, which also was named Hesu. Hence Hesu was identical with Yancai." This shows that the Yancai were also called the Hesu in the Han times.

(B)

In the *Houhanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is recorded:

The state of Yancai has changed its name to the state of Alanliao 阿蘭聊. Its king lives at the town of Di 地. The state is subject to Kangju. The climate is warm. There is an abundance of glossy privets, pines and white grass. The popular way of life and of dress is the same as that of Kangju.

It has been suggested that "the state of Alanliao" should be read as "the states of Alan 阿蘭 and Liao 聊國, and that the latter was in fact "the state of Liu 柳" mentioned in the "Xirongzhuan" 西戎傳 of the *Weilue* 魏略. In other words, the text mixed up the records of Yancai with those of Liao (Liu).^[3]

In my opinion, this is indeed a possibility. However, it must be pointed out that the text which follows "the state of Liao" does not relate to Yancai in any way. It is even more likely that the part of the text following "it is subject to Kangju" is the same as the original records concerning Yancai. It was this which was the cause of the textual confusion.

In any case, the *Houhanshu* offers new information about Yancai, the most valuable of which is that Yancai had already changed her name to "Alan" in the period described in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88. According to the general rule of nomadic tribal rise, fall, and alternation, Yancai's change of name was possibly a result of their having been conquered by the Alan. In the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, it is recorded:

The Northern Chanyu had run away, the Xianbei 鮮卑 consequently migrated and occupied his lands. The remnants of the Xiongnu still had over 100,000 households and called themselves Xianbei. The Xianbei have gradually flourished since then.

This may be taken as collateral evidence.

Further, as the Eastern Han opened up the route to the Western Regions in A.D. 73, when Dou Gu 竇固 sent Ban Chao 班超 there as his envoy, the Han would have learned of Yancai's name change in A.D. 73 at the earliest.^[4]

(C)

In the "Xirongzhuan" of the *Weilue*, it is recorded:

The state of Northern Wuyibie 北烏伊別^[5] is situated to the north of Kangju. There are also the state of Liu, the state of Yan 嚴, and the state of Yancai whose other name is Alan. All the states have the same way of life as Kangju. [Yancai] adjoins the Great Qin 大秦 in the west and Kangju in the southeast. There is an abundance of famous martens in the state. In company with their flocks and herds the inhabitants go in search of water and pasture. It is situated on the Great Marsh, was formerly subject to Kangju, and is recently not so.

There are some points here which need clarification:

1. In the sentence "[...] adjoins the Great Qin in the west, Kangju in the south-east", the subject should be Yancai, differing from the subject of the preceding sentence "[...] have the same way of life as Kangju", the subject of which is the states of Liu, Yan, and Yancai. To be more exact, "Yancai" may be added into the sentence as subject, because, according to the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, "the state of Yan is situated to the north of Yancai", which shows that it was impossible that the state of Yan adjoined the Great Qin in the west and Kangju in the southeast. Thus it can be seen that the subject of the sentence in question could not be the states of Liu, Yan

and Yancai. Considering the following line, "it is situated on the Great Marsh", obviously, the subject of the sentence is Yancai.

2. In the period described in the *Xirongzhuan* of the *Weilue*, the Yancai had already changed their name to the "Alan", which shows that the Yancai had already been conquered by the Alan. Therefore, the "Yancai" in the statement "[Yancai] adjoins the Great Qin in the west, Kangju in the southeast" must have been the Yancai who had already changed their name, namely had already been conquered by the Alan.

3. It is very likely that the relations between the Yancai and the Kangju altered after the former had changed their name to the Alan: "[The Yancai] was formerly subject to Kangju, and is recently not so."^[6]

Since the Yancai were no longer subject to the Kangju, one may understand flexibly the statement "[Yancai adjoins] Kangju in the southeast." Neither the *Hanshu* nor the *Shiji* ever record that their territories were adjoined, but only record that Yancai was situated to the northwest of Kangju. Because of this, the statement that "[Yancai adjoins] Kangju in the southeast" might be imprecise, a mere adoption of earlier historical tradition.

Furthermore, the "Great Qin" here refers to the Roman Empire. Since Yancai adjoined the Great Qin in the west, "the Great Marsh" which Yancai was situated on was in fact the Black Sea. In other words, one may believe that the Yancai who had been conquered by the Alan moved their center to north of the Black Sea from north of the Aral Sea or the Caspian Sea in the period described in the "Xirongzhuan" of the *Weilue*.

4. It has been suggested that the Yancai described in the *Weilue* were in fact the Alan, who had already conquered the Yancai. The statement "[Yancai] adjoins the Great Qin in the west, Kangju in the southeast" should then refer to the Alans' sphere of influence.^[7] In my opinion, such an understanding, ignoring the existence of the Yancai, does not seem to tally with the original meaning of the text.

(D)

It is generally believed that the Yancai should be identified as the Aorsi of Western historical records.^[8]

The Aorsi appear first in the *Geography* of Strabo,^[9] in which the situation of peoples in the valley of the River Tanais (i.e. the River Don) is recorded:

In the region towards the north and the ocean, by Scythian nomads and waggon-dwellers, and south of these, by Sarmatians, these too being Scythians, and by Aorsi and Siraci, who extend towards the south as far as the Caucasian Mountains. (XI, 2-1)

It is also reported:

The next peoples to which one comes between Lake Maeotis and the Caspian Sea are nomads, the Nabiani and the Panxani, and then next the tribes of the Siraces and the Aorsi. The Aorsi and the Siraces are thought to be fugitives from the upper tribes of those names and the Aorsi are more to the north than the Siraces. Now Abeacus, king of the Siraces, sent forth twenty thousand horsemen at the time when Pharnaces held the Bosphorus (c.48-47 B.C.); and

Spadines, king of the Aorsi, two hundred thousand; but the upper Aorsi sent a still larger number, for they held dominion over more land, and, one may almost say, ruled over most of the Caspian coast; and consequently they could import on camels the Indian and Babylonian merchandise, receiving it in their turn from the Armenians and the Medes, and also, owing to their wealth, could wear golden ornaments. Now the Aorsi live along the Tanais, but the Siraces live along the Achardeüs, which flows from the Caucasus and empties into Lake Maeotis. (XI, 5-8)

This shows that the Aorsi lived in the lower reaches of the river Don and the upper Aorsi ruled most of the Caspian coast. The latter possibly occupied the eastern coast including Cheleken Island.^[10]

Moreover, according to the *Annals* of Tacitus,^[11] Cotys, the Bosphorus king, had defeated Mithridates, his elder brother, by getting help from Eunones, the Aorsi king. Mithridates had to go to Eunones to ask for forgiveness. (XII, 15-19) This event took place in A.D. 49, which demonstrates that, up to this year, the Aorsi in the valley of the River Don and the Caucasian region were still powerful.

However, it seems that before long at least the upper Aorsi rapidly declined. From the *Geography* of Ptolemy^[12] (VI,9), etc., it can be inferred that the Hyrcanians asserted their independence from Parthia in A.D. 58 and that independent Hyrcania expanded north to the mouth of the River Oxus, and the control of commerce across the southern part of the Caspian Sea came into the hands of the Hyrcanians. If the organization of the upper Aorsi had not broken up, this situation would not have occurred. Therefore, the date of the upper Aorsi fall can be put between A.D. 50-58.^[13]

(E)

It is generally believed that the Alan can be identified as the Alans of Western historical records.

The Alans appear first in the *Natural History* of Pliny^[14] (IV,12):

From this point all the races in general are Scythian, though various sections have occupied the lands adjacent to the coast, in one place the Getae, called by the Romans Dacians, at another the Sarmatae, called by the Greeks Sauromatae, and the section of them called Waggon-dwellers or Aorsi, at another the base-born Scythians, descended from slaves, or else the Cave-dwellers, and then the Alani and Rhozolani. The higher parts between the Danube and the Hercynian Forest as far as the winter quarters of Pannonia at Carnuntum and the plains and level country of the German frontiers there are occupied by the Sarmatian lazyges, while the Dacians whom they have driven out hold the mountains and forests as far as the river Theiss. From the river Maros, or else the Dora if it is that which separates them from the Suebi and the Kingdom of Vannius, the opposite side of the country is occupied by the Basternae and then other German tribes.

There are some points here which need clarification:

1. As the Kingdom of Vannius fell in A.D. 49, the period of the record cited above cannot be later than this year.^[15]

2. There are no records concerning the Alani in Strabo's book. However, Strabo refers to the Rhoxolani when he records the peoples who lived north of the Black Sea. (VII, 2,3) It has been suggested that the name meant "Blond Alani",^[16] while others regard it as "White Alani".^[17] In either case, "Alani" is the primary element of the compound word Rhoxolani. From this we can observe that the existence of a people named "Alani" must have antedated that of the "Rhoxolani". According to Strabo, the Rhoxolani fought against the army of Mithridates Eupator, the Pontus king (120-63 B.C.). This shows that the Alani had arrived in Southern Russia as early as approximately 100 B.C.^[18]

3. Here Pliny mentions the Aorsi and calls them "Waggon-dwellers or Aorsi". On the other hand, he does not refer to the Aorsi in his account of peoples north of the Caucasus. However, seemingly this does not need to imply that the Aorsi in the Caucasian Region had moved across the River Don to the plain, north of the Black Sea,^[19] but shows only that there were also the Aorsi there. From the above-cited records of Tacitus we know that the kingdom of Aorsi in the valley of the River Don and the Caucasian Region was still powerful until A.D.49. Therefore, Pliny does not record that the Aorsi inhabited in the valley of River Don and the Caucasian region, which suggests that the Aorsi in the region were too weak to attract attention in the period described by Pliny, rather than that Pliny had not seen the relevant sources.

(F)

The most interesting record in Pliny's book is one that relates to the Abzoe, which says:

On both sides [of the mouth of the River Volga] are Scythians, who hold communication across the narrows, on one side being the nomads and the Sauromatae, who have a variety of names, and on the other the Abzoe, with just as many. (VI,15)

The so-called "Abzoe" are the Aorsi who roved around as nomads north of the Caspian Sea. Proving this point is the key to establishing the theory of the Yancai-Aorsi Identity.

1. "Abzoe" may be regarded as a textual error for "Arzoe", which was noted on the ancient map known as the Peutinger Table, whose sole manuscript is of the eleventh century, although the original work may have been constructed toward the end of the fourth.^[20]

2. Although Strabo never mentioned that the Aorsi lived on the northern bank of the Caspian Sea, the Aorsi who lived in the valley of the River Don and in the Caucasian Region, and the upper Aorsi, as recorded by him, had a large population and powerful strength. Therefore, it is very likely that they occupied the northern bank of the Caspian Sea, while also occupying the area between the Caspian Sea and the Azov Sea.^[21]

3. The above-cited records of the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu*, etc. show that the Yancai (Hesu) lived north of the Aral Sea as far as the Caspian Sea. "Yan-cai" [*iam-tziat*] or "He-su" [*hap-sa*] both could be taken as transcriptions of "Aorsi (Arzoe)".^[22]

4. As for the fact that Pliny has noted tribes, who had one and the same name and who lived north of the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea as the Aorsi and Arzoe

(Abzoe) respectively, it is probably because his information came from various sources, and because at that time in both places neither group was subordinate to the other.^[23]

(G)

Ptolemy's *Geography* also refers to "the Alani (Alauni), the Rhoxolani, and the Aorsi, when it mentions the "location of European Sarmatia":

The Greater Venedae races inhabit Sarmatia along the entire Venedicus bay; and above Dacia are the Peucini and the Basternae; and along the entire coast of Maeotis are the Iazyges and the Rhoxolani; more toward the interior from these are the Amaxobi and Scythian Alani....

Below the Venedae are the Galindae, the Sudini, and the Stavani, extending as far as the Alauni; below these are the Igylliones, then the Goestoboci, and the Transmontant extending as far as the Peuca mountains.

Back from the Ocean, near the Vanedious bay, the Veltae dwell. ...below whom are the Gelones, the Hippopodes, and the Melanchlaeni; below these are the Agathyrsi; then the Aorsi and Pagyrtae; then the Savari and the Borusci to the Ripaeos mountains.... (III, 5)

The above shows that the Alani (Alauni) lived northwest of the Rhoxolani and northeast of the Basterinae. Their land lay roughly between the River Dnieper and River Donets (or the upper reaches of the River Don). The location is the same that described by Pliny.^[24] The Aorsi recorded by Ptolemy may have been precisely the Aorsi who were jumbled together with the Waggon-dwellers by Pliny.

Further, the time of Ptolemy (c. A.D. 90-168) was later than that of Pliny (A.D. 23-79), but the Alani (Alauni) and the Aorsi described by the former were close to the time of the latter. The evidence is that the locations of the Iazyges and other tribes described by Ptolemy were the same as described by Strabo (VII, 2,3). This shows that the changes Pliny hints at had not taken place as yet. Moreover, if we consider that Pomponius Mela, who referred to the conquest of Britain (in A.D. 43) as a recent event, was entirely ignorant of the new date concerning the peoples of Central Russia, and that the opportunity for an enlargement of outlook in this direction came when the Roman troops were sent to the Bosporan kingdom in A.D. 45 to oust Mithridates III, and that Claudius (A.D. 41-54), the Roman Emperor, consequently is cited by Pliny as authority for specific details concerning the geography of the region north and south of the Caucasus Mountains, we may conclude that the above-cited record of Ptolemy describes the situation between A.D. 45 and 49.^[25]

When he mentions the "location of Asian Sarmatia" (V,8), Ptolemy refers to the Iaxamatae and the Siraci, whose locations are the same as those given by Strabo. Based on this, it has been suggested that the Iaxamatae constituted a unit of the Aorsi organization which was situated on the River Don.^[26] I consider that this theory would be acceptable, if the period of the "Asian Sarmatai" was the same as that of the "European Sarmatai" described by Ptolemy, because the Aorsi in the valley of the River Don and the Caucasus Region were still powerful at that time. However, precisely for this reason, it is preferable to take the Iaxamatae as an unit of the Aorsi

than as the Aorsi themselves, as "Iaxa[matae]" could be an incorrect transcription of "Aorsi".

(H)

According to Josephus^[27] (VII,7), in the 4th year of the reign period of Vespasian (c. A.D. 72/73), the Alani, who lived around the River Tanais (i.e., the River Don) and Maeotis Lake (i.e., the Asov Sea) invaded Media and Armenia by way of a certain pass, which had been controlled by the Hyrcanians (it is generally believed the pass was the Derbent Pass). This shows that, previously, the Alani had already expanded east from Central Russia and occupied the valley of the River Don and the Caucasian Region. Since the Aorsi were still powerful until A.D.49, this event must have taken place between A.D. 50 and 72.^[28] The Aorsi there had already declined as late as A.D. 58., probably because of the extension of the Alans. If this is correct, it would be before A.D. 58 that the Alans had controlled north of the Caucasus.

On the expansion of the Alani, Ammianus Marcellinus[29] (XXXI, 2) has given a more detailed report:

On the other side of this river (Hister, i.e., River Danube) the Halani, so called from the mountain range of the same name, inhabit the measureless wastes of Scythia; and by repeated victories they gradually wore down the people whom they met and like the Persians incorporated them under their own national name....

Thus the Halani (whose various peoples it is unnecessary now to enumerate) are divided between the two parts of the earth, but although widely separated from each other and roaming over vast tracts, as nomads do, yet in the course of time they have united under one name, and are, for short, all called Halani because of the similarity in their customs, their savage mode of life, and their weapons....

...In their plundering and hunting expeditions they roam here and there as far as the Maeotic Sea (the Azov Sea) and the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and also to Armenia and Media....

According to this, the Alani did at one point greatly expand their sphere of influence. The eastern boundary of their territory undoubtedly crossed the River Don, which was regarded as the dividing line between Asia and Europe at that time. However Ammianus Marcellinus does not mention clearly where that boundary actually fell.

In the light of the Chinese historical records, the Yancai (Hesu), who had lived north of the Aral Sea as far as the Caspian Sea at the latest when Zhang Qian 張騫 was sent on a mission to the Western Regions, changed their name to the "Alan" later. The Han people had possibly obtained this information in A.D.73, when Ban Chao 班超 was sent on a mission to the Western Regions. Combining this with the above-cited records of Ammianus Marcellinus concerning the Alani changing the names of the tribes who had been conquered by them to "Alani", it seems that the Alani at one point expanded their power as far as north of the Aral Sea, and forced the Aorsi (i.e., Yancai) to change their name, at the same time as or after the Alani had occupied north of the Caucasus Mountains in A.D. 50-58.

Furthermore, it seems to hint at the sphere of the Alans' influence in the east. Ptolemy refers to the Alani, the Scythae, and the Alanorsi when he describes the "location of Scythia within the Imause Mountain" (VI,14). For "within the Imaus Mountain" is generally believed to refer to the area from the River Volga to the Tian Mountains and the Altai Mountains. Ptolemy records that there were the Aorsi, the Alnorsi, and the Alani in this area, which seems to reflect vividly the probability that the Yancai (i.e. Aorsi) changed their name to "Alan (Alani)".

(I)

The Yancai might be a group of the Sakās, and the majority of them were possibly the Asii. Around 140 B.C., a large number of the Sakās moved south from north of the Syr Darya, and entered Ferghāna, Sogdiana, and Bactria.^[30] In the meanwhile, a group of them moved downstream along the Syr Darya, occupied the area north of the Aral Sea and the Caspian Sea, and spread to the Azov Sea and both sides of the Caucasus Mountains.^[31] As evidence, "Yancai", "Hesu", and "Aorsi (Arzoae)" all can be taken as different transcriptions of one and the same name.^[32] "Eunones", the name of the king of the Aorsi recorded by Strabo, and "Spadines" the name of the king of the Aorsi recorded by Tacitus, were the same as the names of the rulers of the Sakās in Sakāstān, Vonones, and Spalyris respectively. This also shows that the Yancai (Aorsi) originated from the Sakās.^[33]

Since the Yancai were a branch of the Sakās, their people must have been Europoid and spoken an Indo-European language. It has been suggested that the Yancai were a Türkic tribe. In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing.

1. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

To the west of the state of Dayuan and as far as the state of Anxi there are many different languages spoken, but they are in general the same and people understand each other clearly. The inhabitants of the area all have deep-set eyes, and many wear moustaches and beards. They are expert traders haggling over fractions of a *zhu* 銖 (a unit of weight).

The area "to the west of the state of the Dayuan" seems to have included the state of the Yancai. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded: "To the west, the Northern Route crosses the Congling 葱嶺 and leads to Dayuan, Kangju, and Yancai." This shows that Yancai was one of the states which was situated to the west of Dayuan in the mind of the people at that time. Therefore, the Yancai may have been the same as the Anxi people racially, and understood each other's language clearly.

2. Pliny took the Aorsi who lived on the northern bank of the Black Sea as a branch of the Sauromatae (Sarmatae),^[34] probably because there was much similarity between the races and languages of the Aorsi and the Sarmatae.^[35]

3. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, "Moreover, almost all the Halani are tall and handsome, their hair inclines to blond, by the ferocity of their glance they inspire dread, subdued though it is." (XXXI,2) The "Halani" obviously included the Aorsi who were conquered by the Alani in the valley of the River Don and the Caucasian Region. It is generally believed that the ancestors of the Ossets were the Alani, and the name of Osset originaed from "Ās",^[36] "Ās" must have come from

"Aorsi". This shows also that the nationality and language of the Aorsi were close to the Alani.

4. In Yelu Zhu's 耶律鑄 "Xingzhang Bazhen Shixu" 行帳八珍詩序 (in the *Shuangxi Zuiyin Ji* 雙溪醉隱集), it is said, "Zhuhang 塵沆 is a horse junket. ...'Zhuhang' is a word of the Yancai language." It has been suggested that the *zhuhang* is a textual error for *hangzhu*, which was a transcription of "kumis", a Türkic word, and that the Yancai were consequently a Türkic tribe.^[37]

In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. If kumis is an indigenous word of the Türkic tribes, it would not be called "a word of the Yancai language". In other words, kumis as a Türkic word probably came from the Yancai language. In addition, there is no proof for regarding *zhuhang* as an error for *hangzhu*.

5. In the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. 84, it is recorded:

...To the east of Fulin 拂菻, there are the Enqu 恩屈, the Alan, the Beirujiuli 北褥九離, the Fuwenhun 伏嗚昏 and others, who number nearly 20,000 men in all. There are the Dubo 都波 and others to the south of the Northern Sea. Although they have respectively various surnames, they are generally termed Tiele 鐵勒.

Based on this, it has been suggested that the Alan (the Yancai) were a Türkic tribe.

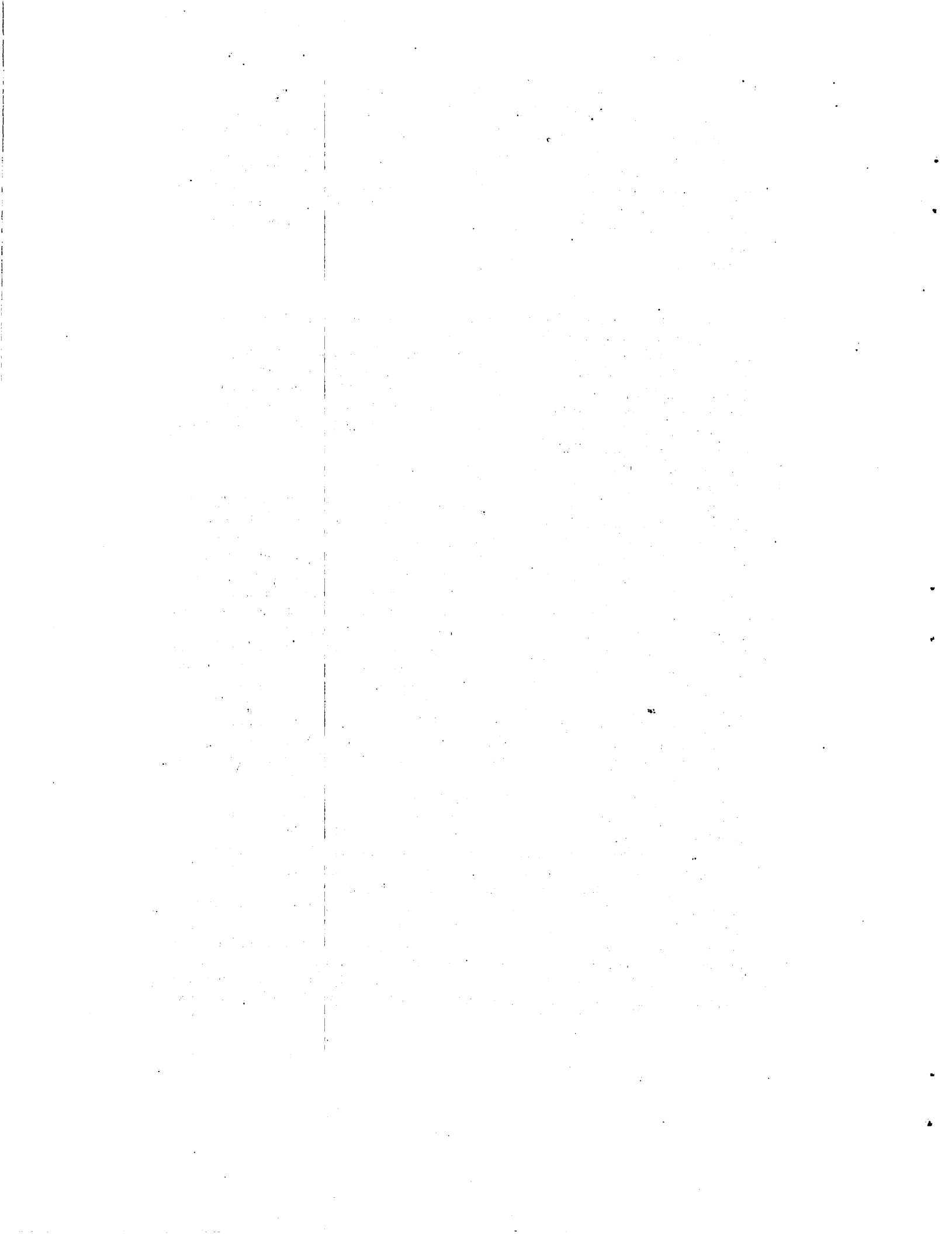
In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. The *Suishu* took the Alan for a branch of the Tiele, probably because the Alan lived together with the other Tiele tribes, and were alike subject to the Türks at that time. One cannot for this reason decide that the Alan of the *Suishu* were a Türkic tribe, and judge further the nationality of the Yancai and the Alan in the Han and the Wei times.^[38]

Notes:

1. Cf. chapter 5.
2. Shiratori (1941-2), suggests that the location of the Yancai recorded in the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* were actually north of the Aral and the Caspian Seas, but that only the sections of the population who lived north of the Aral Sea were known to the Han people. Cen (1981), pp. 265-271, and Matsuda (1975), suggest that the Yancai lived to the north of the Caspian Sea. Also, Matsuda, T., suggests that the Yancai had lived in the lower reaches of the Amu Darya, for the "Kangju" which Zhang Qian passed through was, in fact, a dependency of Kangju (i.e. Sogdiana) and thus the statement "to north-west of Kangju 2,000 *li*" refers to "to northwest of Sogdiana". In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. Although the "Kangju" which Zhang Qian passed through was probably Sogdiana, a dependency of Kangju, Zhang Qian had known that the metropolitan territory of Kangju was situated to the north of the Syr Darya. The statement of the *Shiji*, ch. 123, "Kangju is situated to the northwest of Dayuan" can be taken as evidence. In other words, it is impossible that Zhang Qian described the location of Yancai by taking a dependency of Kangju as his standard.
3. Chavannes (1905); Shiratori (1944-3); Egami (1951: 2-1); and Matsuda (1975).
4. Based on the theory of Chavannes (1907), Teggart, p. 159, suggests that it can be inferred, in the light of the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, that the Han people learned the Yancai changed their name in A.D. 22-25. In my opinion, this theory is inexact. According to the preface of the *Houhanshu*, Ch. 118, "In the middle of the reign period Jianwu 建武, all states in the Western Regions "sent their envoys to ask to make themselves Han's subjects to desire Han to establish the Pretector General". At this time, information about the Western Regions could

- be learned, but the Yancai changed their name in fact after A.D. 50, in the end of "the reign period Jianwu".
5. Shiratori (1941-2), points out that "Wuyibie 烏伊别" may have been "Yilie 伊列"; bie 别 was a textual error for lie 列 and wu was a redundant character, which was added because of influence from the preceding statement "there are the Wusun in the northwest". In my opinion, his theory is right. However, Shiratori (1939), suggests also the the Wuyibie may be identified as the Avars (i.e., the Yueban 悦般). I think that his latter theory seems to be unconvincing.
 6. Shiratori (1941-2), points out that the *Hanshu* was composed after the *Weilue*, it is therefore possible that the former considers that the statement "[Yancai] was formerly subject to Kangju" to refer to the fact that Yancai was subject to Kangju in Eastern Han times. In other words, the record that the Yancai was subject to the Kangju after they had changed their name is not necessarily correct. I think that his theory is correct. The Yancai's being subject to the Kangju was the situation before they changed their name.
 7. Shiratori (1944-4). Also, Mastuda (1975), suggests that the Yancai may be identified as the Alans, who had first lived north of the Aral Sea, and then gradually migrated to north of the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea. I think that this theory is incorrect.
 8. Richthofen (1877), p. 463; Gutschmid (1885), p. 594; Hirth (1900: 2), p. 251; Tomaschek; Chavannes (1905) and others all hold to this theory. Also, Teggart, pp. 197-205; Uchida (1975), pp. 115-141, all suggest that the Yancai were, in fact, the Abzoeae. Shiratori (1941-6), also took the Yancai as the Abzoeae. However, he gave up this theory later and takes the Yancai as the Kipchak (1944-4). Also, Cen (1981), pp. 265-271, suggests that "Yancai" and "Hesu" were transcriptions of "Aorsi" and "Abzoeae" respectively and that the Aorsi may have been identical with the Abzoeae.
 9. The *Geography* of Strabo, with an English Translation by Jones.
 10. Markwart (1914), p. 108.
 11. Tacitus, *The Annals*, English Translation by Jackson.
 12. *Geography of Claudus Ptolemy*, Translated into English and Edited by Stevenson.
 13. Teggart, pp. 162-163.
 14. Pliny, *Natural History*, with an English Translation by Rackham.
 15. Teggart, p. 174.
 16. Minns, p. 120.
 17. Rostovtzeff, p. 115.
 18. Teggart, pp. 217-218; Matsuda, T..
 19. Teggart, pp. 177-180.
 20. Tomaschak. Moreover, on the Peutinger Table, "Arzoeae" and "Alani" appear in the valley of the River Don and the Caucasian Region at the same time. This seems to show that the Aorsi (Arzoeae) had not yet been conquered entirely by the Alani in the period described by the Table.
 21. Teggart, pp. 201-202, suggests that the Aorsi of Strabo did not live north of the Caspian Sea, which shows that the Abzoeae and the Aorsi were not one and the same tribe. In my opinion, the fact that Strabo does not record there were the Aorsi to the north of the Caspian Sea is not tantamount to proving there were actually no Aorsi in this area. Also, Shiratori (1941-6) suggests that Pliny also records Aorsi, which shows that the Abzoeae were different from the Aorsi in his mind. However, the "Aorsi" that Shiratori mentioned is noted as "Arsi" in the original Latin text. If the "Arsi" were indeed the Aorsi, their location must have been to the east of the Caspian Sea. And, as mentioned above, there were also the Aorsi to the east of the Caspian Sea. The Aorsi (Arsi) and the Abzoeae (Arzoeae) are juxtaposed, which shows that Pliny did not know they were one and the same race, but it not tantamount to proof that they were, in fact, not one and the same race.
 22. Matsuda, T. suggests that the report about the Aorsi came from the Black Sea, and the information about the Yancai was learned from Central Asia by Zhang Qian. Because of this, there are some differences between the pronunciations of these two names. I think that his theory is correct. Pulleyblank (1962), p. 220, suggests that the Abzoeae were identical

- with the Aorsi, because the labial found in the Chinese seems to be implied in the -o- of the Greek as well as being explicit in Abzoe.
23. Teggart and others (see Note [8]) consider that the Yancai were identical with the Abzoe, but the Abzoe were not identical with the Aorsi. The only reason is that "Yancai" or "Hesu" may be taken as exact transcriptions of "Abzoe". I think that this was only coincidence, as one would hit a brick wall everywhere if one explained the problem entirely from this point of view.
 24. Teggart, p. 218.
 25. Teggart, p. 174.
 26. Teggart, p. 177.
 27. Josephus, with an English Translation by Thackeray. Also, for studies on the route of this invasion, see Teggart, pp. 162-163.
 28. Gutschmid (1888), p. 121, suggests that as early as A.D. 36, the Alani has already crossed the River Don and entered the Caucasian Region, in the light of the relevant records in *Jewish Antiquities* (XVIII, 4) of Josephus. In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. Because, from the above-cited records of Tacitus, we can infer that the Aorsi who settled to the north of the Caucasus Mountains were still powerful at that time. For detailed discussion, see: Teggart, p. 222.
 29. Ammianus Marcellinus, with an English Translation by Rolfe.
 30. Cf. chapter 1, 2, 4.
 31. Rostovtzeff, pp. 115-116, points out that the Rhoxolani arrived in the area between the River Don and the River Dnieper in the latter half of the 2nd century B.C. If this is correct, the movement of the Alani who were settled to the northwest of the Rhoxolani into Southern Russia would have been slightly earlier than the Rhoxolani. The western migration of the Alani and the Rhoxolani was probably caused by that of the Asii (i.e., the Aorsi). Also, Okuma K. 1984, suggests that the Aorsi seemed to be swallowed up by the Alani who came from the East. In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. The fact that the Alani conquered the Aorsi was a result of their expansion from the west to the east.
 32. Matsuda, T., suggests that "Aorsi" was an exact transcription of "Arsi" or "Asii". His theory is adequate. Matsuda, T. suggests also that the nomadic tribes, including the Asii (the Aorsi), invaded Bactria in 141-128 B.C. and the Aorsi appeared in Southern Russia between the latter half of the 2nd century B.C. and the former half of the 1st century B.C. It is also possible that, with regard to the angle of time, the Aorsi were, in fact, the Asii. In my opinion, at nearly the same time when the Sakās invaded Bactria, the Aorsi, namely a group of the Asii, migrated west to north of the Aral Sea and the Caspian Sea. Matsuda's theory is inexact.
 33. Shiratori (1941-6).
 34. Rostovtzeff, p.113, suggests that the Sauromatae and the Sarmatae were not one and the same. Okuma considers that his theory is very punctilious, and thus is inadequate. I think that Okuma's theory is correct. The Sauromatae of Pliny were undoubtedly the Sarmatae.
 35. Among the Sarmatae, the Alani were the most populous. Some of the descendants of the Alani were the Osset, who were an Iranian tribe. Cf. Rostovtzeff, p. 114.
 36. Minosky (1970), p. 445. It is self-evident that one can not identify the Osset with the Aorsi (the Asii) simply because the Osset were named after As.
 37. Shiratori (1941-2). Also, Cen (1981), pp. 276-277, suggests that *zhuhang* is a textual error for *hangzhu*, which was a transcription of *cara cosmos* ("black horse milk").
 38. Shiratori (1941-2), believes that the Alani who were learned of by the Western people were mostly Europoid, but those who were learned of by the Eastern people were mostly Türks. In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing.



CHAPTER 7 THE WUSUN

(A)

On the former land of the Wusun 烏孫, some scholars seek it between Qilian 祁連 and Dunhuang 敦煌, based on the record of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61, "originally the Wusun lived with the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 between Qilian and Dunhuang".^[1] However, because a similar record does not appear in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, other scholars stress the record of the *Shiji*, ch. 123, "Wusun is some 2,000 li 里 to the northeast of Dayuan 大宛", and suggest that the Wusun had always lived north of the Tian Mountains.^[2]

In my opinion, since there is a clear and definite record in the *Hanshu*, the location of the former land of the Wusun should be that stated by the *Hanshu*. The record of the *Hanshu* is based on the report of Zhang Qian 張騫, which may have been omitted by Sima Qian 司馬遷, the editor of the *Shiji*, and therefore does not appear in the *Shiji*. As for the territory which lay "to the northeast of Dayuan", it must have been the settlement of the Wusun after their western migration.

1. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 61, the report of Zhang Qian is recorded as follows:

The king of the Wusun was entitled Kunmo 昆莫, and the Kunmo's father was named Nandoumi 難兜靡; originally the Wusun had lived with the Da Yuezhi between Qilian and Dunhuang; and they had been a small state. The Da Yuezhi attacked and killed Nandoumi, seizing his land; and his people fled to the Xiongnu 匈奴. An infant Kunmo had recently been born, and the Xihou 翯侯 Bujiu 布就, who was his guardian, took him in his arms and fled away. He laid him in the grass and searched for food for him; and on coming back he saw a wolf suckling the child; furthermore there were ravens holding meat in their beaks and hovering at [the child's] side. Believing this to be supernatural, he then carried [the child] back to the Xiongnu, and the Chanyu 單于 loved and reared him. When he had come of age of *zhuang* 壯, the Chanyu delivered to the Kunmo his father's people; he had him lead troops, and on several occasions he did so meritoriously. At the time the Yuezhi had already been defeated by the Xiongnu; making for the west they attacked the king of the Sai 塞. The king of the Sai moved a considerable distance to the south and the Yuezhi then occupied his lands. Once the Kunmo had grown to adulthood, he asked permission of the Chanyu to avenge his father's wrongs. Going west he attacked and defeated the Da Yuezhi, who again fled west, moving into the lands of Daxia 大夏. The Kunmo despoiled the population of the Da Yuezhi, and then remained in occupation. His forces gradually grew stronger, and at the

death of the Chanyu he was no longer willing to attend at the court of the Xiongnu and serve them.^[3]

According to this, the Wusun did not live in "the land of the Sai" (i.e. the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu) until they had turned west and defeated the Da Yuezhi.

On the other hand, in the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

The king of the Wusun was styled Kunmo, and the Kunmo's father was [the chief of] a petty state which was to the west of the Xiongnu. The Xiongnu attacked and killed his father, and the Kunmo, at his birth, was abandoned in the wilderness, where meat was brought to him by a she-wolf who nursed him with her milk. Regarding this as strange and believing it to be supernatural, the Chanyu raised the child to manhood. When reached the age of *zhuang*, [the Chanyu] had him lead troops and he did so meritoriously on several occasions. The Chanyu further restored to the Kunmo his father's people and commanded him to guard permanently the Xicheng^[4] 西城 (the West Wall). The Kunmo took in his people and brought them up, then attacked the neighboring small towns. There were several tens of thousands of trained bowmen, who were skillful in attacking and fighting. At the death of the Chanyu, leading his people, the Kunmo moved a considerable distance, made himself independent, and was unwilling to proceed to the Xiongnu court meetings.

According to this, the Wusun were originally subject to the Xiongnu, they did not cast off the control of the Xiongnu and win independence until the Kunmo had led his people far away. The territory which lay "to the northeast of Dayuan" described by the *Shiji*, ch. 123, obviously refers to the settlement where the Kunmo lived after he had moved far away, and must not have been the former land of the Kunmo. Therefore, even if based on the evidence of the *Shiji* alone, we could not draw the conclusion that the Wusun had always lived north of the Tian Mountains. In other words, there is no contradiction between the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* on this point, the only difference between them is that the text of the former is briefer than that of the latter.

2. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 61, it is recorded:

At present the Chanyu has recently suffered at the hands of Han and the Kunmo's land is empty. Barbarians love their old homeland and are also greedy for Han 漢 goods. If we could make use of the present opportunity to send generous presents to the Wusun, and induce [its people] to move east and live in their old land; and if Han would send a princess to be the consort of [the king] to establish brotherly relations, the situation would be such that they would agree, and this would result in the cutting off of the right arm of the Xiongnu.

In the same book, ch. 96B, the words with which Zhang Qian persuaded the Kunmo are recorded as follows:

If the [people of] the Wusun are able to move east and live in their former land, then Han will send a princess to be [the Kunmo's] wife, and a fraternal alliance will be formed; we will together stand against the Xiongnu who will not be hard to defeat.

According to this, the Han court wanted to induce the Wusun to move east and live in the Kunmo's land, which was the Wusun's former land where they had lived before migrating west to the valley of the River Ili. However, in the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

At the present the Chanyu has recently suffered at the hands of Han and old Hunxie's 渾邪 land is empty and depopulated. The barbarian's custom is to be greedy for Han goods. If we could only make use of the present opportunity to send generous coins to the Wusun and induce [their people] gradually to move east increasingly and live in old Hunxie's land and establish brotherly relations with Han, the situation would be such that they would agree. If they agree, this would result in the cutting off of the right arm of the Xiongnu.

According to this, the land which the Han court wanted to induce the Wusun to move east to and live in was Hunxie's land. In the same chapter, it is also recorded:

The Piaoqi 驃騎 General defeated the Xiongnu in their Xicheng, killed and captured several tens of thousands of men and pushed forward as far as the Qilian Mountains. In the following year (121 B.C.), the Hunxie king with his community surrendered to Han. [The area] from Jincheng 金城 and the prefectures in the Hexi 河西 region, westwards along the Southern Mountains, as far as the Salt Marsh 鹽澤 was empty of the Xiongnu.

The Hunxie king was called the "the Xiongnu's Xiyu 西域 king" in the same book, ch. 111. Here the "Xiongnu' Xiyu" must have been "the Xiongnu's Xicheng" as seen in the same book, ch. 123. Therefore, "Hunxie's land" must have been "the Xiongnu' Xiyu (or Xicheng)", namely "the Xicheng" that the Chanyu ordered the Kunmo to guard permanently. In the *Shiji*, it is not clearly recorded that "the Xicheng" the Kunmo guarded was the former land of the Wusun, but the land was obviously that in which the Kunmo had stayed and herded before he moved far away, and is indeed the so-called "the Kunmo's land" of the *Hanshu*. Actually there is no contradiction between the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* here either. The reason why the *Hanshu* changes "Hunxie's land" into "the Kunmo's land" is only that "Hunxie's land" was not fully equal to "the Kunmo's land". The Wusun were still small and weak before they moved west and, as regards the geographical region, "the Kunmo's land" was undoubtedly included in "Hunxie's land".^[5]

3. The statement "between Qilian and Dunhuang" refers to the area from north of the present Qilian Mountains as far as the eastern foothills of the present Tian Mountains and Altai Mountains.^[6] This area was controlled by the Xiongnu after they drove the Da Yuezhi away, and then became the territory of the Hunxie king (i.e., "the Xiongnu's Xiyu king"). In other words, "Hunxie's land" must have lain "between Qilian and Dunhuang". Hence the record of the *Shiji* that the Wusun moved east and lived in the "Hunxie's land", is to say, moving east and living "between Qilian and Dunhuang". Thus it can be seen that the relevant records of the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* are, in fact consistent.

Considering that Han founded the prefecture of Jiuquan 酒泉 in the Hexi region in the second year of the Yuanshou 元狩 reign period of Emperor Wu 武帝 (i.e., 121

B.C.), and that Zhang Qian wanted to induce the Wusun to move east and live in their former land in order to cut off the right arm of the Xiongnu (to cut off the contacts of the Xiongnu with the states in the Western Regions), it seems that the former land of the Wusun (the land where they lived prior to migrating west and reaching the valley of the Rivers Ili and Chu) did not lie in the Hexi region, which is east of the area "between Qilian and Dunhuang".^[7]

Also, there is a vast desert in the area from the northeast of the prefecture of Dunhuang to the present Hami,

That is the Moheyan 莫賀延 Desert. Its length is more than 800 *li*. It was called the Sand River 沙河 in ancient times. There are no birds in the sky, no beasts on the ground, not is these any water and grass either. (*Dacienshi Sanzangfashizhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, ch. 1)

Therefore, it seems to be possible to seek for the former land of the Wusun in the vicinity of the present Hami: If this area had been controlled by an ally of Han, it would have been of great advantage to Han in cutting off the right arm of the Xiongnu. Furthermore, although the former land which the Han court wanted to induce the Wusun to move east to and to settle in (i.e. "the Kunmo's land), was not necessarily Nandoumi's land, one can not rule out this possibility, because "the Kunmo's land" lay "between Qilian and Dunhuang". It is very likely that the Wusun, as "a small state", had been subject to the Yuezhi before the latter were driven off by the Xiongnu. Their homeland must have lain within the Yuezhi's sphere of influence, and mainly in the west of this sphere. It has been suggested that the former land of the Yuezhi lay east of that of the Wusun, or that the former lay west of the latter.^[8] In my opinion, both theories are inadequate.

(B)

On the relation between the Wusun and the Yuezhi before their Western migrations, the records of the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* seem to be different. The above-cited record from the *Hanshu*, ch. 61, states that the Kunmo's father was attacked and killed by the Yuezhi; but the *Shiji*, ch. 123, states that he was killed by the Xiongnu. At first glance, it is difficult to distinguish clearly which is right; but I think that there is in fact no contradiction between them.

In both the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu*, it is recorded that at the time when Kunmo's father was killed, the Kunmo had just been born. And according to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, during the reign period Yuanfeng (110-105), Han sent Xijun 細君, daughter of Liu Jian 劉建, king of Jiangdu 江都, as a princess to wed the Kunmo. At that time, the Kunmo was old (*lao*). Since a man was *lao* 老 at seventy, if the Kunmo was at the age of 70 (± 5) in the first year of the Yuanfeng 元封 reign period, then the Kunmo's father must have died between 185 and 175 B.C. Moreover, in the *Hanshu*, ch. 94A, it is recorded that in the fourth year of the Former reign period of Emperor Wen 文帝 (i.e., 176B.C.), Modu 冒頓, the Chanyu of the Xiongnu presented a letter to Han, which said:

At present, because my official has violated the agreement, I punished the Right Xian King 右賢王, and made him march west and seek for the Yuezhi to attack them. With the aid of Heaven's blessing, superior officials and soldiers, and strong horses, [the king] exterminated the Yuezhi, who were wiped out. The whole lot were suppressed and put down. Loulan 樓蘭, Wusun, Hujie 呼揭 as well as 26 nearby state have all become the territory of the Xiongnu.

This shows that the Xiongnu put down the Wusun in 177/176 B.C.,^[9] and that, at the same time the Kunmo's father was killed. This date does not conflict with the time the Kunmo's father died, inferred from the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B. In the other words, it is quite possible that the Kunmo's father was killed by the Xiongnu as recorded by the *Shiji*.

However, since the main object of the Xiongnu was the Yuezhi but not the Wusun, and the former land of the Wusun lay within the Yuezhi's sphere of influence, mainly in the west of this sphere, the Xiongnu could not attack the Wusun until they had defeated the Yuezhi. Because of this, the Yuezhi would charge the Wusun, and kill the Kunmo's father when they were attacked by the Xiongnu and withdrew from their former land. The survivors of the Wusun fled to the Xiongnu when the Xiongnu came on the Yuezhi's heels.

In other words, considering the circumstances and judging by common sense, the record of the *Hanshu* is not necessarily erroneous either. Therefore, one may believe that the Kunmo's father was killed by the Yuezhi directly, but by the Xiongnu indirectly. The root cause was the Xiongnu's attack on the Yuezhi, for the Wusun had originally lived for a long time in peace with the Yuezhi between Qilian and Dunhuang.

It has been suggested that the *Shiji* calls Wusun "a petty state to the west of the Xiongnu", which shows that the former land of the Wusun was next to the Xiongnu and was situated to the east of the Yuezhi. Therefore, the Wusun must have been first affected when the Xiongnu attacked the Yuezhi, and the Kunmo's father must have been killed by the Xiongnu.^[10]

Actually, however, when the *Shiji*, ch. 123 describes the relative location of the Wusun, the Yuezhi are never referred to, only the Xiongnu are taken as the standard. Therefore, the above-cited statement of the *Shiji* does not imply that the Wusun's land was then next to the western boundary of the Xiongnu, but that it was located to the west of the Xiongnu. For the same reason one cannot infer that at that time the Wusun lived to the east of the Yuezhi.

It has been suggested that the records which refer to the situation beyond the frontier fortresses in the *Hanshu* are more exact than those in the *Shiji*, due to increasingly frequent contacts with foreign countries since the time of Emperor Wu.^[11] Therefore, Nandoumi ought to have been killed by the Yuezhi as recorded by the *Hanshu*. That the Kunmo led his people to avenge the wrongs done to his father also shows this.

Actually, however, even if the Kunmo knew that his father was, in the final analysis, killed by the Xiongnu, he would have no way out. The *Hanshu* probably stresses that the Kunmo's father was killed by the Yuezhi, because it added a passage about the Kunmo's driving off the Yuezhi and migrating to "the land of the Sai". The *Shiji* does not refer to the Yuezhi when it mentions the death of the Kunmo's father, which does not necessarily show that Sima Qian did not know the effect the Yuezhi had on the Wusun's migration. The reason why the Xiongnu were only mentioned in

the *Shiji* may be that in the mind of Sima Qian the death of the Kunmo's father should be blamed on the Xiongnu. In fact, the Kunmo settled down in "the land of the Sai" after defeating the Yuezhi, and was no longer willing to attend at the court of the Xiongnu and to serve them.

In sum, on this question the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* cannot be used to contradict each other.

(C)

The date that the Wusun moved west to "the land of the Sai" must be exactly the date that the Da Yuezhi gave up "the land of the Sai" and moved west to the valley of the Amu Darya. The Da Yuezhi migrated west to the valley of the Amu Darya in 130 B.C.^[12] A similar conclusion would be drawn, if we study the problem from the Wusun's angle.

According to the above-cited record of the *Hanshu*, ch. 61, when the Da Yuezhi were driven out of "the land of the Sai" by the Kunmo, the Kunmo was at the age of *zhuang*. He had already led his troops, and done so meritoriously on several occasions before he attacked the Da Yuezhi. Since a man was *zhuang* at thirty, one may consider that the Kunmo was between 30 and 50 when he defeated the Da Yuezhi. Moreover, as stated above, the date that the Kunmo's father died (177/176 B.C.) may be taken as the date when the Kunmo was born. From this, one can infer that the date the Kunmo occupied "the land of the Sai" was between 148/147 and 128/127 B.C.

It has been pointed out that, according to the *Hanshu*, the Kunmo had settled down in "the land of the Sai" before a Chanyu died; however, according to the *Shiji*, the Kunmo led his people far away after the Chanyu had died. This shows that there are contradictions between the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu*.^[13]

In my opinion, the focal points which both books refer to on the death of the Chanyu are the same. This is to stress that the Wusun did not cast off the control of the Xiongnu and become an independent state until the Chanyu died. Because the *Shiji* does not refer to the Kunmo's attack on the Da Yuezhi, its statement is rather sweeping and not as clear as that of the *Hanshu* or as orderly in its arrangement of the text: the Wusun settled in "the land of the Sai" after they had driven the Da Yuezhi away, and, then, at the death of the Chanyu, they were no longer willing to attend at the court of the Xiongnu and serve them. These are all of the differences between the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* on the point at issue.

As for the above mentioned Chanyu, he was undoubtedly Chanyu Junchen 軍臣 who died in 126 B.C.

It has been suggested that the Kunmo's story, as described by the *Hanshu*, was what Zhang Qian had heard when he was detained by the Xiongnu, and that since Zhang Qian did not return to Han until Junchen died and the Xiongnu were thrown into confusion, the Chanyu in both statements "he (the Kunmo) asked permission of the Chanyu" and "at the death of the Chanyu" must refer to Chanyu Laoshang 老上.^[14] In other words, the Wusun's moving west took place during the reign of Laoshang.

In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. Zhang Qian was detained by the Xiongnu twice in all during his first mission to the Western Regions. The second time was on the way back to Han after he had visited the Da Yuezhi. Then, the Kunmo had already defeated the Da Yuezhi. Therefore he could have heard of the

event that the Kunmo had asked permission of the Chanyu to avenge the wrongs done to his father. Even if the fact that the Kunmo had become independent at the death of Chanyu [Junchen] was heard by Zhang Qian after he returned to Han, it is feasible that this event along with the tale that a wolf suckled and ravens fed the Kunmo and so on, which had probably been heard by Zhang Qian the first time he was detained, were, for convenience's sake, crowned with "when I was living among the Xiongnu I heard...."

It has also been suggested that the Kunmo had defeated the Da Yuezhi at thirty, soon before the Chanyu died. If the Chanyu was Junchen, the Kunmo would only have been about fifty. Up to the reign period Yuanfeng, and could not have been regarded as "old".^[15]

In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. In neither the *Shiji* nor the *Hanshu*, has it ever been recorded that the Kunmo moved west and attacked the Da Yuezhi as soon as he was at the age of *zhuang*. This can be seen if we read the texts carefully.

(D)

According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, the territory of the Wusun after they had moved west, "adjoins the Xiongnu in the east, Kangju in the north-west, Dayuan in the west, and the various states of the walled town in the south. Originally it was the land of the Sai." At that time, the Xiongnu's strength had already expanded west and crossed over the Alai Mountains. Kangju's metropolitan territory lay in the area from the northern bank of the Syr Darya to the valley of the Talas River. Dayuan was situated in the Ferghāna Basin. The "various states of the walled towns" were scattered on the oases in the Tarim Basin. Therefore, this record shows that the location of the state of the Wusun lay mainly in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers.

From the analysis of the record of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, and others, the four boundaries of the state of the Wusun can be known.

1. In the light of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, "the various states of the walled towns" which "adjoin Wusun in the north" are Gumo 姑墨, Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲. These three states lay to the south of the Tian Mountains. If it is correct that they adjoined Wusun, the nomadic sphere of the Wusun must have included the valleys of the Tekes and Yulduz rivers, north of the Tian Mountains.^[16]

In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is also recorded that the state of Juandu 捐毒 "adjoins Wusun in the north". Juandu was situated at Irkeshtam secluded to the southwest, but its people roved about seeking water and grass and their way of life was similar to that of the Wusun. Therefore, it is possible that the nomadic sphere of the Juandu and that of the Wusun adjoined each other.^[17]

2. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 70, it is recorded that Chanyu Zhizhi 郅支 of the Xiongnu turned west and went to Kangju,

[He] borrowed troops from Kangju and attacked Wusun many times and penetrated as far as the town of Chigu 赤谷. He killed and plundered the people of Wusun and drove off their domestic animals. Wusun dared not pursue him. [At that time] the western part of the state was a weakly defended, uninhabited area extending for 1,000 *li*.

This shows that the town of Chigu, the seat of the royal government of Wusun, was about 1,000 *li* from its western boundary. Since Wusun "adjoins Dayuan in the west", the boundary between them was roughly Kagart Mountain and Yassi Mountain.^[18]

3. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 70 it is recorded that Gan Yanshou 甘延壽 and Chen Tang 陳湯 attacked Chanyu Zhizhi:

They led their troops and divided them into six *xiao* 校 (a military unit). While three *xiao*, following the Southern Route, crossed the Congling 葱嶺 and went by way of Dayuan, the other three, which were under command of the Protector General himself, started from the state of Wensu 溫宿, following the Northern Route. They entered the town of Chigu, passed through Wusun, set foot within the boundaries of the state of Kangju and reached to the west of Tian 闐 Lake.

Since Tian Lake may be identified with the Issik Kul, the territory of Wusun extended as far as the lake and the boundary between Wusun and Dayuan was Kagart Mountain and Yassi Mountain, the statement "[Wusun] adjoins Kangju in the northwest" shows that the boundary between Wusun and Kangju was the Alexandrovski Mountains and the River Chu.^[19]

4. The letter which Chanyu Modu presented to Han in 176 B.C. shows that the Xiongnu had already conquered the Hujie, who lived in the southern foothills of the Altai Mountains at that time, and controlled the Tarim Basin. Therefore, it is certain that Zungaria, which lay north of the Tian Mountains, had come into the Xiongnu's sphere of influence. Since Wusun "adjoins the Xiongnu in the east", the eastern boundary of Wusun probably extended as far as the western border of Zungaria.^[20]

5. According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, the state of Wutanzili 烏貪訶離, which lay near Manass, "adjoins Wusun in the west", and the state of Yanqi "adjoins Wusun in the north". Therefore, the east of the territory of Wusun also included the valley of the River Manass.^[21]

6. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 70, the following words of Chen Tang are recorded:

Recently, Chanyu Zhizhi has made a name for himself. He has invaded Wusun and Dayuan and has plotted frequently with Kangju in order to conquer them. If he conquers these two states, he will attack Yilie 伊列 to the north; occupy Anxi 安息 to the west; repel the Yuezhi and Shanliwuyi 山離烏弋 to the south, and the various states of the walled towns will be in danger in the years to come.

"Yilie" was named after the River Ili. This state may have been situated in the lower reaches of the Ili River, to the north of Wusun, since Zhizhi had to order the Kangju to conquer Wusun before he attacked Yilie.^[22] Thus it can be seen that the northern boundary of Wusun described by the *Hanshu* did not reach to Balkhash Nor.

(E)

In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, it is recorded:

The seat of the Great Kunmi's 昆彌 government is at the town of Chigu, and is 8,900 *li* distant from Chang'an 長安. ...It is a distance of 1,721 *li* to the east, to the seat of the Protector General, and 5,000 *li* to the west to Fanneidi 蕃內地.

On the exact location of the town of Chigu, the seat of the royal government of Wusun, there have always been varying theories. At present, however, there are two main theories, both of which are strong: The first suggests that Chigu was situated to the north of the present Aksu, on the southern bank of the River Tekes.^[23] The second suggests that Chigu was situated to the southeast of Issik Kul, near the upper reaches of the River Narin.^[24] In my opinion, the latter is close to correct.

1. According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, Wensu, which was situated at the present Utch Turfan, "is a distance of 610 *li* from the town of Chigu, of Wusun, in the north". In the above-cited record of the *Hanshu*, ch. 70, it is recorded that Gan Yanshou led three *xiao* in person to attack Zhizhi, started from the state of Wensu and, via the town of Chigu, moved west along the River Narin, and reached west of the Issik Kul. This shows that the Town of Chigu must have been situated on the upper reaches of the River Narin, and at a distance of 610 *li* to the northwest of Wensu.^[25]

2. In the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, ch. 43B, it is recorded:

[The River Hulu 胡蘆] is 60 *li* to the Great Stone Town 大石城, which is also called Yuzhu 于祝 or Wensu Zhou 溫肅州, and 30 *li* from Sulou Feng 粟樓烽 in the northeast, and 40 *li* farther to crossing to Bada 拔達 Hill, and 50 *li* further to the town of Dunduo 頓多, namely the town of Chishan 赤山, the seat of the royal government of Wusun, and 30 *li* farther to crossing the River Zhenzhu 真珠.

Of which, Wensu Zhou, Bada Hill, the town of Chishan, and the River Zhenzhu were undoubtedly identical with the state of Wensu, the Badal Pass, the town of Chigu, and the River Narin respectively. Since the town of Chishan was situated to the northwest of the state of Wensu Zhou, the town of Chigu must have been situated to the northwest of the state of Wensu. It has been pointed out that, according to the record of the *Xin Tangshu*, the distance from Wensu to Chigu was only 120 *li*, and is different from that recorded by the *Hanshu*. This shows that the former cannot be taken as evidence.^[26] In my opinion, there must be omissions following "Wusun" in the above cited text, because the distance from Wensu Zhou to the River Zhenzhu is necessarily more than 150 *li*.

3. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded: "Wusun is some 2,000 *li* to the north-west from Dayuan." The "some 2,000 *li*" refers to the distance from the town of Guishan 貴山, the seat of the royal government of Dayuan, to the town of Chigu, the seat of the royal government of Wusun. Since the former was situated near Khojend, the town of Chigu, which was some 2,000 *li* to the north-east of Guishan, must have been situated in the upper reaches of the River Narin.^[27] It has been suggested that Guishan was situated near Kasan, therefore the town of Chigu must have been situated on the southern bank of the River Tekes.^[28] However, this theory is incorrect.

4. Based on the above-cited record of the Han Shu, ch. 70, it has been suggested that the boundary between Wusun and Kangju must have lain on the western bank of the Issik Kul, and the town of Chigu must have been at a distance of

over 1,000 *li* to east of the boundary, that is to say that the town was situated in the valley of River Tekes.^[29]

In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. That Zhizhi plotted with Kangju, in order to invade Dayuan and Wusun, shows that he had to have passed the southern bank of the Issik Kul, if they invaded the town of Chigu. Since in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, it is recorded that Wusun adjoined Dayuan in the west, the statement "an uninhabited area extending for 1,000 *li*" must refer to a distance of 1,000 *li* to the east from the eastern boundary of Dayuan (i.e. the Ferghāna Basin). It can be seen that we may seek for the town of Chigu in the upper reaches of the River Narin.

5. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, it is recorded: "It (the seat of the royal government of Wensu) is a distance of 2,380 *li* to the east to the seat of the government of the Protector General in the east." The distance was 659 *li* more than that between the town of Chigu and the seat of the government of the Protector General. Based on this, it has been suggested that the town of Chigu must have been situated in the valley of the River Tekes (Narin Kol).^[30]

In my opinion, this "2,380 *li*" is undoubtedly wrong, and cannot be taken as evidence.^[31] In the same chapter, it is recorded that the seat of the royal government of Wusun "is 8,350 *li* distant from Chang'an." This distance was 550 *li* nearer than that between the town of Chigu and Chang'an, thus might be close to reality.

(F)

On the name, the origin and the nationality of the Wusun, there have always been varied theories.

In the light of the *History* of Herodotus (I,201) and others, it can be known that the inhabitants in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu were the Issedones by the end of the 7th century B.C.^[32] It has been suggested that the Wusun described by the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* are exactly the Issedones of Herodotus.^[33]

In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing.^[34] The Wusun had not moved west to the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu until c.130 B.C. Obviously, they were not identical with the Issedones who had already appeared in the above-stated area in the late 7th century B.C. Moreover, the Issedones may have been Sakās who were so called by the Persians since Darius I came to the throne, and are the Sai described by the *Hanshu*, ch. 96. In the *Hanshu*, it is recorded clearly that the Wusun lived in "the land of the Sai" after having moved west. This shows also that the Issedones were not the same as the Wusun. However there were many relations between them and the Issedones.

1. The Issedones were a tribal confederacy, made up of four tribes, the Asii, the Tochari, the Sacarauli, and the Gasiani. Herodotus records them simply as "Issedones" (i.e., "Asii"), probably because the Asii were once chief of the confederacy. In c.177/176 B.C., the Da Yuezhi were forced by the Xiongnu to moved west, and the Issedones were forced to withdraw from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu. A group of them moved south and entered the Pamir region, and then moved east and entered the Tarim Basin; others crossed over the Suspended Crossing 縣度 and entered Jibin 屬賓.

2. The four tribes who made up the Issedones in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu probably came from the Hexi Region in the late 7th century B.C. "Asii"

might be identical with "the Rong of the Surname Yun" 允姓之戎 recorded by the Zuozhuan 左傳.

3. "Wu-sun [a-siuən]" may be considered to be a transcription of "Yun Xing" 允姓 or "Yun [Xing]". The Rong of Surname Yun lived in the Hexi Region, and the former land of the Wusun lay to the west of Yiwu 伊吾. However, the sphere of the former was not necessarily limited to Dunhuang in the west, and the original settlement of the latter lay also probably in the Hexi Region.

Therefore, the Rong of the Surname Yun might have grown out of the Wusun, or both of them may have risen from the same source. Those who moved into the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu in the late 7th century B.C. were the Issedones or Asii of the Western historical records, and those who moved in c.130 B.C. were the Wusun of Chinese records.^[35]

The names of the oases in the Tarim Basin recorded by the *Hanshu*, ch. 96: "Yixun 伊循", "Wulei 烏壘", and "Yanqi" can be taken as transcriptions of "Asii" or "Issedones". This shows that the Asii, who moved south from the valleys of the River Ili and Chu had entered the Tarim Basin. Also "Qiuci" may be taken as a transcription of "Gasiani", which seems to show that the Gasiani also had this oasis. In the *Yiqiejing Yinyi* 一切經音義, it is recorded: "[Quzhi 屈支 (i.e., Qiuci)] is also 'Wusun' or 'Wulei'." Up to now, there has been no reasonable explanation for this record. I think that it may result from the fact that among those who entered this oasis at the same time, in addition to the Gasiani, there were the Asii who belonged to one and the same tribal confederacy as "Wusun" and "Wulei"; all can be taken as transcriptions of "Asii". This seems to prove indirectly that "Wusun" of the *Hanshu* is a transcription of "Asii".

5. There is a state named "Nandou 難兜" in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A. The state was situated at the present Gilgit,^[36] which was on the road that must have been followed by the Asii who moved south from the Pamir Region after having given up the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers. "Nandou", the name of the state, was the same as "Nandoumi", the name of earliest ancestor of the Wusun. This cannot be a coincidence. It is possible that the state of Nandou took its name from the Asii who passed this area and moved south. This also shows that the "Wusun" of the *Hanshu* and the Asii came from one and the same source.

6. According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, after the Wusun had driven out the Da Yuezhi and occupied the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, among their people "there are the Sai race and the Da Yuezhi race." Since the Sai tribes included the Asii, this seems to show that there was a difference between the Asii and the Wusun. However, if one considers that they had already separated and gone different ways in the late 7th century B.C., it is comprehensible that there were several differences in language, custom, and physical characteristics between them. In other words, it is incorrect to deny that they had one and the same source because of these differences.

7. The Asii and the other tribes were Europoid and spoke in Indo-European languages. The Wusun stemmed from the same source as the Asii, the Wusun therefore were Europoid and spoke an Indo-European language. Also, the anthropological data considered to belong to the Wusun seems to prove that the Wusun were Europoid.^[37] According to Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentary on the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A: "Among the various Rong in the Western Regions, the Wusun's shape was the strangest; and the present barbarians who have blue eyes and red hair,

and are like a macaque, belonged to the same race as the Wusun." This might have some basis.

It has been suggested that the Wusun were a Türkic tribe and used a Türkic language. The evidence is that the tradition about the wolf's race of the Wusun is similar to that of the Türks, and that official titles of the Wusun "Mi 靡", "Xihou" and "Cenzou 岑陬" can respectively be taken as the Türkic "Bak", "Yehu 葉護 (Yabgu)" and "She 設 (Sad)", and that name "Wusun" might be a transcription of "Ashina 阿史那".^[38] In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing.

Firstly, the tradition surrounding the wolf's race did not necessarily occur among the Altai tribes.

Secondly, even if "Mi", "Xihou" and "Cenzou", etc., were indeed Altai words, the possibility could not be ruled out that the Wusun had been influenced by the Altai tribes.

Thirdly, "Mi", "Xihou" and "Cenzou", etc. can be explained in Indo-European languages. In other words, the Türkic official titles "Yehu", etc. can be derived from the Europoid.^[39]

Fourthly, if the name "Wusun" was indeed a transcription of "Ashina",^[40] then the latter would have been the same source as the Wusun. The Türks, in a sense, can be taken as a mixed blood tribe of Mongoloids and Europoids. In the *Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 50, it is recorded that: "The ancestors [of the Türks] stemmed from the state of Suo 索." It has been suggested that "Suo" was a transcription of "Sakā" or "Sai".^[41] If this is correct, there would be a blood relationship between the family of Ashina and the Wusun.

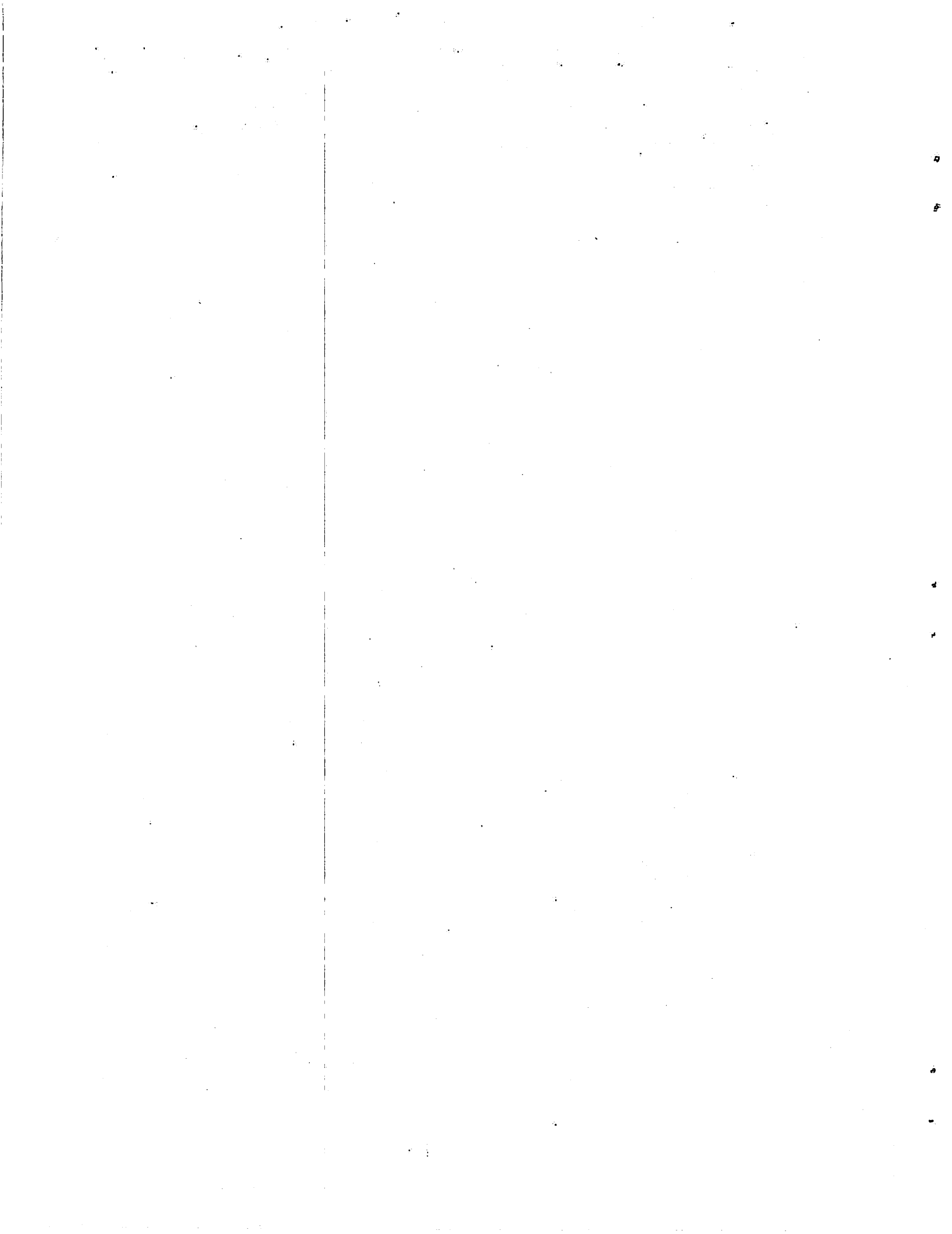
Notes:

1. The statement of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, "Originally the Wusun lived together with the Da Yuezhi in the area of Dunhuang", should be corrected to "Originally the Wusun lived together with the Da Yuezhi between Qilian and Dunhuang" based on the *Hanshu*, ch. 61. See Shiratori (1941-1).
2. Both Kato and Yasuma hold that the former land of the Wusun had been in the valley of the River Ili. Both Enoki (1948) and Matsuda (1970), pp.29-33; approve of this theory. Also, Uchida (1938: 1), suggests that originally the Wusun lived between the Yuezhi and the Xiongnu. They attacked the Yuezhi, and their former land became first the territory of the Xiongnu's Hunxie King and later the prefecture of Zhangye of Han. He also suggests that he who "lived with the Da Yuezhi between Qilian and Dunhuang" was "Nadoumi", whose name meant a king of the state of Nandou. The king was not killed by the Xiongnu, but by the Yuezhi. His orphan, named the Kunmo, was reared by the Xiongnu and became the king of the Wusun when he came of age. Cen (1981), pp. 354-378, considers that the location of the former land of the Wusun "is difficult to conclude abruptly". Apart from these, the majority of scholars seek for the former land of the Wusun in the area from the present Qilian Mountains to the present Dunhuang. In my opinion, none of these theories are convincing. For a critique of the theory of Uchida, cf. Enoki (1941).
3. English translation of the *Hanshu*, ch. 61 and 96, including the identical passages of the *Shiji*, used here, based on that of Hulsewé & Loewe, with a few my own changes.
4. Wang N. points out that "Xicheng" should be read as "Xiyu". In my opinion, in the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that "The Piaoqi [General] defeated the Xiongnu in their Xicheng". The "Xicheng" is noted as "Xibian 西邊" in the identical passage of the *Hanshu*, ch. 61. Also, "the Xiongnu's Xiyu King, Hunxie" is referred to in the *Shiji*, ch. 123. However, in the same book, ch. 111, it is recorded that "the Hunxie King in Xifang 西方 was repeatedly

- defeated by Han." This shows that "Xiyu", "Xicheng", "Xibian", and "Xifang" had the same meaning and all of them referred to the Western Xiongnu at that time.
5. In the *Yantielun* 鹽鐵論, it is recorded that the Hu 胡 (i.e. the Xiongnu) controlled and ordered about the states, such as Dayuan and Kangju in the west, and established contact with various Qiang 羌 in the south. The late Emperor resisting them, opening up and capturing the vast, rich lands, built [the fortification of] Zhangye and farther west, separated the Qiang from the Hu to divide up the Xiongnu's aids. Therefore, all the states in the Western Regions resisted the Xiongnu from the inside, cut off their right arm, and forced them to flee trailing swords." Based on this, Uchida (1938: 1), suggests that the land which the Han court wanted to induce the Wusun to return to in the east and to live in, must have been the territory of the prefecture of Zhangye. He thus infers further that "the land of Hunxie" was exactly "the land of the Kunmo" (i.e. "the former land of the Wusun"). In my opinion, to induce the Wusun to move east and to live in the territory of the prefecture of Zhangye would not only separate the Xiongnu from the Western Regions, but would also not separate them from the various Qiang. In fact the *Yantielun* never states that just by setting up the prefecture of Zhangye, Han could cut off the Xiongnu's right arm, but states that "[the fortifications of] Zhangye and farther west" (including at the least the territories of the prefectures of Jiuquan and Dunhuang) were built and the states in the Western Regions were united, this could be achieved. Cf. Fujita (1943-4). Also, comparing the *Shiji* with the *Hanshu* mechanically, Kuwabara (1934-1) suggests that "Hunxie's land" was the same as "the Kunmo's land", and was also the same as the territory of the prefecture of Zhangye, as in the *Hanshu*, ch. 28, it is recorded that "the territory of the prefecture of Zhangye was originally the land of the Xiongnu's Hunxie King." In my opinion, Kuwabara's theory is unconvincing. The territory of the prefecture of Zhangye was only a part of "Hunxie's land". Cf. Cen (1981), pp. 354-378. Also, Haloun (1937) suggests that this might have arisen from a textual corruption, i.e., a misreading of "Hunxie" as "Kunmo", because of their similar pronunciations. Pulleyblank (1970) suggests that "It can be a case of improving the story for dramatic effect." In my opinion, Their theories are unconvincing.
 6. Cf. chapter 3.
 7. Meng, pp. 11-15. On the date the prefecture of Jiuquan was set up, see Zhou, pp. 157-168.
 8. All scholars' theories about the relation between the former land of the Yuezhi and that of the Wusun depend on their theories about the locations of the former lands of both tribes, which I do not intend to introduce one by one here.
 9. Cf. chapter 3.
 10. See Kuwabara (1934-1). Also, Pulleyblank (1970), believes that the whole story of the Wusun's vendetta against the Yuezhi is an imaginative reconstruction without any genuine historical basis, introduced partly for dramatic effect and partly to account for ethnic distribution in the Wusun territory in the first century B.C. as there were both Sakā and Yuezhi elements in the Wusun population, as well as Sakās in neighboring small states in the Pamir Region. In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. Cf. chapter 1, 3.
 11. See Uchida (1938: 1), which suggests that Sima Qian did not necessarily hear the words of Zhang Qian in person, therefore his records were less exact than those which were taken from the secret documents' depository by Ban Gu 班固.
 12. Cf. chapter 3.
 13. See: Fujita (1943-5).
 14. Cf. Fujita (1943-5). Shiratori (1941-1), also suggests that the Kunmo turned west and became independent by the end of the reign period of Chanyu Laoshang. However, he has not offered any evidence, and says only that since the Kunmo's father and Modu belonged to the same generation, the Kunmo and Laoshang must have belonged to the same generation. In my opinion, his theory is incorrect.
 15. Cf. Fujita (1943-5). Also, Pulleyblank (1970), suggests that when Zhang Qian was a prisoner among the Xiongnu, Chanyu Junchen was still living. Therefore, the Chanyu in the statement "at the death of the Chanyu" was indeed Laoshang. In my opinion, his theory is unconvincing.

16. Cf. Shiratori (1941-1) and Matsuda (1970), pp. 38-39. Also, Matsuda suggests that according to the *Hanshu* and other records, there were some relations between the Xiongnu and the Kangju: Zhizhi fled west, for example, and hurried to the state of the Kangju. Additionally, in the *Hanshu*, ch. 94A, it is recorded that "Wushanmu 烏禪幕 originally was the king of a petty state between Wusun and Kangju, and was repeatedly invaded and harassed by them. He led his people of several thousands to surrender to the Xiongnu. Chanyu Hulugu 狐鹿姑 married an elder sister of the Rizhu 日逐 King, his younger brother's son, to Wushanmu, and made him head his people and live in the land to the right." This shows that the Xiongnu's power had extended to between Wusun and Kangju. Therefore, the Wusun's sphere of influence did not seem to include west of the Issik Kul or the valley of the River Chu as far as the lower reaches of the River Ili, its main body was rather situated in the valleys of the Rivers Narin, Tekes and Yuldus. In other words, Wusun was not situated north of the Tian Mountains, but was in the mountains. In my opinion, that Wusun was situated in the valleys of the River Ili, and Chu is only the general trend. Their actual territory would have expanded and contracted in relation to the ups and downs in the fortunes of neighboring states. One cannot therefore haggle over the sphere of their territory according to the record of specific periods. For example, since the size of the state of Yilie, which lay in the lower reaches of the River Ili, cannot be known, it is difficult to affirm that the Wusun's sphere of influence did not include the lower reaches of the River Ili. Moreover, although the boundary between Wusun and Kangju was roughly to the west of Issik Kul, one cannot consider that the Wusun failed to control the eastern bank of the River Chu. Moreover, that Zhizhi fled west to Kangju and Wushanmu fled east to the Xiongnu does not prove that north of the Issik Kul did not belong to the Wusun. This is because the Wusun were a nomadic tribe; we cannot comprehend their territorial sphere rigidly.
17. Cf. chapter 4.
18. Cf. Shiratori (1941-1).
19. Cf. Shiratori (1941-1).
20. Cf. chapter 3 and Matsuda (1970), pp. 33-38.
21. Cf. Matsuda (1970), p. 111.
22. Cf. Shiratori (1941-1).
23. For example: Uchida (1938: 1).
24. For example: Shiratori (1941-1).
25. See Shiratori (1941-1).
26. See Uchida (1938: 2).
27. See Chapter 4, and Kuwabara (1934-2, 3).
28. See Uchida (1938: 2).
29. See Uchida (1938: 2).
30. See Uchida (1938: 2).
31. See Matsuda (1970), pp. 63-78.
32. Cf. Ma & Wang.
33. For example Hambis, p. 11.
34. For the problems discussed in this section, cf. chapter 1-6.
35. Cf. Shiratori (1941-1). Also, Huang, W. (1981-7), suggests that "the Rong of Surname Yun" were indeed the "Rong of Qiang". In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. In the *Zuozhuan* (14th year of the Duke of Zhao 昭公), where "The Rong of the Surname Qiang" are referred to, Yang comments on this: "Originally, the Rong who lived in Guazhou had two Surnames. One of them was the surname Qiang, and the other was Yun. The latter was referred to in the *Zuozhuan* (9th year of the Duke of Zhao: 'the villains of the Surname Yun dwelt in Guazhou. Du Yu's 杜預 commentary lump these two together, which is not precise." See Yang, p. 1005.
36. Cf. Enoki (1941).
37. Cf. Huang & Zhang, and Han.
38. Cf. Shiratori (1938) & (1941-1).
39. Pulleyblank (1962), p. 227; Bailey (1985), p. 130.

40. Tarn (1951), p. 284, points out that the form Asiani is an (Iranian) adjectival form of Asii. In my opinion, "Asii", "Wusun", and "Ashina" are different transcriptions of one and the same name.
41. Cf. Shiratori (1941-3).



CHAPTER 8 THE STATE OF JIBIN

(A)

On the location of the state of Jibin 罽賓 described in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, there have been various theories. As regards the central area of the state, these theories may be divided into three groups. The first suggests that Jibin was located in Parapamisadae (the upper reaches of the River Kabul including Kophen and Kapisa, etc.)^[1] The second suggests that Jibin was situated in Gandhāra (the middle and lower reaches of the Kabul River including Puṣkalāvātī and Taxila, etc.)^[2] The third suggests that Jibin was situated in Kaspeiria (the present Kashmir and the northwest of Punjab).^[3] In my opinion, in the light of the records of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A and the *Houhanshu* 後漢書, ch. 118, the central area of Jibin in Han times must have been situated in Gandhāra and Taxila and Jibin's sphere of influence had once extended as far as the upper reaches of the River Kabul and valley of the River Swāt.

1. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded:

The seat of the royal government [of Jibin] is at the town of Xunxian 循鮮, and it is 12,220 *li* from Chang'an 長安. It is not subject to the Protector General. There are many households, individuals and persons able to bear arms, and it is a large state. To the north-east it is 6,840 *li* to the seat of the Protector General. To the east it is 2,250 *li* to Wuzha 烏秣; to the northeast one reaches the state of Nandou 難兜 after nine days journey. It adjoins the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 in the northwest and Wuyishanli 烏弋山離 in the south-west.^[4]

Da Yuezhi was situated in Tukhārestān. There were the Xihou 翺侯 of Gaofu 高附, which took possession the area of the valley of River Kokcha, and the Xihou of Shuangmi 雙靡, which took possession of around Mastuj, to the southeast of Da Yuezhi. Both Xihou were subject to Da Yuezhi.^[5] Since Da Yuezhi adjoined Jibin, the boundary between the Da Yuezhi and Jibin may have been the Hindukush. In addition, the central area of Wuyishanli was Arachosia and Drangiana.^[6] Since this state adjoined Jibin, either the former or the latter must have taken possession of Paropamisadae. In the light of the *Houhanshu*, ch. 118, the political allegiance of "the state of Gaofu", which was identical with Parapamisadae, had never been constant, but had once been subject to Jibin. This also shows that the central area of Jibin must have been Gandhāra.

2. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded:

To the southwest [the state of Pishan 皮山] is situated on the route from Jibin to Wuyishanli....

Starting in the area south of Pishan, one passes through some four or five states which are not subject to Han.... In addition, one passes over the ranges

[known as the hills of the] Greater and the Lesser Headache, and the slopes of the Red Earth and the Fever of Body. These cause a man to suffer fever; he has no color, his head aches and he vomits; asses and stock animals all suffer in this way. Furthermore there are the Three Pools and the Great Rock Slopes, with a path that is a foot and six or seven inches wide, but leads forward for a length of thirty *li*, overlooking a precipice whose depth is unfathomed. Travellers passing on horse or foot hold on to one another and pull each other along with ropes; and only after a journey of more than two thousand *li* do they reach the Suspended Crossing. When animals fall, before they have dropped half-way down the chasm they are shattered in pieces, and when men fall, the situation is such that they are unable to rescue one another. The danger of these precipices beggars description.

This shows that if one goes to Jibin from Han one must have started out from Pishan and passed through the natural barrier named "Suspended Crossing". The Suspended Crossing is generally believed to be situated in the upper reaches of the River Indus between Darel and Swāt. This theory is probably correct,^[7] because in the same chapter it is recorded: "To the southwest, from the state of Pishan it is 1,340 *li* to the state of Wuzha.... [The Suspended Crossing lay] to the west of Wuzha." And in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, it is recorded: "Starting from the area south-west of Pishan, going over the Suspended Crossing and passing through Jibin, one reaches the state of Wuyishanli after a journey of more than 60 days." These records show that on the journey from Pishan to Jibin, one must first have reached Wuzha before going over the Suspended Crossing. Since Pishan was "1,340 *li*" from Wuzha and "over 2,000 *li*" from the Suspended Crossing, and Wuzha was "2,250 *li*" from Jibin, the Suspended Crossing must have been 650 and 1,600 *li* from Wuzha and Jibin respectively, about one third of the way from Wuzha (Hunza)^[8] to Jibin. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is also recorded: "In the present case, the barrier formed by the Suspended Crossing is such that it cannot be traversed by Jibin." This shows that the territory of Jibin lay roughly to the south of the Suspended Crossing, and that the valley of the Swāt River, where the state of Wuchang 烏菴 (Udyāna), was situated mostly within the Jibin's sphere of influence.

3. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded: "To the southwest, [the state of Nandou] is 330 *li* to Jibin.... It is subject to Jibin." The state of Nandou lay to the north of the Suspended Crossing, around the present Gilgit.^[9] Therefore, the figure "330 (*li*)" must be an error. The same chapter says that going northeast from Jibin one reached Nandou after a journey of nine days. Since one needed nine days to cover 330 *li*, this also suggests that the figure is mistaken. In addition, the Suspended Crossing was 650 and 1,600 *li* from Wuzha and Jibin respectively, and Gilgit lay approximately half way between Darel and Hunza. The "nine days" may be a textual error for "nineteen days", because starting from Nandou one could not have reached Jibin after a journey of nine days. Since Nandou was "subject to Jibin" and Da Yuezhi adjoined Jibin, the power of Jibin must have extended as far as the valley of the River Gilgit. It seems that it was not necessarily impossible to traverse "the barrier formed by the Suspended Crossing".

4. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded:

The land of Jibin is flat and the climate is temperate. There is lucerne, with a variety of vegetation and rare trees, sandalwood, "oaks", catalpa, bamboo,

and the lac tree. [The inhabitants] grow the five field crops, grapes, and various sorts of fruit, and they manure their orchards and arable land. The land is low and damp, producing rice; fresh vegetables are eaten in winter. The inhabitants are skillful at decorative work, engraving and the art of inlay, at building residences, at weaving woollens, and at patterned embroidery. They are fond of [wine] and food. There is gold, silver, copper, and tin with which they make utensils, and they have markets with stalls.... The [state] produces humped cattle, water-buffalo, large dogs, monkeys, peacocks, pearls of different kinds, coral, amber, and beryl. The other stock animals are the same as those of the various other states.

From the climate, the geographical features, and the produce, the central area of Jibin in Han times must have been in Gandhāra, including Taxila.^[10] Kaspeiria and Paropamisadae were possibly subject to Jibin, but cannot be regarded as part of the metropolitan territory of Jibin.^[11]

5. Since the metropolitan territory of Jibin lay in the middle and lower reaches of the River Kabul, "Ji-bin [*kiat-pien*]" was very likely a transcription of "Kopphen", an ancient term for the River Kabul.^[12]

As for "Xun-xian [*ziuen-sian*]", the name of the seat of the royal government of Jibin, it has been suggested that it was a transcription of "Sūsen (Sūsan)", which was the Persian translation of Puṣkalāvati.^[13] In my opinion, although this theory is plausible, the reasoning behind it is somewhat tortuous. "Xunxian" should rather be taken as a shortened transcription of "Taxila" (Takṣaśilā in Sanskrit, Takkasilā in Pali), in light of Old Chinese phonological theory. "Taxila" is noted as "Zhushashiluo 竺刹尸羅" in the *Faxianzhuān* 法顯傳, and "Tanchashiluo 旦叉始羅" in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記. Its ruins lie 20 miles northwest of the present Rawalpindi, and it was once the capital of Gandhāra.^[14]

(B)

In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded:

When, formerly, the Xiongnu 匈奴 conquered the Da Yuezhi, the latter moved west and established themselves as masters of Daxia 大夏; it was in these circumstances that the king of the Sai 塞 moved south and established himself as master of Jibin. The Sai tribes split and separated and repeatedly formed several states. To the northwest of Shule 疏勒, states such as Xiuxun 休循 and Juandu 捐毒 are all of the former Sai race.

In the same chapter B, it is also recorded:

The state of Wusun adjoins the Xiongnu in the east, Kangju 康居 in the northwest, Dayuan 大宛 in the west, and the various states of the walled towns in the south. Originally it was the land of the Sai. When the Da Yuezhi turned west, defeated, and expelled the king of the Sai, the latter moved south and crossed over the Suspended Crossing; and the Da Yuezhi took up residence in his

lands. Later, when the Kunmo of Wusun 烏孫 attacked and defeated the Da Yuezhi, the Da Yuezhi migrated to the west and subjugated the Daxia; and the Kunmo of Wusun took up his residence here. It is said: for this reason, among the people of Wusun there are [elements of] the Sai race and the Da Yuezhi race.

This shows that Jibin had been occupied by the Sai, who had come from "the land of the Sai", where the Wusun lived later. From a study of the four boundaries of the state of Wusun, "the land of Sai" lay roughly in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu.^[15] The event that caused the Sai to give up their former land was being driven out by the Da Yuezhi in 177/176 B.C. Therefore, it was impossible that the date when the Sai moved south and established themselves as masters of Jibin could not have been earlier than 177/176 B.C.^[16]

As for the route that the Sai had taken when they moved south, it is evident that, starting from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu, they entered the Pamir Region, and then went across the Suspended Crossing and reached Jibin. Since the Western Han was in frequent contact with both Jibin and Wusun, the above information must therefore have been obtained by the Han envoys from both the states. This is the only document which describes with certainty the origin of the Sai in Jibin, and should not have been lightly negated.^[17] Recently, however, few scholars seem to trust the record of the *Hanshu*, and suggest that the Sai there had come from Sakastān.^[18] In my opinion, the reasons given by them are all unacceptable.

1. Since there was a vast plain to the west of the Tian Mountains, why would not the Sai, as a nomadic horse-riding tribe, migrate west, instead of taking the dangerous route to the south?^[19]

In my opinion, at the beginning of the 5th century A.D., the Wusun who had occupied "the land of Sai" also moved south into the Pamir region because of inability to withstand the invasions of the Rouran 柔然. The evidence is the record of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, which says:

The seat of the royal government [of Wusun] is at the town of Chigu 赤谷 which lies to the northwest of Qiuci 龜茲, and is 10,800 *li* from Dai 代. The inhabitants of the state have moved into the mountains of the Congling 葱嶺 due to the frequent invasions of the Rouran. Having no walled towns, together with their stock animals they go in search of water and pasture.^[20]

It is not difficult to imagine that the Sai who moved south to the Congling must have undergone an experience of "having no walled towns, together with their stock animals going in search of water and pasture" until they took possession of some lands. The fact that the small states founded by the Sai lay to the northwest of Shule and in the Tarim Basin may also be taken as collateral evidence for their southward movement into the Pamir region.^[21] Of course, the fact that a group of the Sai in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu moved south because of the incursion of the Da Yuezhi does not invalidate the possibility that another group of them retreated westwards onto the northern bank of the Syr Darya.

2. The Suspended Crossing was a natural barrier, and nomadic tribes such as the Sai were unable to cross it.^[22]

In my opinion, the fact that "the king of the Sai moved south and established himself as master of Jibin" may have been a planned military operation carried out by

them after they had stood firm in the Pamir region. In other words, the Sai did not necessarily flee forwards in panic, driving a mass of oxen and sheep as soon as they were driven out of "the land of Sai". Since the possibility of a military operation can not be ruled out, it is impossible to infer that the Sai did not move south and cross the Suspended Crossing simply because it was a natural barrier.^[23] The editor of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, had known clearly the dangers and difficulties of the Suspended Crossing, but he still believed that the Sai actually entered Jibin having traversed the Crossing, which shows that, at least in his mind, the sources of the information were reliable.

3. When the Sai were expelled from "the land of the Sai" by the Da Yuezhi, the power of the Greeks south and north of the Hindukush, including Gandhāra, was flourishing. This shows that the statement "[the king of the Sai] established himself as master of Jibin" is incorrect.^[24]

In my opinion, the Sai might have stayed in the Pamir region for a rather long time, but did not necessarily move south and enter Jibin immediately, and neither was "the king of the Sai" who established himself as master of Jibin" necessarily the king who was defeated by the Da Yuezhi. We should not observe these records in a mechanical way.^[25]

4. Since we have not clearly understood the situation of Paropamisadae at the time when the Sai were taking possession of Gandhāra and Taxila, it is difficult to believe that the Sai passed through the upper reaches of the River Kabul and reached Gandhāra and Taxila going downstream.^[26] Most scholars consequently prefer to believe that starting from Sakastān, the Sai went over the Bolan or the Mulla Pass and entered Abiria, and then going upstream the River Indus, reached Taxila.^[27]

However, it has been suggested that the Sai in Gandhāra and Taxila have left many Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions and the Sai in the Indus delta seemed not to have used the Kharoṣṭhī. Because of this, it is unacceptable to infer that the former came from the Indus delta.^[28]

In my opinion, the latter argument is unconvincing, because the use of Kharoṣṭhī depended on the prevalent sphere of this script. After all, we should not go against the record which shows that the Sai moved south from the Pamir Region, simply because the Sai in the Indus delta could possibly have gone upstream.

To sum up, the main weakness of the theories that the Sai in Jibin migrated from Sakastān, as opposed to possible migration from the Pamir Region, is that it fails to present clear documentary evidence. So long as the possibility that the Sai moved south fails to be ruled out, we have no reason to doubt the record of the *Hanshu*. Of course, the record of the *Hanshu* shows only that the earliest Sai in Jibin came via the Pamir region from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu via the Suspended Crossing, but does not rule out of the possibility that other Sai entered from Sakastān later.

(C)

Doubt exists both with regard to the migration of the Sai in Jibin from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu, and indeed with regard to the validity of the record of the Sai in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96 This also needs to be clarified here.

1. It has been suggested that, since the Sai's southward movement, as described in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, is not reliable, the statements that the Da Yuezhi and the Wusun had occupied "the land of the Sai" successively are not reliable either. It

is very likely that the Han people had asked some Iranians about the inhabitants to the north of the Tian Mountains, before the Da Yuezhi had occupied this region, and the Iranians had in reply mentioned the word "Sakās", a general Iranian term for all nomadic tribes. So the Han people took "Sai" ("Sakā") as a special term for a particular nomadic tribe, which was different from the Yuezhi and the Wusun. The "Sai" in the states of Xiuxun and Juandu were in fact only the progeny of this anonymous tribe.^[29]

In my opinion, the theory has been put forward in order to confirm a hypothesis that the original homeland of the Türks lay in the Kirghis wilderness between the Altai and the Tian Mountains. In this manner, it not only insists that both the Yuezhi and the Wusun were Türkic tribes, but also distinguishes the Sai described in the *Hanshu* from the Sakās recorded by the Persians. In fact, "Sakā" was only a general term for all nomadic tribes on the northern bank of the Syr Darya. The records concerning Sakās of the Persians and the Greeks are generally identical with those of the *Hanshu* concerning the Sai. The Sai can indeed be identified with the Sakās. Since the possibility that the Sai moved south from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu via the Pamir region can not be ruled out, it must be admitted that there were inhabitants speaking an Indo-European language living between the Altai and the Tian Mountains before the Da Yuezhi migrated west. Even if the Da Yuezhi and the Wusun are not regarded as Europoid, the theory about the origin of the Türks has already been shown to be untenable.^[30] In short, the record of the *Hanshu* concerning the Sai is not without foundation.

2. It has been suggested that the Sai described in the *Hanshu* was only a misrepresentation of "Śākya" (Shizhong 釋種 in the Buddhist scriptures, probably because "Śākya" was read as Śākya, which was further read mistakenly as Sakā. The earliest record about Buddhism in China appears in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 42 (The biography of the King Chu 楚, Ying 英), but there had possibly been some rumours of the religion's existence prior to this. The route that the Sai took when they migrated south over the Suspended Crossing and entered Jibin was the very route by which Buddhism entered China, albeit in the opposite direction.

In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, the Sai are not mentioned at all when the legend of the Kunmo, the first ancestor of the Wusun, is stated. The fact is that they were mentioned first in the *Hanshu* (ch. 61):

After the Yuezhi had been defeated by the Xiongnu, they headed west and attacked the king of the Sai. The king of the Sai migrated a long way to the south and the Yuezhi then occupied his lands. ...Advancing west, the Kunmo attacked and defeated the Da Yuezhi, who fled farther west, moving into the lands of the Daxia. The Kunmo pillaged the population of the Da Yuezhi, and then remained there in occupation.

In this passage, the killers of the Kunmo's father have changes from the Xiongnu to the Yuezhi. These additions and alterations were made by the editor of the *Hanshu* in order to explain the reason why the so-called Sakās appeared in Jibin. This has led to various unexplained contradictions arising between the records of the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* on the date of the Da Yuezhi's western migration and the location of the former land of the Wusun.^[31]

In my opinion, the unearthed coins and the inscriptions have confirmed that "the Sai (i.e. the Sakās) had indeed ruled Jibin. The Sai in Jibin, at least the earliest group

of them, must have come from the Pamir region. They are clearly recorded in the *Hanshu*, and, moreover, the fact that the name of Moga, the king of the Sakās who appeared in the Taxila copper-plate inscription^[32] is the same as that of "Wugua 毋寡 [*miua-koa*]", the king of Dayuan which was founded by the "Sai" offers evidence.^[33]

The successive migrations of the Sai, the Yuezhi, and the Wusun, as well as the collapse of the Greek Kingdom of Bactria and the state of Dayuan, could all be adequately explained by combining Eastern and Western sources, including the relevant records in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96 & 61.

Furthermore, the relevant records of the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* are not as contradictory as fire and water. The differences in both books are merely due to the fact that the former provides a brief outline, whereas the latter is more detailed. The main contents mentioned in the *Hanshu* are, in fact, present in the *Shiji*, although the editor of the *Hanshu* added possibly some information unknown to Sima Qian 司馬遷 under the name of Zhang Qian 張騫, but it did so only so that this information and the other statements might correspond with each other. This is faithful to historical truth and gives little cause for criticism.^[34] If the word "Sai" was only a phonetic error for "Śākya", Ban Gu 班固, the editor of the *Hanshu*, would not necessarily have tracked it back to the north of the Tian Mountains in order to explain its appearance, and thus unscrupulously have distorted historical fact.

3. It has been suggested that the style of the coins of the Sakā kings which have unearthed in the northwest of India, is different from that of the gold and silver coins of Jibin, and that since the latter coins are just like those of the Greek kings of India, "with [the image of] a mounted rider on the obverse and a human face on the reverse", described in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, Wutoulao 烏頭老 and Yinmofu 陰末赴, the kings of Jibin mentioned in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, in fact, were not Sai, but were Greeks, and Yinmofu may have been identical with Hermaeus, and Wutoulao, with Philoxenus, Nikias, or Hippostratus. In other words, it is questionable to say that the Sai established themselves as masters of Jibin.^[35]

In my opinion, a very important fact has been pointed out that the style of the coins handed down from the Sakā kingdom is different from that of the coins of Jibin described in the *Hanshu*. However, we should not infer that the state of Jibin as described in the *Hanshu* had nothing to do with the Sakās (Sai), rather, we should at most infer that the coins of Jibin described in the *Hanshu* were not those of the Sakās (Sai) kings, but were those of the Greek kings who had ruled there. For the same reason, it is acceptable to regard Yinmofu as Hermaeus, the king of the Greeks (for detailed explanations see below), but Wutoulao and his son should not be taken for the kings of the Greeks. According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A,

Communications [with Jibin] started from [the time of] Emperor Wu 武帝. Jibin believed that it lay cut off by the long distance and that Han troops would not be able to reach it; and Wutoulao, the king, frequently menaced or killed Han envoys. When Wutoulao died, his son acceded in his place, and despatched envoys bearing gifts. Han ordered Wen Zhong 文忠, Commandant of the barrier, to escort them [back to Jibin], but the king reverted to his earlier practice and tried to injure [Wen] Zhong. When he realized what was happening, [Wen] Zhong entered into a plot with Yinmofu, son of the Rongqu 容屈 king, to attack Jibin and kill the king. Yinmofu was established as king of Jibin and invested with a seal and ribbon. Later Zhao De 趙德, an army captain, was sent as an

envoy to Jibin and fell out with Yinmofu. Yinmofu had [Zhao De] bound in chains, and put to death seventy members [of his mission] including his deputy; and he then submitted a written account of the incident [to the Han emperor] begging to be forgiven. In view of the distance [at which the state lay] Emperor Xiaoyuan 孝元 did not order the matter to be considered [for further action], and he had the envoy [from Jibin] set free at the Suspended Crossing. Relations were severed and there was now no communication [between Han and Jibin].

Thus can be seen that during the reign period of Emperor Yuan (48-33 B.C.) at the latest, a change had taken place in the royal system of Jibin. This change was caused by a coup d'état in which Wen Zhong, a Han envoy, had plotted and instigated Yinmofu, the son of the Rongqu king. The statement "to attack Jibin and kill the king" shows that Yinmofu had been a power outside Jibin prior to this coup d'état and that Yinmofu himself was established as king of Jibin by the Han envoy after the son of Wutoulao had been killed. Yinmofu fell out with the Han envoy Zhao De later and there was at one point no communication between Han and Jibin. But eventually Yinmofu was recongnized by Han. So when the *Hanshu* describes the coins of the Jibin, those which Yinmofu issued were taken as standard. Since Yinmofu's system was different from that of Wutoulao and his son, and the former was a king of the Greeks, the possibility that the latter were Sakās cannot be ruled out. In the ensuing section, I will show that Wutoulao and his son indeed were the rulers of the Sakās. In other words, it is also questionable to consider that Jibin described in the *Hanshu* had nothing to do with the Sai (Sakās).

(D)

As mentioned above, the earliest Sai in Jibin were those who started from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu, traversed the Pamir region, passed through the Suspended Crossing and then entered Jibin. The date that the Sai gave up the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu must have been the time when the Da Yuezhi made their first western migration, about 177/176 B.C. In other words, the date that the Sai occupied Jibin would not have been earlier than 177/176 B.C.

As mentioned above, the central area of Jibin was Gandhāra and the town of Xunxian, the seat of the royal government, was very likely Taxila. Therefore, the Sai occupied Jibin, at the earliest, after Antialcidas, the last Greek king, who unified Paropamisadae, Gandhāra, and Takṣaśilā,^[36] had died. It is difficult to ascertain exactly the reign period of Antialcidas, but he was undoubtedly on the throne in the 14th year of Bhāgabhadra, the Sunga king, who ruled Vidiśā in middle India, because the former had sent an envoy to visit the latter in this year. It is also difficult to ascertain the reign period of King Bhāgabhadra, but he was undoubtedly on the throne after Agnimitra, the son of Pushyamitra (c. 151-143 B.C.). Therefore, the 14th year of King Bhāgabhadra would not have been earlier than 129 B.C. For the same reason, neither would the last year of Antialcidas have been earlier than this year. So we may reasonably infer that the earliest year in which the Sai could have occupied Jibin was 129 B.C.^[37]

Evidence such as unearthed coins in Taxila, show that the earliest king of the Sakās was Maues who got control of the Taxila mint,^[38] and called himself "Great King of Kings" on his coin inscription.^[39] It is generally believed that Maues, whose

name was given in Greek, and in Kharoṣṭhī as Mōa, was, in fact, "Moga" as seen in the Taxila copper-plate inscription.^[40] The date of this inscription is "the 78th year of the Great King the Great Moga".^[41] Obviously, if the first year of the era adopted by Maues is determined, the approximate date that the Sai occupied Jibin could also be determined. There is cause for regret that various theories offered by scholars seem to be unconvincing.

1. 155 B.C. theory: It has been suggested that this era adopted by Maues was established by the Sakās who settled down in Sakastān or were placed there by Mithridates I (171-138/138 B.C.), and that this era may be called "the Old Sakā Era" in order to distinguish it from "the Sakā Era", whose first year was A.D.78.^[42]

In my opinion, it is indeed correct to regard this era as established by the Sakās themselves, but there is no foundation for maintaining that the first year of the era was 155 B.C. This is not only because Maues did not come from Sakastān, but also because it cannot be confirmed that the Sakās had already settled down in Sakāstan as early as the reign period of Mithridates I.

2. 150 B.C. theory: It has been suggested that this date marked the re-establishment of the Sakā kingdom in Sakāstan after this region had been incorporated into the Parthian empire by Mithridates I.^[43]

In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing, so long as the fact that Maues came from Sakastān has not been ascertained; even if it is correct that Mithridates I incorporated Sakastān, where the Sakās had settled down a long time before, and the Sakās there won independence in c.150 B.C.

3. 129 B.C. theory: It has been suggested that, since this era was only adopted in Northern India and its borderlands, it is consequently permissible to conjecture that it came into existence after the Sakā occupation of those regions. Since the Sakās' occupation of Gandhāra could not have taken place before 129 B.C., the first year of this era could not have been earlier than this year.^[44]

In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. There is little possibility that Maues himself used this era for 78 years, and the analysis of coins shows also that he was the first king of the Sakās in Northwestern India. In the meanwhile, the possibility that the Sakās had already adopted this era before they entered this region cannot yet be ruled out. Moreover, even if the Sakās had entered Northwestern India before 129 B.C., so long as they had not adopted this era before this year, the first year of the new era they established must have been later than 129 B.C. That is to say, the date of the Taxila copper-plate must have been later than 51 B.C. However, it is difficult to match this with the known circumstances of the Sakās in India.

4. 58 B.C. theory: It has been suggested that this era was, in fact, the Vikrama Era.^[45]

In my opinion, the Vikrama Era is said to have been established by Vikramāditya in order to mark his victory against the Sakās in Ujjayini.^[46] If this is correct, it is hard to see why Maues adopted such an era.^[47] In addition, the evidence for Vikramāditya's defeat of the Sakās is the Kālakācāryakathānaka, whose relevant records are considered wholly unreliable. Therefore, this era, the first year of which was 58 B.C. is regarded as replacing the Arsacid Era, the first year of which was 348 B.C., after Eastern Iran had won independence.^[48] Even if it is correct, however, it cannot yet be proved that the first year of the era adopted by Maues was 58 B.C., because it is difficult to confirm that Maues had come from Eastern Iran; not to mention the fact that, the date of the Taxila copper-plate inscription is regarded as A.D. 20, which would certainly be in conflict with other known facts.^[49]

Also, there are various theories such as 180 B.C., 120 B.C., and 110 B.C. Some of them have insufficient evidence and the others have evident errors, so I do not intend to pass criticism on each of them.^[50]

I consider that this era which appeared in the Taxila copper-plate inscription must have been established by the Sakās themselves and had nothing to do with the various eras which were established by the Persians or the Greeks in the same period. Maues, the Sakā king of Jibin, who moved south from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu via the Pamir region, had nothing to do with the Sakās in Sakastān. Also, the date when the Sakās could move south and enter Jibin would not be later than 129 B.C., but this year must not have been the first year of the era of the inscription. Because the Sakās gave up "the land of the Sai" and moved south to the Pamir region in 177/176 B.C., this year should be the earliest year in which the era was established. That is to say, the earliest year in which the inscription could have been engraved was 99/98 B.C.^[51] Of course, the first year of the era, whose establishment marked that the beginning of the re-establishment of their homeland by the Sakās, should be, in fact, later than 177/176 B.C.

Zhang Qian only knew that there was the state of Shendu 身毒 to the southeast of Daxia, but did not know the state of Jibin when he arrived in "the land of the Daxia" (Tokhārestān) in 129 B.C. This shows that the Sakās had not yet passed over the Suspended Crossing from the Pamir Region and entered Gandhāra at that time. According to the *Shiji*, ch. 123, Zhang Qian "sent his deputy envoys on separate missions to Dayuan, Kangju, Da Yuezhi, Daxia, Anxi, Shendu, Yutian, Wumi and the other nearby states" when he, as an envoy, was sent to Wusun in the first or second year of the Yuanding 元鼎 reign period (116 or 115 B.C.). The fact that he never mentioned Jibin shows also that Han's communication with Jibin started from the period between 129 (or 114) - 87 B.C., and that the information that "the king of the Sai moved south and established himself as master of Jibin" was, at the earliest, obtained in this period. The king of the Sai who "established himself as master of Jibin" was very likely Maues.

In the light of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, the largest territory of Jibin covered the whole valley of the River Kabul, the central area of which was Gandhāra, including Taxila.^[52] Maues had undoubtedly occupied Gandhāra and Taxila,^[53] but we do not know whether he concurrently took possession of Paropamisadae or not.^[54] In any case, the state of Jibin in Han time must have been founded at this time.

Maues had issued the coins which show Poseidon with his trident, the usual symbolism of a naval victory. Based on this, it has been suggested that Maues' fleet defeated a Greek fleet on the Indus, which gave him control of the river and opened the way to Taxila up from Sind.^[55] It has also been suggested that this naval victory seemed more likely to have been gained on the upper Indus when Maues was advancing across the river to attack Gandhāra from Taxila, though another possibility is that the battle was fought on the River Jhelum against the eastern Greeks.^[56]

In my opinion, Maues' taking possession of Jibin was a result of his having traversed the Suspended Crossing and moving south from the Pamir region.^[57] Therefore, the possibility of defeating the Greek fleet up from Sind did not exist. The naval victory, which Maues commemorated by issuing the coins, was possibly won both on the upper Indus and on the River Jhelum, because both Puṣkalāvati and Takṣaṣilā were possibly first occupied by the Sai who moved south.^[58] Since there

was the title of "Great King of Kings" on these coins, they must have been issued after Taxila had been occupied.

(E)

The date when Maues died or was no longer on the throne is difficult to ascertain.^[59] The analysis of coinage seems to show that the direct successor of Maues was a queen, whose name in Greek was Βασιλισση Θεοτροπου Μαχηνησ, perhaps the queen consort of Maues.^[60] It seems that the lack of a male heir soon led to the Indo-Greek king, Apollodotus II, regaining control of Taxila, and presumably expelling the Sakās from that area, as shown by the analysis of coinage. Apollodotus II was followed in turn by another Greek king, Hippostratus, the volume of whose coins suggests a reign of some duration.^[61] The family of Azes then re-established the dominant position of the Sakās in Gandhāra and Taxila.^[62] It is generally believed that the kings of the Sakās on the throne were Azes I, Azilises, and Azes II successively.^[63]

Obviously, there followed a struggle between the Greeks and Azes I for control of Taxila. It has been suggested that Azes I was at one point expelled by Hippostratus, but finally, reasserted himself to establish the definitive supremacy of the Sakās.^[64]

It has been pointed out that this year when Azes I established the dominant position in Gandhāra and Taxila was the first year of the so-called Vikrama Era (58 B.C.).^[65] The theory that the Indian Vikrama Era originated with the accession to the paramount power of Azes I was, in fact, the Azes Era is confirmed by a newly-discovered Kharoṣṭhī inscription.^[66] In my opinion, by studying the record of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, we can get a clearer impression of the course by means of which the family of Azes regained control of Jibin.

1. On the identity of Wutoulao, the king of Jibin, mentioned in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, there are various theories among the scholars.^[67] However, I consider that these theories fail to grasp the key. Wutoulao was very likely Azilises, who reigned control over Jibin following Azes I. First, according to Chinese phonology, "Wu-toulao [*a-do-lo*]" may be taken as a transcription of Azilises, as [*zi*] could turn into [*do*]. Second, since Azes I ascended the throne and established a era in 58 B.C. (the 4th year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign period of Emperor Xuan 宣帝, Azilises very possibly lived during the reign period of Emperor Yuan. This is identical with the record about Wutoulao in the *Hanshu*.

2. According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, Yinmofu had killed the son of Wutoulao (Azilises), who must have been Azes II. Yinmofu was established as master of Jibin in the time of Emperor Yuan (before 33 B.C.).^[68]

3. It has been suggested that Yin-mo-fu [*iem-muat-phiok*] may be identified as Hermaeus, a Greek king, and the father of Yinmofu, the Rongqu king, may be identified as Amyntas, since "Rong-qu [*jiong-khiuət*]" was a transcription of "Ἰωνάκη". Yinmofu and his father had occupied Alexandria-Kapisa before they captured Jibin.^[69] I consider that these theories are acceptable.

It has been suggested that, after Antialcidas, the mostly Greek kings who ruled Paropamisadae were Telephus (a Greek king) Maues (the Sakā king), Amyntas, and Hermaeus successively, and, before Maues, the Sakās who came from Arachosia had at one point occupied that area.^[70] It has also been suggested that both Telephus and

Maues never ruled Kapisa, and that Antialcidas was probably followed by Amyntas.^[71] In any case, it is certain that Amyntas and Hermaeus had ruled Kapisa. If Amyntas and Hermaeus were identical with the Rongqu king and Yinmofu, there would be a gap of more than a generation between Antialcidas and Amyntas.^[72] If Telephus and Maues never ruled Kapisa and there were no Greek kings following Antialcidas, then it would be reasonable to infer that Paropamisadae, including Kapisa, had been controlled by the Sakās who came from Arachosia. As shown by the analysis of coinage, the kings of the Azes line possibly came from Arachosia, and were thus different from Maues.^[73]

Azes I and Spalirises, the king of Sakastān, had jointly issued coins. Both these coins bear the title of "Great King"; the name of Azes I, in Kharoṣṭhī, appears on the reverse, and that of Spalirises, in Greek, on the obverse. It is generally believed that Azes I was the son of Spalirises.^[74] Let it be supposed that Azes I established his own era after he had occupied Taxila, then he may have occupied Paropamisadae prior to this,^[75] and it would be possible that Paropamisadae had been occupied by the Sakās who came from Sakastān before Azes I.^[76] As for Amyntas and Hermaeus controlling Kapisa and re-established the dominant position of the Greeks there, this may have taken place during the reign period of Azilises, when the rule of the Sakās had relatively weakened.^[77]

It has been suggested that the kings of the Vonones line, especially Spalirises, who was the father of Azes I, may be inserted between Maues and Azes I. According to this theory, Hermaeus (Yinmofu) was overthrown by Spalirises after he had killed Splugadames, the son of Spalirises (Wutoulao). "Wutoulao" was a transcription of "ἀδελοφου". When Vonones reigned over Sakastān and Spalirises guarded Arachosia, the title on the latter's coins was ἀδελοφου του βασιλέωζ, which meant "the King's Brother".^[78]

In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. First, there is no evidence to prove that the kings of the Vonones line had ruled Gandhāra and Taxila (Jibin). It is incorrect to take "Jibin" as Kabul.^[79] Second, according to the *Hanshu*, "Wutoulao" as well as "Yinmofu" were personal names, but not titles.^[80]

It is very likely that Vonones, who called himself "the Great King of Kings", ruled Sakastān directly, and appointed Spalirises and Splugadames to guard Arachosia. Spalirises came to the throne after Splugadames' death, and united Drangiana and Arachosia after Vonones' death. He also called himself "the Great King of Kings". The Sakās in Eastern Iran had possibly infiltrated their power into Paropamisadae as early as the time of Vonones, but met with great success down to the reign of Azes I, the son of Spalirises. Azes I not only advanced east and occupied Paropamisadae, but also Gandhāra and Taxila; he finally called himself "the Great King of Kings".^[81]

(F)

Yinmofu (Hermaeus) was established as the king of Jibin by Han, but soon failed to keep on good terms with Han. There had at one point been no communication between Han and Jibin. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded:

In the time of Emperor Cheng 成帝, Jibin again sent an envoy with gifts and a message of apology. Han intended to send an envoy in return, to escort the

mission back [to Jibin], but Du Qin 杜欽 addressed Wang Feng 王鳳, the supreme general, in the following terms:

"At first, Yinmofu, king of Jibin, had originally been established by Han but later he turned after all in rebellion....

"In the present case, the barrier formed by the Suspended Crossing is such that it cannot be traversed by [the troops] of Jibin. Their show of respect is not sufficient to bring peace to the Western Regions, and although they do not adhere to [Han] they are incapable of endangering the walled cities [of the Western Regions]. Formerly [the king] personally defied the emblems [of Han authority], and his iniquity lay exposed to the Western Regions. For this reason, relations were severed and there was no communication [between Jibin and Han]. Now they regret their earlier misdemeanors and come [with a show of submission], but there are no members of the royal family or noblemen among those who bring gifts; the latter are all merchants and men of low origins. They wish to exchange their goods and conduct trade, under the pretext of presenting gifts. Thus we have been put to the trouble of providing envoys to escort [the men of Jibin] to the Suspended Crossing; we have forfeited any real [gains to be made from their visit] and have been subject to deceit.

"All cases in which we have sent envoys to escort visitors back have been due to our wish to provide them with defensive protection against the danger of robbery....

"Those of our envoys who have already received their emblems of authority should be permitted to proceed as far as Pishan and then to return."

This shows that diplomatic relations between Han and Jibin had resumed during the reign period of Emperor Cheng (32-7 B.C.), when Yinmofu still was on the throne.

If it is correct that Hermaeus was, in fact, Yinmofu, the son of the Rongqu king, as recorded in the *Hanshu*, then he should have taken possession of the whole valley of the River Kabul, including Gandhāra and Taxila after he had killed Azes II, the son of Wutoulao (Azilises). Moreover, Hermaeus and Qiujiuque 邱就卻 had jointly issued coins, on which Hermaeus' title, "Of King Hermaeus, Savior", in Greek, was on the obverse, and Qiujiuque's (Kujula Kadphises) title, "Kushan Yavuga", in Kharoṣṭhī, was on the reverse.^[82] This shows that Hermaeus' sphere of influence had extended to the valley of the River Swāt and adjoined the manor of the Xihou of Guishuang. In other words, Hermaeus had at one point occupied the middle and lower valleys of the River Kabul.^[83] It may be taken as collateral evidence that the coins of Hermaeus have been unearthed mainly in Badakshan, Paropamisadae (the upper valley of the Kabul River), Gandhāra (west of the Indus) and Taxila (east of the Indus).^[84]

Following Hermaeus, Gondophares (Guduvhara), "the Great King of Kings" in Eastern Iran, united Paropamisadae, Gandhāra, and Taxila.^[85] He was called "Maharaya Guduvhara" in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription unearthed in Peshawar. The date of the inscription was "the 103rd year", which was the 26th year of the reign period of Gondophares.^[86] It has been suggested that the era of the inscription must have been the so-called Vikrama Era (the Azes Era), that the date of the inscription was A.D. 45, and that Gondophares came to the throne in A.D. 19.^[87] Considering that Gondophares possibly came to the throne in Sakastān, the earliest date when Hermaeus' kingdom could have collapsed would be A.D. 19. If Hermaeus was still on the throne at that time, then his shortest reign period would have been 52 years (33

B.C.-A.D.19). In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, Yinmofu (Hemaeus) is called "the son of the Rongqu king", which shows that he was in the prime of youth, when he came to the throne in Jibin. Therefore, it is not at all surprising that his reign period was rather long.

In the *Houhanshu*, ch. 118, it is recorded:

The state of Gaofu, to the southwest of Da Yuezhi, is also a large state. Its popular customs resemble those of India, and [the people] are weak and easily conquered. They excel in commerce, and internally (privately) they are very wealthy. Their [political] allegiance has never been constant: the three states of Tianzhu, Jibin, and Anxi have possessed it when they were strong, and have lost it [again] when they were weak. But it had never belonged to the Yuezhi. The *Hanshu* treats Gaofu as one of the five Xihou (Yabgu), but this was not its actual state (in former Han times). It lastly belonged to Anxi, and the Yuezhi obtained Gaofu only after they had defeated Anxi.

"Gaofu" was a transcription of "Kophen", just as was "Jibin" of the *Hanshu*. However, Gaofu was referring to Paropamisadae, the upper valley of the River Kabul.^[88] Moreover, the Tianzhu here seemed to refer to the Greek kingdom in the northwest of India;^[89] Jibin to the Sakā kingdom in Gandhāra and Taxila; and the Anxi, the power in Drangiana and Arachosia. Paropamisadae's allegiance had never been constant, the three powers having successively ruled there, thus the statement "...have possessed it when they were strong, and have lost it [again] when they were weak."

In the *Houhanshu*, ch. 118, it is also recorded:

Formerly, when the Yuezhi had been routed by the Xiongnu, they moved to Daxia and divided their country into the five Xihou (Yabgu) of Xiumi, Shuangmi, Guishuang, Xidun 胘頓 and Dumi 都密. More than a hundred years later, the Xihou of Guishuang [named] Qiujiuque attacked and destroyed the [other] four Xihou and established himself as their king; the kingdom was named Guishuang. [This] king invaded Anxi, took the country of Gaofu, and, moreover, destroyed Puda 濮達, Jibin, completely possessing their territory. Qiujiuque died at the age of more than eighty years, and his son Yangaozhen 閻膏珍 succeeded him as king....

Qiujiuque invaded Anxi with the result that he took the country of Gaofu, which shows he took Paropamisadae from the Gondophares family. He then destroyed Jibin, of course, in order to put an end to the rule of the family in Gandhāra and Taxila. As mentioned above, the last year of Gondophares was at latest A.D. 45 and it is generally believed that the family of Gondophares had also at least one ruler, Pcores,^[90] and their reign in the valley of the Kabul River ended in A.D. 60-65.^[91] After that, Jibin was subject to Guishuang.

Notes:

1. For example: Tarn (1951), pp. 469-473. Also, Rapson, p. 511, takes "Jibin" as Kapisa (Kafiristan). Fujita (1910) suggests that the name of Jibin was taken from Kapisa, and the

- territory included Gandhāra and Wuzhangna 烏仗那 (Udjana). Lohuizen, p. 372, takes "Jibin" as Kabul.
2. Shiratori (1941-5).
 3. For example: Levy & Chavannes; Chavannes (1905), suggests that Jibin must have been identical with Caspira in the *Geography* of Ptolemy (VII,1). Also, Markwart (1901), p. 150, considers that, in addition to Kashmir, Jibin also included part of Punjab. Chattopadhyaya, p.49 holds to a similar view. Frank, pp. 58-59, suggests that "Jibin" may have been identified with Kashmir, but the territory of the Sakās must include the valley of the River Swāt.
 4. English translation of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96. is based on see Hulsewé & Loewe.
 5. Cf. Chapter 2.
 6. Cf. Chapter 9.
 7. Fujita (1910) and Shiratori (1941-5). In the *Faxianzhuan* it is recorded: "The road, which is very hard to travel, many dangerous precipices. The crags rise sheer to a formidable height. If a man looks down he becomes dizzy, and if he wishes to go forward he can find no foothold. Below flows a river by the name of Indus. The ancients hewed a path here out of the rocks like a stairway with seven hundred steps. After passing this stairway, they crossed the river by a rope suspension bridge. The banks of the Indus are nearly eighty paces apart. This place is so far from China that they had encountered nine different languages on the way." (English translation by Li, Y. p.23) This may be consulted for reference.
 8. Matsuda (1975); Ma, Y. (1984: 1).
 9. Shiratori (1941-5); Enoki (1941).
 10. Cf. Shiratori (1941-5). In the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 2, it is recorded: "The state of 健馱羅 (Gandhāra) is about 1,000 *li* from east to west, and about 800 *li* from north to south. On the east it borders on the river Sindu 信度 (Sindh). ...The country is rich in cereals, and produces a variety of flowers and fruits; it abounds also in sugar-cane, from the juice of which they prepare "the solid sugar". The climate is warm and moist, and in general without ice or snow." (Beal, pp. 97-98) This may be read for reference. Based on the records concerning the climate and produces in Jibin, as described in the *Hanshu*, Narain, p.136, infers that Jibin was situated in the valley of the River Swāt and its nearby area.
 11. In the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 1, it is recorded: "This state of Jiashemiluo 迦畢試 is 4,000 *li* or so in circuit. On the north it abuts on the Snowy Mountains, and on three sides it borders on the "black ridge" (the Hindu Kush). The capital of the country is 10 *li* or so in circuit. It produces cereals of all sorts, and many kinds of fruit-trees. The *shen* (good) horses are bred here, and there is also the scent (scented root) called Yukin. ...The climate is cold and windy. The people are cruel and fierce; their language is coarse and rude..." (Beal, p.54) In the same book, ch. 3, it is recorded: "The state of Jiashimiluo 迦濕彌羅 (Kashmir) is about 7,000 *li* in circuit, and on all sides it is enclosed by mountains. These mountains are very high. Although the mountains have passes through them, these are narrow and contracted. The neighbouring states that have attacked it have never succeeded in subduing it. ...The climate is cold and stern. There is much snow but little wind." (Beal, p. 148) These passages may be read for reference.
 12. Lassen, p. 29; Cunningham, pp. 38-45.
 13. Cf. Shiratori (1941-5). Based on this, Shiratori infers that the Sakās in Jibin came from Persia. In my opinion, his theory is unconvincing. Even if "Xunxian" was a transcription of "Susen", this name would not necessarily have been taken after the invasion of the Sakās. Communications between Persia and India had always been frequent. Nothing makes one think that this name was brought into India by the Sakās.
 14. Cf. Mizutani, p. 114.
 15. Cf. chapter 7.
 16. Cf. chapter 3.
 17. Markwart (1901), p. 156 and Narain, pp. 134-138, set up their theories in the light of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96.

18. Shiratori (1941-6); Rapson, pp. 509-512; Tarn (1951), pp. 468-473 and Marshall, p. 44, all hold to this theory.
19. Shiratori (1941-6).
20. Narain, p. 137, attempts to give evidence to confirm the record of the *Hanshu*, concerning that the Sakās moved south and established themselves as masters of Jibin: In the *Weishu*, ch. 101, it is recorded that Muliyan 慕利延 "moved south and attacked Jibin" from Yutian. In my opinion, the Jibin which was attacked by Muliyan must have been Kashmir, and the route by which he advanced was unknown. Therefore, it is inappropriate to take the record of the *Weishu* as evidence.
21. The fact that "the Sai tribes split and repeatedly formed several states", as recorded in the *Hanshu*, may include the cases, such as the Sakās' moving from north to south or from south to north. For example, it is likely that the Sai of Juandu were those who moved north after they had moved south (cf. chapter 4). I cited this to explain the southern movement of the Sakās only as regards the general trend of events.
22. Shiratori (1941-6); Thomas(1913); Rapson, p. 508; Tarn (1951), pp. 277-278 and Yarshater, p.194 hold to the same theory.
23. Narain, pp. 134-138. He points out that the occupation of Jibin was continued for a rather long period. Chattopadhyaya, p. 51 takes "Jibin" as Kashmir, and believes that both Wutoulao and Yinmofu were the Sai in Kashmir who had nothing to do with Sakās in Gandhāra and Taxila. His theory is mistaken.
24. Shiratori (1941-6).
25. There have been various theories on "the king of the Sai". See Hulswé & Loewe, pp. 104-105. In my opinion, "the king of the Sai" was in contrast with "the Sai race", and had no special implications. Also, the statement "the king of the Sai moved south and established himself as master of Jibin" shows that the Sai who moved south to the Pamir region from the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers were led by their king. Later, however, the Sai who invaded Jibin from Pamir region were not necessarily led by one and the same king.
26. Cf. Rapson, p. 508. He suggests that the upper reaches of the Kabul River were still under the Eucratides family when Peshawar and Rawalpindi were occupied by the Sakas. Cf. Konow (1929), p. XXXI.
27. Thomas (1906); Konow (1929), pp. XXXI-XXXVI; Rapson, p. 509; Tarn (1951), p. 321 hold to the similar theory.
28. Yamada.
29. Shiratori (1941-6).
30. Cf. chapter 1-7.
31. Cf. Odani. Also, for discussions about the relations between the Sai and the Shi, see Inoue, Naka, and Cen (1981), pp. 107-115. Yan Shigu's commentary on the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, says: "The Sai race was, in fact, the so-called Shi race, and the only difference of both the names is light and heavy in tone." This shows that the Tang people took "the Sai race" as "the Shi race". It seems that the "Sai race" mentioned in the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 12 (for example, it is recorded: "The king [of Simotanluo, the former land of Tuhuoluo] is of the Shi race"), was in contrast with the Türks.
32. For the Taxila copper-plate inscription, see Konow (1929), pp. 28-29.
33. Cf. Chapter 4.
34. Cf. Chapter 7.
35. Hanaoka.
36. Tarn (1951), p. 313.
37. Raychaudhuri, pp. 438-439.
38. Tran (1951), p. 322. Also, Yarshater, p. 194, suggests that the first Sakā ruler who issued coins was Maues in the heart of the Indo-Bactrian kingdom at Taxila, which shows Maues did not come from Arachosia. But it was consequently supposed that Maues was a commander of Sakā mercenaries in the service of the Greek kings, who gained control of the kingdom from within at a moment when an external Sakā onslaught was pending. In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing.

39. Rapson, p. 513, suggests that the title "the King of Kings" of Maues imitated Mithridates II, which shows that Maues came from Iran, and his date was later than Mithridates II. Tarn (1951), p. 322, and Shiratori (1941-6), hold to a theory similar to this. In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. The title "the King of Kings" had at the earliest appeared in the Behistun Inscription of Darius I (521-486 B.C.) and at that time the Sakās (Sai) had come into contact with the Persians. In other words, Maues had not necessarily imitated Mithridates II.
40. The name Maues (Moga) is not only the same as that of Wugua, the king of Dayuan, but also Mauakes, the leader of the Sakās from Gaugamela. Cf. Tarn (1951), p. 308, 496; Marshall, p. 45; Narain, p. 142.
41. Of the inscriptions which may be considered to have been adopted in the same era, the Taxila copper-plate inscription is the earliest one. In addition, there are the Maira well inscription from the Salt Range, which was dated in the 58th year [Konow (1929), pp. XXXII, 11], the Mansehra inscription from Abbottabad, and the Fatehjang inscription from Attock District, both of the latter which were dated in the year 68 [Konow (1929), pp. XXXII, 18-22]. Cf. Marshall, J. 1951, p. 45; Rapson, p. 570; Narain, 1957, pp. 142-143.
42. See Tarn (1951), p. 494-502. Also, Narain, p. 144, also suggests that the first year of this era should be 155 B.C., but he believes that the era was established by Menander, the Indo-Greek king, and may be called the Yavana Era. In my opinion, even if the months of the inscription were in Greek, it may not be inferred that the Sakās would continue to have adopted the Yavana Era, because an era has political coloring, and is different from a calendar after all.
43. Rapson, p. 514, suggests that the months of the inscription were in Persian. From this, he infers that the era was probably of Parthian origin. In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. Cf. Tarn (1951), p. 496.
44. Raychaudhuri, pp. 438-439. Also, Lohuizen, pp. 28-48, 64-65, suggests that the first year of the era of all Kharashthi inscriptions was 129 B.C., when the Yuezhi crossed the Amu Darya, entered Bactria and drove the Greeks away. I disagree.
45. Deb; Sircar, pp. 109-132; Majumdar, p. 127 and others hold to similar theories.
46. Konow (1929), p. XXVII.
47. Tarn (1951), p. 494, points out that the Vikrama Era of 58 B.C. can be ruled out because of the impossibility of a Sakā king using an era established through a Sakā defeat.
48. Cf. Chattopadhyaya, pp. 55-56. It has been suggested from another angle that Maues had reigned there in A.D. 20: The Taxila copper-plate inscription (Ins. 1) refers to Kṣatrapa Liaka Kusulaka and his son, mahdānāpati Patika. The latter must be mahākṣatrapa Patika in the Mathura Lion Capital Inscription (Ins. 2), which mentions also mahākṣatrapa Rājula and his son Kṣatrapa Soḍāsa. The latter must be mahākṣatrapa Soḍāsa in the Āmohin Votive Tablet inscription (Ins. 3). The date of Ins. 3 was the 72nd year, according to the Vikrama Era, which was A.D. 14. Therefore, the time of Patika, who was a contemporary of in the same time as Soḍāsa, can be inferred. In my opinion, his theory is unconvincing. Patika was only a mahdānāpati at the time described in Ins.1, and had become a mahākṣatrapa in Ins.2, which shows that the date of Ins.1 was later than that of Ins.2. Soḍāsa was only a Kṣatrapa in Ins.2 and had become a mahākṣatrapa in Ins.3, which shows that the date of Ins.3 was later than Ins.2. But Ins.1 was dated in the 78th year and Ins.3, in 72nd, which shows that both inscriptions did not adopt one and the same era. Otherwise, Patika of Ins.1 and 2 was not one and the same person. Cf. Fleet; Konow (1932).
49. Tarn (1951), p. 494, has pointed out that, if the date of the Taxila copper-plate inscription was dated A.D. 20, it is a fixed point that Gondophares' reign began there in A.D. 19. Therefore this is not acceptable. However, Chattopadhyaya, pp. 57-58, suggests that the reign of the Sakās in Taxila had not necessarily ended when Gondophares come to the throne.
50. Cf. Tarn (1951), pp. 494-496.
51. For the same reason, the date in which the Maira Well Inscription was engraved was 119-118 B.C. and the Manshera Inscription and Fatehjang Inscription, 109/108 B.C.

52. Chattopadhyaya, p. 54, points out that the Manshera Inscription shows that Maues occupied part of Kashmir. In my opinion, his theory may be correct. The fact that Kashmir was called "Jibin" later may have something to do with this. However, he points this out in order to prove that Maues had begun his reign after 33 B.C. To his mind, "Jibin" was identical with Kashmir, which had been ruled by another branch of the Sakās (Wutoulao and his son, Yinmofu, as described in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96.) Since Maues occupied Jibin (part of Kashmir), the date of his reign should be after 33 B.C. In my opinion, his theory is unconvincing. Even if "Jibin" could be identified as Kashmir some other Sakās had ruled there, their reign would not have ended in 33 B.C. Yarshater, p. 195, points out that Maues seems to have made an expedition to Mathura.
53. Rapson, p. 514, points out that the great variety of the types of the coins imitated indicates the wide extent of Maues' territories. The best coins belong no doubt to Gandhāra (Puṣ kalāvati and Takṣasīlā). Narain, pp. 151-152, suggests that Maues probably did not occupy the whole of the Gandhāra region, for Hippostratus, who seems to have been the last ruler there, was overthrown by Azes I, who overstruck his coins and used some of his distinctive monograms. In my opinion, the theory of Narain is not necessarily correct, for it is very likely that Hippostratus occupied Gandhāra after the death of Maues.
54. Tarn (1951), pp. 331-333, 496-497, suggests that the types of his coins show that Telephus had ruled and issued coinage in Kapisa. The coins bear two peculiar monograms which never occur on other Indo-Greek coins but are found on those of Maues. It is generally agreed that Telephus was associated with Maues in time and place. Since there seems to be no possibility of his being the successor of Maues, he must have been his predecessor in some region. Marshall, p. 47, holds to the same theory. But Narain, pp. 64, 137-153, disagrees with them. He suggests that no coins of Telephus have come from Kapisa, and the type has no connexion with in Kapisa; moreover, we have no other evidence of Maues' rule in the upper reaches of the River Kabul. Telephus was consequently a ruler in Gandhāra whose reign was earlier than Maues. In my opinion, the theory of Narain may be correct. Also, Chattopadhyaya, p. 53, suggests that as yet not a single coin of Maues has been found either in the Pushkalavati or the Kapisa regions, which shows that he did not rule in those places. In my opinion, coins are circulatory, and their unearthing is accidental. One should not draw conclusions only in the light of the circumstances in which the coins have been discovered. The records of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96 are sufficient to confirm that Maues had ruled in Gandhāra.
55. Cf. Tarn (1951), pp. 322, 328-329. Marshall, p. 47, suggests that, if it is correct, the victory would naturally have been celebrated on Maues' early coinage, which was issued soon after his occupation at Taxila, not some years later when he had become "Great King of Kings".
56. Marshall, p. 146.
57. Narain, p. 146, suggests that Maues occupied Taxila after he had occupied the valley of the Swāt River and the Hazara region.
58. Tarn (1951), p. 322, suggests that Maues had occupied Taxila before the occupation of Gandhāra and that he had never crossed the Jhelum River and advanced east. Nicias, the Greek king east of the Jhelum River, also had issued coins which showed a head of Poseidon on the obverse; this seems to mean that he had defeated a Sakā fleet on the River Jhelum.
59. Tarn (1951), pp. 335, 348-349, decided that the year of Maues' death was 58 B.C., mainly based on Jain tradition. Marshall, pp. 50-51, suggests that Tarn's theory is incorrect. In my opinion, Marshall is correct at this point. But it is not necessarily right that he believes Maues may have died at any time prior to the assumption by Vonones of the Imperial title (King of Kings), for there is no certain relation between the death of Maues and the assumption by Vonones of the imperial title. Cf. Chapter 9.
60. Rider, p. 341.
61. Jenkin; Yarshater, p. 196.
62. Rapson, pp. 515-516, points out that, on the earlier coins of Yavanas and on those of the first Sakā king, Maues, only the round form of the Greek omicron is found. On some of the later Yavana coins, e.g. those of Hippostratus, and on the coins of Azes I the square form makes its appearance side by side with the round form. The change took place in Parthia during

- the reign of Orodes II (57-38 B.C.). Therefore, the occurrence of the square omicron on a Parthian or Indian coin is an indication that its date is not earlier than c. 40 B.C. Judged by this test, the Yavana king, Hippostratus, must have continued to reign after the death of Maues; and he must have been contemporary with the successor of Maues, Azes I, who re struck his coins and continued to use some of his most distinctive monograms, no doubt after the conquest of his kingdom. In my opinion, Rapson's theory is generally correct. It should be stressed that, even if the time of occurrence of the square omicron on the Indian coins, as Rapson points out, was after 40 B.C., it may not be inferred that the reigns of Hippostratus and Azes I were after 40 B.C. It is possible that only the round omicron had occurred on their coins for some time before the square and round micron occurred on their coins simultaneously.
63. Chattopadhyaya, pp. 52-53, points out that the coins which are assigned to Azes II are generally found nearer the surface than those of Azes I and the coins of Azes II are found in company with the coins of Gondophares, which shows that Gondophares ruled after Azes II. Numismatic evidence indicates there also appears to have been a king named Azilises. On the earlier coins, the name of Azes is in Greek and that of Azilises in Kharoṣṭhī, while in the later coins, the name of Azilises appears in Greek and that of Azes in Kharoṣṭhī. This clearly indicates that Azes I was succeeded by Azilises who in his turn was succeeded by Azes II. Cf. Rapson, pp. 515-516; Tarn (1951), pp. 348, 498; Marshall, p. 58.
 64. Yarshater, p. 196.
 65. Rapson, p. 515-516.
 66. Bailey (1978) ; Yarshater, p. 196. Also, the inscriptions which adopted this era are the Kalawān inscription which is dated "Aja 134" [Konow (1932)] and the Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription which is dated "Aya 136" [Konow (1929), pp. 70-71]. Raychaudhuri, p.441, suggests that the absence of any honorific title before the name of Aja (Aya) makes it difficult to say whether it refers to a king, and if it does refer to a king, whether the ruler in question was Azes I or Azes II. Moreover, if Aja or Aya is a royal name, then it would seem that the years 134 and 136 actually belong to his reign; they were not years of an era which he founded but of an era which he used. Majumdar, p. 131, however, suggests that Aja (Aya) may be identified with Azes II. In my opinion, the latter theory is unconvincing.
 67. For example, Lassen, p. 409, regards Wutoulao as Gondophares; Wylie, p. 36, suggests that Wutoulao may be identified with Spalyris. The latter theory has been adopted by Tarn (1951), pp. 340-341.
 68. Yarshater, p. 197, suggests that the reign period of Azes II had lasted until the beginning of the first century A.D. In my opinion, there seems to be insufficient evidence to support such a view.
 69. Gutschmid (1888), pp. 109-110; Tarn (1951), pp. 339-342, 416-420, 469-473.
 70. Tarn (1951), pp. 497-499.
 71. Narain, pp. 147-156.
 72. Tarn (1951), p. 331.
 73. Jenkins.
 74. Cf. chapter 9.
 75. Azes I had taken possession of Paropamisadae. See Marshall, pp. 52-53; Chattopadhyaya, p. 59.
 76. Vonones' calling himself "Great King of Kings" was roughly after the death of Mithridates II (87 B.C.), and the Sakās in Sakastān had possibly extended to Paropamisadae before or after this year. Tarn (1951), pp. 472-473, suggests that Kabul was occupied by the Sakās in 87 B.C. because he regards Jibin as Kabul, and the *Hanshu* records that the communications [with Jibin] started from [the time of] Emperor Wu. In my opinion, his theory is unconvincing.
 77. Marshall, p. 52, had discussed whether Azilises and Azes II had ruled Paropamisadae.
 78. Tarn (1951), pp. 345-350, suggests that Spalyris, Spalagadam, and Spalirises were all Sakā rulers of Arachosia, and they acknowledged Vonones as their suzerain. Vonones called himself "Great King of Kings" after Maues had died, and Spalyris and Spalirises called themselves "King's Brother", but this does not show that they really were Vonones' brothers.

Spalagams, the son of Spalyris (Wutoulao), was killed by Hermaeus (Yinmofu) in about 49 B.C. The latter was overthrown by Spalirises in about 30 B.C. Spalirises called himself "Great King of Kings" after he had annexed Kapisa, and then had been succeeded by the son of Azes II. However, Rapson, pp. 517-518, suggests that Spalyris and Spalirises were really the brothers of Vonones. Vonones had begun his reign c.30 B.C. The son of Spalirises was Azes II, but not Azes I. Azes I and Azilises should be placed before a group of rulers of Arochosia. Azes I had come to the throne in 58 B.C. Marshall, pp.49-50, agrees with Tran. He states that the strange-looking figures of Zeus, which almost certainly must be the work of one and the same engraver, are found only on coins bearing the names of Vonones and Spalahores (Spalyris), Vonones and Spalagadams, Spalirises and Azes I. Had Rapson's sequence of rulers (viz., Azes I, Azilises, Vonones, Spalahores, Spalagadame, Spalirises, Azes II) been correct, it is obvious that the same figure ought to have been found on issues of Azilises, from which it is entirely absent. On the other hand, Tarn's sequence of rulers (Vonones, Spalahores, Spalagams, Spalirises, Azes I, Azilises, Azes II) accords perfectly with this numismatic evidence, if, as may be presumed, the engraver responsible for these figures died some time in the reign of Azes I. From the analysis of the copper coinage issued, the same conclusion can also be drawn. In my opinion, if Spalirises really had a son whose name was Azes, then he must have been Azes I but not II. The latter must have been Azilises. Rapson's theory is incorrect.

79. Marshall, pp. 51-52, points out that Spalirises' coins were struck in the Arachosian mint. As to Taxila and the Western Panjab, not a single coin of Spalirises, struck either in his own name or in conjunction with Vonones or Azes, has been found there after more than twenty years, digging, and it may safely be concluded, therefore, that he played no part in its history.
80. Narain, pp. 154-155.
81. Cf. chapter 9.
82. Tarn (1951), p. 328; Chattopadhyaya, p. 65. Also, Tarn (1951), pp. 503-507, suggests that the Kushans (the greatfather of Qiujiuque) had married a relative (sister or daughter) of Hermaeus; they issued these coins after the death of Hermaeus to show they were lawful successors to Paropamisadae. In my opinion, this suggestion was put forward in order to confirm his theory that Hermaeus was killed by Spalirises, the father of Azes I. I think this theory is unconvincing.
83. Cf. chapter II.
84. Hanaoka. Also, Tarn (1951), p. 337, believes that Hermaeus' sphere of influence had not extended beyond Paropamisadae. In my opinion, his theory is unconvincing.
85. Rapson, p. 521, points out that analysis of the coins shows that the strategoi (commander-in-chief) of Azes II and Gondophares were both Aspavarma, who was succeeded by his nephew, Sasas. Sasas was the commander-in-chief of Gondophares and his successor, Pacores, which shows that the sequence of these rulers must have been Azes II, Gondophares, and Pacores. In my opinion, Axes II was killed by Hermaeus before 33 B.C. and the reign of Gondophares was after Hermaeus. Therefore, if the commander-in-chief continued to serve Gondophares, then he must have lived to an advanced age. Otherwise, there should be two Aspavarmas.
86. Konow (1929), pp. 57-63.
87. Marshall, pp. 58-59; Rapson, pp. 522-525.
88. Tarn (1951), pp. 486-473.
89. Shiratori (1941-6) suggests that the Tianzhu here must refer to India during the time of Asoka. I disagree.
90. Marshall, pp. 58-60. Also Raychaudhuri, pp. 454-455, suggests that, after Gondophares, Sakastān was ruled by Sanabares, and Kandahār and Western Punjab, by Pacores.
91. Marshall, pp. 58-60.

CHAPTER 9 THE STATE OF WUYISHANLI

(A)

The state of Wuyishanli 烏弋山離 is first mentioned in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96. It has been suggested that this must in fact be referring to two separate states, "Wuyi" and "Shanli", probably because Wuyishanli is shortened to "Wuyi" in *Houhanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88 and in the "Xirongzhuàn" 西戎傳 of the *Weilue* 魏略 and because it is reversed and written mistakenly as "Shanliwuyi" in the *Hanshu*, ch. 70.^[1] In my opinion, this theory is incorrect. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded:

The state of Wuyishanli: The seat of the royal government is at... and it is 12,200 *li* from Chang'an 長安. It is not subject to the Protector General.... [There are many] households, individuals including persons able to bear arms, and it is a large state. To the northeast it is a distance of sixty days' journey to the seat of the Protector General.

Since there was only one royal government, "Wuyishanli" must have been only one state. Moreover, "Shanli" has never been mentioned alone in the literature, which also shows that "Wuyi" is only an abbreviation.

According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A,

[The state of Wuyishanli] adjoins Jibin 罽賓 in the east, Putiao 撲挑 in the north, and Lijian 犁靛 and Tiaozhi 條支 in the west; after travelling for some hundred days one then reaches Tiaozhi". ... The state of Jibin ... adjoins Wuyishanli in the southwest.

In the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, it is also recorded: "The state of Anxi 安息 adjoins Wuyishanli in the south." This shows that the so-called "state of Wuyishanli" was situated to the northwest of Jibin, to the southeast of Anxi, to the south of Putiao and to the east of Lijian and Tiaozhi. The state of Jibin covered the middle and lower reaches of the Kabul River including Gandhāra, Taxila, and had once possessed Paropamisadae and the upper reaches of the Kabul River.^[2] "Anxi" was the name given to the Persians under the rule of the family of Arsaces. Therefore, the state of Wuyishanli probably occupied Drangiana and Arachosia.^[3]

However, the statement in the *Hanshu* that Lijian (Ptolemaic Egypt) and Tiaozhi (Seleucid Syria) adjoined Wuyishanli seems not, in fact, to be accurate. It may be that at that time geographical understanding was limited to the knowledge that Lijian and Tiaozhi lay to the west of Wuyishanli. The statement that Wuyishanli adjoined Putiao (Bactria)^[4] in the north is similarly inexact, because we now know that they were separated by the Hindukush, which is probably also the result of a lack of precise geographical knowledge.

It is generally believed that Wu-yi-shan-li [*a-jiək-shean-liai*] is a transcription of "Alexandria".^[5] But which Alexandria? The opinions of scholars are divided. The main theories are: Alexandria Areion (Herāt),^[6] Alexandria Arachaton (Kandahār),^[7] Alexandria Prophthasia (Farāh)^[8] and Alexandria (Ghazni).^[9] In my opinion, the third is the most plausible for three reasons:

1. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded:

The land of Wuyi is very hot; it is covered in vegetation and flat. For matters such as grass, trees, stock-animals, the five field crops, fruit, vegetables, food and drink, housing, market-stalls, coinage, weapons, gold and pearls, [conditions] are identical with those of Jibin, but there are antelope, lion, and rhinoceros.

Of the four Alexandrias mentioned above, Herāt was beyond Drangiana and Arachosia and thus may be ruled out. Of the remaining three descriptions, Farāh tallies best with "the land is very hot; it is covered in vegetation and flat."

2. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded:

[The state] is cut off and remote and Han envoys reach it only rarely. Proceeding by the Southern Route from the Yumen 玉門 and the Yang 陽 barriers, and travelling south through Shanshan 鄯善, one reaches Wuyishanli, which is the extreme point of the Southern Route; and turning north and then proceeding eastward (sic)[westward] one arrives at Anxi.

Farāh is farther west than both Ghazni and Kandahār from which it could be reached without difficulty and Farāh is, therefore, more likely to have been the "extreme point of the Southern Route".

3. In the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, it is recorded: "[The state of Wuyishanli, which] covers several thousand square *li* 里, has changed its name into Paite 排特." Similarly, the "Xirongzhuan" of the *Weilue* records that "Wuyi's other name is Paite" (特 is noted mistakenly as 持 in the original text). "Pai-te" [*buəi-dək*] can be read as a short transcription of "Prophthasia".^[10]

(B)

In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded:

The state of Pishan 皮山 ... to the southwest it is 1,340 *li* to the state of Wuzha 烏秣. To the south it adjoins Tiandu 天篤. To the north it is 1,450 *li* to Gumo 姑墨; to the southwest it is situated on the Jibin and Wuyishanli Route. To the northwest there is communication with Suoju 莎車 at a distance of 380 *li*....

The state of Jibin ... adjoins... Wuyishanli in the southwest.

Thus it can be seen that the so-called "Jibin and Wuyishanli Route" linked up with a branch of "the Southern Route in the Western Region", which may be called "the Pishan and Jibin route [in the north]". In the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, it is recorded:

"Starting in the southwest of Pishan one passed through Wuzha, set foot in the Suspended Crossing, traversed Jibin and reached the state of Wuyishanli after a journey of more than 60 days."^[11]

In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded: "To the west, the Southern Route crosses the Congling 葱嶺 and then leads to Da Yuezhi 大月氏 and Anxi." This shows that the statement that "the Southern Route" by which "one reaches Wuyishanli, which is the extreme point of the Southern Route" refers to a branch route along which one went south from Pishan, and whose destination was Wuyishanli. The statement "turning north and proceeding westward one arrives at Anxi" must refer to the fact that one went north from Farāh to Herāt, then proceeded west and arrived at Anxi.

It has been suggested that the statement that "[Wuyishanli] is the extreme point of the Southern Route" comes from an unreliable report of a certain Han envoy, and, in fact, one could continue going west and arrive at Tiaozi (which was situated on the Persian Gulf) after arriving at Wuyishanli. In other words, "the Jibin and Wuyishanli route" must have extended west as far as Tiaozi. This suggestion is based on the belief that the *Hanshu's* editor closely associated Tiaozi and Wuyishanli geographically because the section on Tiaozi was inserted into the section on Wuyishanli in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, and in the same chapter we read that "[Wuyishanli] adjoins Lijian and Tiaozi in the west; after travelling for some hundred days one then reaches Tiaozi".^[12]

In my opinion, the statement "after travelling for some hundred days one then reaches Tiaozi [from Wuyishanli]" does not refer to going directly to Tiaozi from Wuyishanli, but to a journey north from Wuyishanli to Anxi after which one could go west and arrive at Tiaozi. Such a journey needed more than a hundred days. If we are to accept the suggestion that the statement "[Wuyishanli], which is the extreme point of the Southern Route" came from one Han envoy, and the statement "after travelling for some hundred days one then reaches Tiaozi" from another, and that the editor was incapable of sorting them out, would we not be in danger of suggesting that the *Hanshu* ch. 96 is nothing more than a jumble of original sources thrown together by an incompetent editor?

There was, in fact, a southwest route from Wuyishanli (Farāh), but the Han envoys would not necessarily have known this. In the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, it is recorded: "The Han envoys in the previous age all returned after they had reached Wuyi; they never got as far as Tiaozi." This must have been true. Since no Han envoys arrived at Tiaozi, the editor of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, of course, would not record any such arrivals even if Tiaozi was, as has been suggested, located on the Persian Gulf. The statement that "then, to the southwest, one goes on horse after a journey of more than a hundred days and arrives at Tiaozi" in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88 should thus not be considered to affirm that Tiaozi was on a direct route southwest from Wuyishanli.^[13]

As regards the reference to Tiaozi in the section on Wuyishanli in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, this is merely a passing reference, a stylistic technique, just as in the section on Kangju 康居 passing reference is made to Yancai 奄蔡. The reason why the editor evokes the section on Tiaozi in the sentence that "after travelling for some hundred days one then reaches Tiaozi", but does not arrange the section on Tiaozi after the one on Anxi or mention Tiaozi in company with Anxi, is mainly that the section on the Da Yuezhi had already been arranged after the section on Anxi. We read "east of Anxi are the Da Yuezhi" in the text.

Consequently, the section on Tiaozi had to be arranged after that on Wuyishanli, even though the state of Tiaozi really adjoined Anxi in the east; Anxi was the only way to Tiaozi and the Han envoys had never gone from Wuyishanli directly. In the other words, what we are looking at is only a problem of the arrangement of the writings, and is not enough to prove that the Han envoys had continued going west to the Persian Gulf from Wuyishanli or that Tiaozi was situated on the Persian Gulf. The arrangement of *Hanshu*, ch. 96, profoundly influenced that of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, where it has been developed more rigorously.^[14]

(C)

In the spring of 129 B.C., Antiochus VII (139/138-129 B.C.) of Seleucid Syria was killed in action at Media and the Parthians won the overall victory. Phraates II (139/138-128 B.C.) determined to advance on Syria, but the Sakā invasion on his eastern frontier obliged him to abandon this plan. According to Justin (XLII,1), during the war with Antiochus VII, Sakā mercenaries had been enlisted for the Parthian armies, and the sudden end of the campaign came as a surprise to them. The nomads were reluctant to accept dismissal without wages, and demanded either that their expenses should be paid, or that they should be employed against another enemy. When both requests were refused, the Sakās fell to ravaging Parthian territory, and some are said to have penetrated as far west as Mesopotamia. The main body of their tribesmen were pressing on behind, and had already, so it seems, swept away the Greek settlement in Bactria. Now the chief preoccupation of Phraates was to repel the advancing Sakās. Just as he had tried to use the Sakās against the Seleucid forces, so now he pressed the prisoners from the army of Antiochus into service to oppose the new invaders. He may have counted on the fact that they would be facing unknown foes in a strange land and would have to fight for their lives. However, when the armies met, and the Greeks saw that the Parthians were hard pressed, they deserted to the enemy. Thus the Parthians were overwhelmed, and in the slaughter which followed (128 B.C.), Phraates himself was killed in action against the Tochari.^[15]

Justin's record shows us the surface of things, yet the background to the Sakā invasion was much more complex. As a result of an attack by the Wusun, the Da Yuezhi who lived in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu crossed the Syr Darya, passed through Sogdiana and reached the valley of the Amu Darya.^[16] This migration of the Da Yuezhi would have brought great pressure to bear on the Sakās in Sogdiana and Bactria, who in turn mounted a large-scale invasion of Parthia, at the same time that the Sakā mercenaries were in conflict with the Parthian army. Phraates II and Artabanus II were successively killed in action, which shows that the Sakā invasion was very powerful. Justin cites the Tochari by name, which seems to show that the invaders were mainly the Tochari and that most of them come from "the land of the Daxia", namely Tukharestan.^[17]

It is generally believed that the Sakās moved south along the route to Herāt from Mōuru and occupied Drangiana, from whence they moved northeast and entered Arachosia. Since that occupation, Drangiana has been called "Sakastān".^[18] The Parthians did not recapture Drangiana and Arachosia until the end of a long-drawn-out war against the Sakās conducted by Mithridates II (124/123-87 B.C.)^[19] Those Sakās who were unwilling to be subject to the Parthians went east from Ariana and

Kandaha, passing through the Bolan or Mulla Pass and entering Abiria. After that, the Sakā power extended to Patalene, Cutch (Kacchā), Surastrene (Kāthiāwār), and the coast, including the ports in Broach, from whence they went through the valley of Nerbudda and reaching as far as Ujjain.^[20]

Two theories exist concerning the origins of the state of Wuyishanli. The first suggests that, after he had defeated the Sakās Mithridates II bestowed Arachosia, as a fief, on a *suren*, and that from that time, Persia under the rule of the Parthians was divided in two. The eastern part, Drangiana and Arachosia, which was controlled by the family of the *suren*, submitted itself in name to the Parthian royal family, and progressively developed towards independence. The state of Wuyishanli recorded in the *Hanshu* would therefore have been the area that was controlled by the family of the *suren* and inhabited by the Persians and the Sakās.^[21] The second theory suggests that the state of Wuyishanli was founded by the Sakās remaining in Sakastān, who later revolted against the rule of the Parthians and won victory after the death of Mithridates II. The political center of the state while it took possession of Arachosia would then have been in Sakastān.^[22] In my opinion, the latter theory is superior to the former.

An analysis of the coins shows that the earliest ruler of Wuyishanli was Vonones. He called himself "Great King of Kings", which shows he was really an independent master. It has been suggested that he was a Persian, because his name was the same as Vonones I, a king of Parthia (A.D. 8/9-11/12).^[23] But this cannot, in fact, be taken as absolute evidence. Since both the Sakās and the Parthians were Europoid and spoke Indo-European languages, it is very possible that their names were coincidentally the same.

Most scholars suggest that Vonones himself controlled Sakastān and that he entrusted the family of Spalyris (Spalahora) with responsibility for Arachosia.^[24] The evidence of coins shows that Vonones issued coins in conjunction with Spalyris, Spalagadamas, and Spalirises successively, and the names and the titles of Vonones were expressed in Greek, but that of Spalyris and the others in Prākṛit or Kharoshthi on these coins.^[25] It is generally believed that the family of Spalyris were Sakās.^[26] Therefore, if Vonones was a Persian, then the state of Wuyishanli would have been a state that was ruled by the Persians and the Sakās conjointly.^[27] This possibility cannot be ruled out, but it is more reasonable to suppose that Vonones was a member of the Sakā race. In addition, Spalyris and Spalirises called themselves "the king's brother" on their coins. This might be an honorary title, but the possibility that they were really Vonones' brothers cannot be ruled out.^[28]

In the light of the above, I believe that Wuyishanli may have been a state established by the Sakās.

(D)

Many scholars have carried out considerable research regarding the dates of the rulers of Wuyishanli. The following in no way attempts a critical analysis of this research but is just by way of suggesting a few additions which may be complementary to the established body of work.

There is no way to establish the exact dates of Vonones' reign, but he must have called himself "Great King of Kings" after the death of Mithridates II. In other words, he must have come to the throne some time after 87 B.C.^[29] He issued coins

in conjunction with Spalyris, Spalagadamas, and Spalirises successively, which shows that they all belonged to the same time. Spalirises called himself "the King's Brother" on some of his coins, but "Great King of Kings" on the others, which shows that Spalirises became the highest ruler of Sakastān and Arachosia after the death of Vonones. If this is true, the so-called "King's Brother" may have held the title of crown prince, and Vonones and the family of Spalyris may not necessarily have been a political confederacy, but have had blood ties.

Spalirises also issued coins in conjunction with Azes I, the king of the Sakās, who ruled Jibin after Maues. On these coins, both of them called themselves "Great King", but the name of Spalirises was in Greek on the obverse and that of Azes I in Kharoshti on the reverse, and it is generally believed this shows that the former was the father of the latter.^[30] If this is correct, Azes I must have advanced east from Arachosia, occupied first the upper reaches of the Kabul River, and then Jibin, the middle and lower reaches of the Kabul River. It is very possible that the Sakās in Sakastān and Arachosia had already begun to infiltrate the valley of the Kabul River since the time of Vonones.

In 58 B.C., Azes I established his own era (which must have been the so-called Vikrama Era, but may be more accurately named the "Azes Era")^[31] and called himself "Great King of Kings". Thus it can be seen that when Azes I issued the coins in conjunction with Spalirises after 58 B.C., Spalirises must have already replaced Vonones and become "Great King of Kings". That Spalirises and Azes I called themselves "Great King" on their coins does not necessarily mean they had not yet called themselves "Great King of Kings" previously. Possibly the title "Great King of King" was shortened to "Great King".^[32] Secondly, Spalirises could not have called himself both "the King's Brother" and "Great King" at the same time.^[33] Therefore, 58 B.C. is the latest year in which Vonones could have died and Spalirises come to throne.

If the state of Wuyishanli was established by the Sakās, then Spalirises would have been the last ruler of the state.^[34] The evidence of coins shows that rulers of Sakastān after Spalirises, Orthagnes, Gondophares, and the others were not Sakās. These rulers' dates cannot be established, but it is known that in A.D. 19 Gondophares called himself "Great King of Kings" and that,^[35] either earlier or later, Gondophares united the whole valley of the Kabul River (Paropamisadae, Gandhāra, and Taxila).

In the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, it is recorded:

The state of Gaofu 高附, to the southwest of the Da Yuezhi, is also a large state. ...Its (political) allegiance has never been constant: the three states of Tianzhu 天竺, Jibin, and Anxi have possessed it when they were strong, and have lost it (again) when they were weak. But it had never belonged to the Yuezhi. ...It lastly belonged to Anxi, and the Yuezhi obtained Gaofu only after they had defeated Anxi.

Here, "Gaofu" was identical with Paropamisadae, "Yuezhi" with the Guishuang 貴霜 Kingdom, and "Anxi" with Sakastān and Arachosia under the rule of Gondophares. That the latter is not called "Wuyishanli" but "Anxi" hints at the replacement of power in Sakastān. The reason why "Wuyishanli" is still referred to by name in another section of the same chapter and in the "Xirongzhuān" of the *Weilue* is that these editors plagiarized earlier historical records. But the references to the fact that

Wuyishanli had changed its name to "Paite" (or "its other name is Paite") in these records also seems to show that a power change had already taken place.^[36]

(E)

The state of Anxi mentioned in historical records in the Han and Wei times is generally believed to refer to Persia under the rule of the Parthians.^[37] "Anxi" was the transcription of "Arshak", the name of founder of the Parthian kingdom.^[38] In view of the fact that there were overlaps between Anxi and Wuyishanli, I plan to make a brief study of the records of Anxi to complement the preceding discussion.

In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded: "The state of Anxi: The seat of the royal government is at the town of Fandou 番兜." However, in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, it is recorded: "The state of Anxi: Its king lives in the town of Hedu 和犢." The main theories regarding the identity of Fandou are a) Parθava (see the Behistun inscription of Darius I); b) Parthia (see the *History* of Herodotus, III,93);^[39] c) Parthau (see Isidore of Charax, *Parthian Stations*);^[40] and d) a form of address for Hekatompylos by the Parthians.^[41] For Hedu, they are: a) Carta (see the *Geography* of Strabo, XI,7); b) Zadracarta, the capital of Hyrcania (see the *Anabasis of Alexander* of Arrian, III,23);^[42] c) Parthau;^[43] and d) Hekatompylos.^[44]

I believe, "Fandou" [*buai-tiuk*] may have been a transcription of "Parθava". Parθava was one of the provinces under the Achaemenids and the birthplace of Arshak's family. Nisa, the earliest capital of Anxi, was in the northeast of Parθava. By mistake, the Han people took the name of the province for the name of the capital. "Hedu" [*huai-dok*] may be taken as a shortened transcription of "Hekatompylos", which means "the town of the hundred gates" in Greek. Hekatompylos was also one of the earlier capitals of Anxi.

From the second half of the 2nd century B.C. to the end of the 1st century B.C., Anxi continuously moved its capital west in order to avoid the spearhead of the nomadic tribes who lived on the north bank of the Amu Darya, and finally chose Ctesiphon as its capital. This situation does not seem to be reflected in the Chinese historical records, but there is one item of record in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88:

Starting in Anxi (Hekotompylos), one goes west after a journey of 3,400 *li* and reaches Aman 阿蠻 (Ecbatana); from Aman one goes west after a journey of 3,600 *li* reaches Sibin 斯賓 (Ctesiphon); from Sibin one goes south, crosses a river and turns south (sic) [north]west after a journey of 960 *li* reaches Yuluo 于羅, which is the extreme point of the western boundary of Anxi.

This may reflect the fact that Anxi moved its capital and expanded its territory westwards.^[45]

In the light of the records in the *Hanshu* and the *Shiji* 史記, the boundaries of Anxi can be roughly drawn.

1. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded: "to the west, the state of Anxi is several thousand *li* from the Da YUEZHI." In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded, "East [of Anxi] are the Da Yuezhi... The seat of the royal government [of the Da Yuezhi] is at the town of Jianshi 監氏, and it is distant by 11,600 *li* from Chang'an. ...To the west one reaches Anxi after 49 day's journey." The "49 day's journey" almost certainly

referred to the journey to Fandou (Parθava) from the seat of the royal government of the Da Yuezhi (Bactra). In the same chapter it is also mentioned, "The seat of the royal government [of Anxi] is at the town of Fandou, and it is distant by 11,600 *li* from Chang'an." That the distance from Chang'an to Fandou is the same as from Fandou to Jianshi is obviously wrong: 一千 in the original text might be a textual error for 六千.^[46]

2. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that "west of Anxi is Tiaozhi" and that "to the west, Tiaozhi is distant by several thousand *li* from Anxi." In the the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded that "[Anxi] adjoins Tiaozhi in the west." In the period described in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, "Several hundred towns, large and small, belong to Anxi. The territory extends for several thousand *li* and it is the largest of the states." In contrast, Tiaozhi was cramped in a corner on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, and according to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, "Anxi subjugated it (Tiaozhi) and treated it as an outer state." Tiaozhi was probably identical with the Seleucid Syria, so the so-called "several thousand *li* (from Anxi to Tiaozhi)" must have been referring to the distance from the capital of Anxi to Anchiocia, the capital of Tiaozhi.^[47]

3. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded, "there are the Yancai and Lixuan 黎軒 to the north [of Anxi]." The "Yancai" probably were identical with the Aorsi, whose nomadic sphere extended west as far as the Azov Sea from the northern coast of the Caspian and the Aral Seas.^[48] "Lixuan" probably referred to Ptolemaic Egypt. It is obviously incorrect that Lixuan was thought to be north of Anxi.^[49]

It has been suggested that "Lixuan" in the statement "there are Yancai and Lixuan to the north [of Anxi]" belongs in fact to the following sentence. If so, the translation would read as follows: "[There is Yancai to the north of Anxi.] To the west, Lixuan and Tiaozhi are a distance of several thousand *li*. (北有奄蔡) 黎軒條支在安息西數千里."^[50] It has also been suggested that the reference to Lixuan being situated north of Anxi shows that the information arrived via the steppes route.^[51] Both suggestions are offered in order to explain why the location of Lixuan recorded in the *Shiji* is inconsistent with the fact. The latter explanation is, in my opinion, superior.

4. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, and the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, it is recorded that "[Anxi] adjoins Kangju in the north." "Kangju" here probably referred to Sogdiana, the dependency of the Kangju.^[52] Since Anxi adjoined Sogdiana, its northern boundary must have been close to the River Gui 媯 (the Amu Darya).

5. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded that both east of Anxi were the Da Yuezhi and that "[Anxi] adjoins Wuyishanli in the east." In the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, it is recorded that "[Anxi] adjoins Wuyishanli in the south." Thus it can be inferred that in fact Anxi adjoined Wuyishanli in the southeast.^[53]

6. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

Originally, the Han envoys reached Anxi. The king of Anxi ordered a general to take a force of 20,000 cavalry to greet them at the eastern border. The eastern border is several thousand *li* distant from the royal capital. When in the course of a journey one is about to approach [the capital] one passes through towns which can be numbered in the tens, and where settlements are uninterrupted and came up to a large number. The Han envoys returned; [the king] took the occasion to send out [his own] envoys to come to Han in company

with the Han envoys so as to observe Han's vastness. They took large birds' eggs and conjurers from Lixuan as a present for the Han.

An identical record also occurs in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A. Both record only that "the eastern border" was several thousand *li* distant from the capital of Anxi, not the precise location of the eastern border. However, In the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, it is recorded, "Its eastern border is at the town of Mulu 木鹿, which has been known as the Little Anxi, and it is 20,000 *li* from Luoyang 洛陽." 木鹿 [*mu-lok*] is generally believed to be a transcription of "Mōuru", which was around the present Merv.^[54]

7. If the eastern border in fact passed through Mulu and since we know Anxi adjoined Sogdiana, the statement that "[Anxi] is situated on the River Gui" in both the *Shiji*, ch. 123 and the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, must indicate that Anxi's northern border was close to the middle section of the River Gui.

It has been suggested that the information that "[Anxi] is situated on the River Gui" was gained later and did not come from the original report of Zhang Qian 張騫, but was mixed into the report of Zhang Qian by Sima Qian 司馬遷, the editor of the *Shiji*. (The record in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A follows the *Shiji*). This suggestion is based on the fact that the Sakā invasion of Parthia had already taken place and Mōuru had already been lost when Zhang Qian stayed in Da Yuezhi and Daxia, and Mōuru did not return to Anxi until Mithridates II defeated the Sakās.^[55] Although the Sakā invasion of Anxi took place shortly before Zhang Qian set out on his homeward journey, this event is not reflected in the *Shiji*, ch. 123, at all. In my opinion, this simply shows that Zhang Qian was unaware of the invasion, in which case the statement that "[Anxi] is situated on the River Gui" could describe the situation before the Sakās invaded.

8. It has also been suggested that the statement "[Anxi] is situated on the River Gui" shows that Khwārazm and Dahae were subject to Anxi at that time.^[56] In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. As mentioned above, the evidence points to the fact that Anxi was situated on the middle section of the River Gui. Khwārazm and Dahae would not necessarily have been subject to Anxi, even if Anxi's territory had extended as far as the left bank in the lower reaches of the River Gui. Khwārazm and Dahae, as has been suggested, can be identified as "Huanqian" 驩潛 [*xuan-dzam*] and "Dayi" 大益 [*dat-jiek*] recorded in the *Shiji*, ch. 123 respectively. According to this chapter, "The small states such as Huanqian and Dayi which are situated to the west of [Da]yuan 大宛, Gushi 姑師, and Suxie 蘇薹 east of [Da]yuan all sent out their own envoys to have an audience with the Son of Heaven." This does not show that both states were not independent. Nor does the fact that the founder of Anxi was originally a chief of the Dahae tribe prove that the Dahae were later subject to Anxi.^[57]

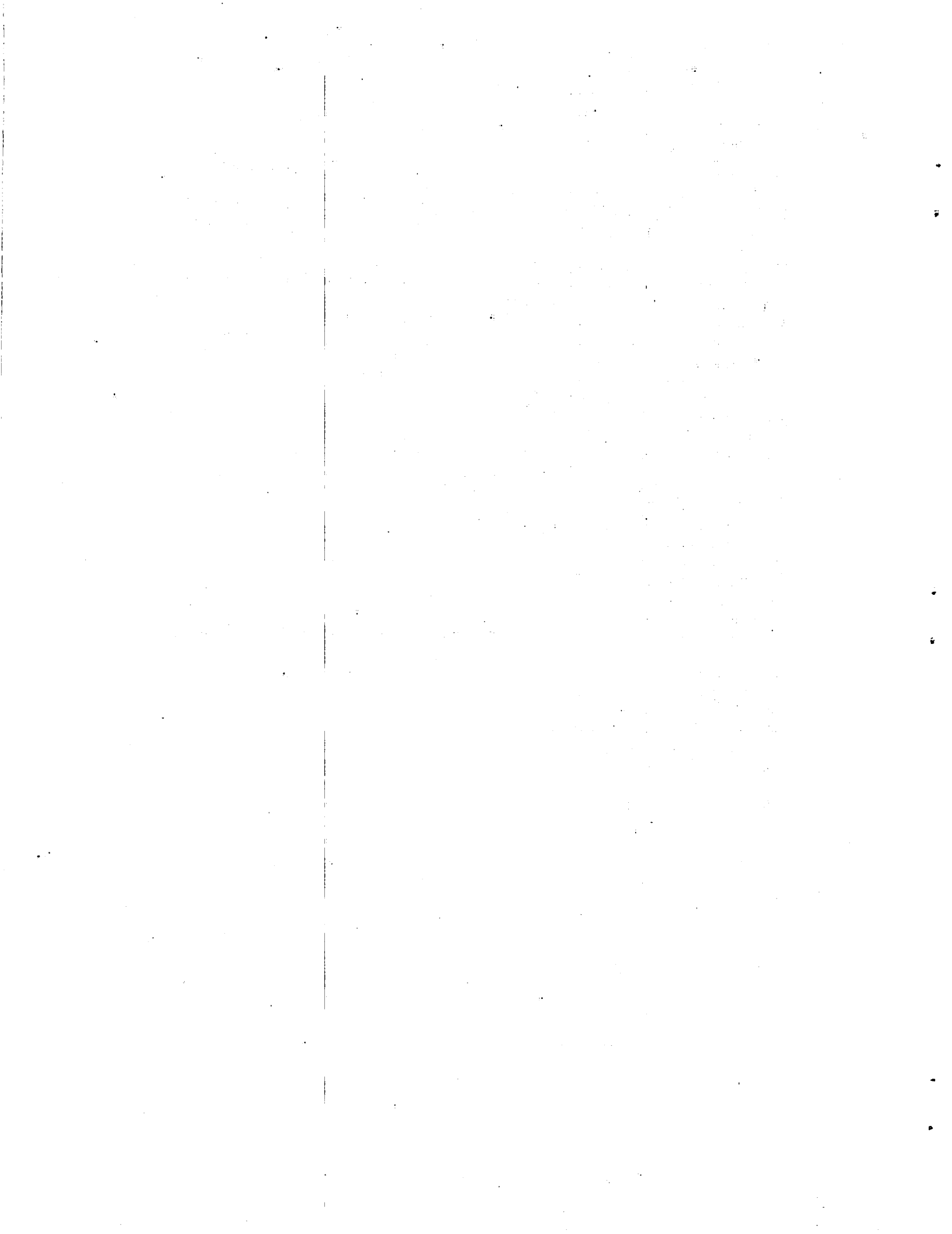
Finally, it should be pointed out that the earliest Han envoy who arrived at Anxi (recorded in the *Shiji*, ch. 123), was almost certainly one of "the deputy envoys on separate missions" sent by Zhang Qian during his mission to the Wusun 烏孫, "[Zhang Qian] forthwith sent his deputy envoys on separate missions to Dayuan, Kangju, Da Yuezhi, Anxi, Shendu 身毒, Wumi 扞彌, and their neary states." Zhang Qian returned home in the 2nd year of the Yuandiang 元鼎 reign period, so his mission to Wusun must have taken place during the two previous years, and this deputy envoy must have reached Anxi in the first or second year of the Yuandiang reign period (116 or 115 B.C.). At the time, Mithridates II's attack against the Sakās

was close to victory and his army was gathered on the eastern border. It was probably because of this that Mithridates II sent a force of 20,000 cavalry to greet the Han envoy.^[58]

Notes:

1. Cf. Shiratori (1941-5); Enok (1982).
2. Cf. chapter 8.
3. Sun, Y.
4. Cf. chapter 2.
5. Shiratori (1941-5), takes "Wuyi" and "Shanli" for shortened transcriptions of "Arachosia" and "Darangiana" respectively. Fujita (1943-3), suggests that "Wuyishanli" was a transcription of "Gawd-i-Zarah". Matsuda (1975), suspects both scholars of invention in order to be different.
6. Wylie; Chavannes (1905, 1907).
7. Markwart (1905), pp.175-176; Shiratori (1944-3).
8. Tarn (1951), pp. 14, 347.
9. Matsuda (1975).
10. Sun, Y..
11. Ma, Y. (1984: 1).
12. Matsuda (1975).
13. Yu, T. (1985).
14. Yu, T. (1986-1).
15. Justinus. English Translation by Waston; Tarn (1930); Debevoise, pp. 37-38; Yarshater, pp. 38-39.
16. Cf. chapter 3.
17. Yarshater, pp. 38-39, considers that the Da Yuezhi were identical with the Tochari, and consequently suspects that Justinus' statement about Artabanus II's being killed by the Tochari was not necessarily correct. I disagree.
18. Isidore of Charax, *Parthia Station* (XVIII), ed.& tr.by Schoff. In addition, Thomas (1906), suggests that the Sakās had already entered Sakastān as early as the Achaemenian Period. I disagree with him. Cf. Shiratori (1941-6).
19. Tarn (1930).
20. Tarn (1951), pp.320, 501; Marshall, pp. 44-45.
21. Sun, Y.
22. Shiratori (1941-6).
23. Herzfeld (1931-1932), p. 101; Tarn (1951), p. 344, also takes Vonones for a Parthian.
24. Sun, Y; Tarn (1951), pp. 344-346.
25. Rapson, p. 518; Chattopadhyaya, p. 57.
26. It has been suggested that Spalyris and others were not all Sakās. See Konow (1929), p. xlii. I disagree. Since Azes I, the son of Spalirises, was a Sakā, the father of Azes I and his family must have been Sakās.
27. Rapson, pp. 512, 517-518, considers that there were both Persians and Sakās in the family of Vonones. For the sake of convenience and in order to distinguish it from the better known "Parthian" dynasty of Ctesiphon, we may call this family "Pahlava".
28. Cf. chapter 8.
29. Debevoise, p. 40; Narain, p. 141. In addition, Tarn (1951), p. 345, considers that Vonones called himself "Great King of Kings" after Maues had died. I disagree, because Vonones was not necessarily affected by Maues' death.
30. Tarn (1951), pp. 347-348; Narain, pp. 162-163. In addition, Rapson, pp. 517-518, considers that the son of Spalirises was Azes II. Konow (1929), p.xli, holds to the same theory. However, evidence of coins seems to show that Azes II was the son of Azilises. Cf. chapter 8.

31. Bailey (1978); Yarshater, p. 196.
32. Marshall, p. 46.
33. Konow (1929), p. xli, considers that Spalirises called himself "the Great King" while Vonones still was "Great King of Kings". I disagree.
34. Rapson, p. 518, infers that Spalirises had occupied Kabul. However, Marshall, pp. 51-52, believes that Spalirises had never occupied Paropamisadae. In my opinion, the latter is correct.
35. Rapson, p. 521; Marshall, pp. 58-59; Chattopadhyaya, p. 64; and chapter 8. Perhaps Gondophares who, first as a sub-king, guarded Arachosia, and ruled in conjunction with Orthagnes of Sakastān; later called himself "Great King of Kings".
36. Marshall, p. 60, pointed out that at its largest the territory of Gondophares' kingdom included Sakastān, Sind (Cutch and Kathiawar), the Southern and Western Punjab, the Northwest Frontier provinces, and Southern Afghanistan. There is also evidence that he conquered and annexed part of the Parthian dominions to the west of Sistan.
37. Xu; Li, Vol. I; Deguignes, 1756-58, Vol II. p. 51.
38. Kingsmill; Hirth (1900: 1), pp. 139-141.
39. Hirth (1900: 1), pp. 139-141.
40. Shiratori (1944-3).
41. Sun, Y.; Tarn (1951), pp. 13-14.
42. Gutschmid (1888), p. 140.
43. Shiratori (194-3).
44. Sun, Y.; Tarn (1951), pp. 13-14. Hirth (1900: 1), p. 141.
45. Matsuda (1975).
46. Xu; Cen (1981), pp. 204-211.
47. Yu, T. (1986-1), pp. 217-144.
48. Cf. chapter 6.
49. Yu, T. (1985).
50. Hirth (1900: 1), p. 137. However, Shiratori (1944-4), considers this theory is unconvincing.
51. Matsuda (1975).
52. Cf. chapter 5.
53. Shiratori (1944-3).
54. Shiratori (1941-6); Hirth (1900: 1), pp. 141-143.
55. Tarn (1951), pp. 281-282.
56. Shiratori (1944-6).
57. Sun, Y.
58. Sun, Y.



APPENDIX 1
THE SAI TRIBES AS SEEN
IN THE "XIYUZHUAN" OF THE *HANSHU*
AND SOME PROBLEMS ABOUT JUSHI

(A)

In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded:

When, formerly, the Xiongnu 匈奴 conquered the Da Yuezhi, the latter moved west and established themselves as masters of Daxia; it was in these circumstances that the king of the Sai moved south and established himself as master of Jibin. The Sai tribes split and separated and repeatedly formed several states. Those to northwest of Shule 疏勒, such as Xiuxun 休循 and Juandu 捐毒 are all of the former Sai race.

Since the Da Yuezhi migrated west and drove the Sai away from "the land of the Sai" (the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu) in 177/176 B.C.,^[1] the movement of the Sai southward to the Congling 葱嶺 region must have taken place at the same time. A group of the Sai in the Congling region migrated farther southward to Jibin. The date would not have been earlier than 129 B.C.^[2]

As for the fact that "the Sai tribes split and separated", this seemed to begin soon after they had been driven out of "the land of the Sai". The text records clearly that the states such as Xiuxun and Juandu were all of the Sai race, but, if we study the facts more carefully, it will not be difficult to discover that other names of the states and places in the Western Regions recorded in *Hanshu*, ch. 96, have something to do with the four tribes of the Sai.^[3] Therefore, we may consider that the Sai in the Congling region moved farther east and gradually entered the Tarim Basin after 177/176 B.C. where they established some small states.^[4]

1. "Yixun" 伊循 [iei-ziuən], "Wuzha" 烏秣 [a-teak], "Wulei" 烏壘 [a-liuəi], "Wushi" 惡師 [a-shei], "Yanqi" [ian-giei], "Yuanqu" 員渠 [hiuən-gia], and "Wensu" 溫宿 [uən-siuət] may all be taken as transcriptions of "Asii" or "Issedones"

The names of "Nandou" 難兜 [nan-to] and "Neiduo" 內咄 [nuət-tuət] are the same as that of "Nandoumi" 難兜靡, the first ancestor of the Wusun. Both of the states might have some connections with the Asii.

2. "Qule" 渠勒 [gia-lek], "Taohuai" 桃槐 [dô-huəi], "Quli" 渠犁 [gia-lyei], "Danhuan" 單桓 [duat-huan], "Duixu" 兑虚 [duat-khia], and "Danqu" 丹渠 [tan-gia] may all be taken as transcriptions of "Tochari".

"Quhulai" 去胡來 [khia-ha-lə], the king's title of the Ruo Qiang 婁羌, may also be taken as a transcription of "Tochari".

It seems that the original name of Xiao Yuan 小宛 could also be the same as that of Dayuan. Since the term "Dayuan" had already been translated before, the character of "大 (*da*)" in "Dayuan" was mistakenly regarded as "*da*" which means "great", and "Dayuan" was often abbreviated "Yuan", "Xiao Yuan" was consequently crowned with "小 (*xiao*)" ("little"). In other words, Xiao Yuan also had something to do with the Tochari.

Both the states of Western Jumi 且彌 and the state of Eastern Jumi were the Sakās (for details, see below), and the Duixu valley, the seat of the royal government of Eastern Jumi, took its name from the Tochari. Consequently, one can assume that the "Yuda" 于大 valley, the seat of the royal government of Western Jumi, might be a textual error for the "Dayu" valley. "Dayu" 大于 [*dat-hiua*] may also be taken as a transcription of "Tochari".

Since the seat of the royal government of the state of Jie 劫 was at the Danqu valley and "Danqu" might be a transcription of "Tochari", "Jie" [*kiap*] may be taken as a short transcription of "Sakā".

3. "Gushi" 姑師 [*ka(kia)-shiei*], "Jushi" [*kia-shiei*], "Guishan" 貴山 [*giuət-shean*], "Xiuxun" [*xiu-ziuen*], "Ju-yan" 車延 [*kia-jian*] and "Qi-xu" 危須 [*khiai-sio*], 高昌 [*kô-thjiang*] may all be taken as transcriptions of "Gasiani".

The town of Yan 延, the seat of the royal government of Qiuci, is noted as "the town of Juyan 居延" in the Cefuyuangui 册府元龜, vol.958. Both "Qiuci" [*khü-tziə*] and "Juyan" [*kia-jian*] may be taken as transcriptions of "Gasiani".

In addition, there was a place named Juyan in the Hexi 河西 region. This name might have been taken from the Gasiani or the Yuezhi. The Hexi region was precisely the former land of the Sakās and was also the homeland of the Yuezhi who had the same origin as the Gasiani

4. "Suoju" [*sai-kia*] could be a transcription of "Sacarauli" or "Sakā". The name of "Suoju" here was the same as the "Suoju" that appears in the *Yizhoushu*, but they were not in fact identical. The former stemmed from the latter. It has been suggested that the record of the Suoju in the *Yizhoushu* must have been inserted after Han times. I consider this is inadequate.

5. "Xiye" 西夜 [*shien-jyak*], I consider, was a different transcription of "Sai". In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded: "The people of Xiye are different from the Hu 胡; their racial type is similar to the Qiang and Di." "Hu" refers to the Xiongnu, who were possibly Europoid.^[5] If the people of Xiye were Sakās, the text is wrong in stating that the people are different from the Hu. It did so, because the Xiye people had mixed blood with Qiang and Di, that is why they were so-called "similar to the Qiang and Di".

6. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded: "Puli 蒲犁 as well as the states of Yinai 依耐 and Wulei 無雷 are all the same type as Xiye." Since the Xiye were Sakās, the Yinai and the Wulei may also be taken as Sakās.

"Yutou" 尉頭 [*iuet-do*], "Yuli" 尉犁 [*iuet-lyei*] as well as "Yi-nai" [*iəi-nə*] might be different transcriptions of one and the same name. Both were possibly Sakās.

"Yulishi" 郁立師 [*iuet-liet-shei*] and "Yutou" were possibly different transcriptions of one and the same name, but the latter was shorter than the former.

"Beitian" 卑闐 [*pie-dyen*], "Beilu" 卑陸 [*pie-liuk*], "Pulei" 蒲類 [*pa-liuət*] as well as "Puli" 蒲犁 [*pa-lyei*] or "Wulei" 無雷 [*miua-luəi*] were different transcriptions

of one and the same name. Therefore their given names may have had some connections with the Sakās.

Both Beilu and Pulei belonged to the so-called "six states north of the mountains" in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, which broke away from Gushi, and were listed among "the six states of the Jushi" in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88 (for details, see below). Since the Gushi (i.e. the Jushi) were Sakās, the Beilu and the Pulei could also be Sakās. The seat of the royal government of the state of Pulei was the valley of Shuyu 疏榆. "Shuyu" [*shia-jio*] may also be taken as a transcription of "Xiye" or "Sakā". It seems that the Puli, as well as the Wulei were the same racial type as the Xiye, and were also originally Sakās.

The seat of the royal government of Further Beilu was the valley of Fanqulei. "Fanqulei" 番渠類 [*p(b)iuān-gia-liuēt*] as well as "Wulei" and "Beilu" were possibly transcriptions of one and the same name. The first was a shorter one.

7. There are some indications that the Sai moved south and split and separated in the Congling region after they had been driven out of "the land of the Sai" by the Da Yuezhi in the Western historical sources. The *Geography* of Ptolemy (VI,13) calls the region which was located to the east of Sogdiana, to the west of Pamir, to the south of the Syr Darya and to north of the Hindukush, "Sacara". According to Ptolemy, some small tribes which moved within this region were the Caratae, the Comari, the Comediae, the Massagetae, and the Grynaci, etc. It seems that the Sakās can be divided into the four tribes (the Asii and the others), and the latter could further be divided into a number of smaller tribes, who possessed their own names respectively.^[6]

"Comari" or "Comediae" as well as "Jumo" 且末 [*tzia(gia)-muat*], "Wu(Ju)mi" 扞(拘)彌 [*a(kio)-miai*], "Xiumi" 休密 [*xiu-miet*], "He-mo" 和墨 [*huai-mēt*], "Gu-mo" 姑墨 [*tzia(gia)-muat*] and "Ju-mi" 且彌 [*tzia-miai*] recorded in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, can be taken as different transcriptions of one and the same name. They may have had the same origin.

Jumi, according to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, and the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, stemmed also from Jushi (for details, see below). If this is true, the people of Jumi would have had some connection with the Sakās.

The Massagetae, according to the History of Herodotus (I, 153, 201), are also called "Sacae". In my opinion, these Sacae are different from the Sakās in the Behistun Inscription of Darius I and from the Sai in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96,^[7] although both were possibly identical in language and race, and had the same origin. The Massagetae recorded by Ptolemy had possibly entered the Sacara Region before the Sakās did, because most of the Massagetae had already been driven to the south of the Syr Darya by the Issedones as early as before Darius I came to the throne.

The Massagetae in the Sacara Region, of course, possibly entered the Tarim Basin. The state of Pishan 皮山 recorded in *Hanshu*, ch. 96, may have been founded by them. "Pishan" [*biai-shean*] may be a short transcription of "Massagetae". In addition, "the state of Shan" described in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, is noted as "the state of Moshan 墨山" in the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, ch. 2. If the latter is correct, "Mo-shan" [*mēk-shean*] may be also taken as a short transcription of "Massagetae".^[8]

Ptolemy's records concerning the Sakās to the east of the Congling region, have already been discussed in another paper of mine and it would be superfluous to dwell on the matter any more.^[9] However, I want to add one point: the *Geography* of Ptolemy (VI, 15) records that there were Scythian Hippophagi in "the Scythia region

beyond the Imaus Mountains". "Hippophagi" and "Jinfu" 金附 [*kiəm-bio*] and "Jinpu" 金蒲 are found in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96.

It seems to be difficult to take what is mentioned above as coincidence. In other words, we must admit that the traces of the Sakās remained at various oases in the Tarim Basin, but the following are some supplementary points:

1. The Sakās who entered one oasis, were not necessarily composed of the members of one tribe alone, and the members of other tribes often were there successively or simultaneously and their people were also varied in number. It was possible that the Sakās who entered the same oasis belonged to different tribes and would either coexist peacefully or struggle against each other, and their relative strength frequently grew and declined. These inevitable circumstances are partly reflected in the relatively stabilized names of states and places at the time as described in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96. For example:

The name of the state of Dayuan was a transcription of "Tochari", but the name of its capital was "Guishuang", which was a transcription of "Gasiani". There were the Guishuang in the state of Daxia. There was the "the land of Juyan ("Gasiani")" in the state of Wusun. Yanqi took its name from the Asii, but its surrounding mountains and rivers were all, in the light of the *Shuijingzhu*, ch. 2, named after "Dunhong 敦薨" ("Tochari"). Quici, the *Yiqiejing Yinyi* 一切經音義 states, "was also called Wusun or Wulei ("Asii")".^[10] "Suoju" was called "Qusha 渠莎" ("Gasiani") in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, and "Wusha 烏緞" ("Asii"), in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, ch. 12. All these equations probably indicate the same phenomenon.

According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, after Zheng Ji 鄭吉 had been appointed the protector general:

The Xiongnu became increasingly weaker and were unable to approach the Western Regions. Agricultural colonists were thereupon removed to work the land in northern Xujian 胥鞬, and the land of Suoju was allocated [for this purpose].

"Suoju" here has always been regarded as a textual error of "Jushi". Actually, both "Xujian" and "Suoju" were different transcriptions of one and the same, "Sakā" or "Sacarauli". It is not impossible that there was "the land of Suoju" in the state of Jushi.

2. The Sakās in the Tarim Basin came from the Congling region but this is only one of several objective possibilities. In other words, there were various routes by which the Sakās entered the Tarim Basin. For example, by moving west from their former land^[11] they also could have entered the Tarim Basin. There is a considerable number of sources to support this possibility.

In the 4th year of the former reign period of Emperor Wen 文帝, according to the *Shiji*, ch. 110, Modu 冒頓, the Chanyu 單于 of the Xiongnu, had sent a letter to Han, which mentions that there were "26 states" in the Tarim Basin. "26 二十六" may be a textual error of "36 三十六". The "36 states" refers to the various states in the Western Regions. We do not know the names of the "36 states", and have therefore no way of judging how many states among the "36 states" were identical to the various states recorded by the *Hanshu*, ch. 96. If my above-mentioned contention is acceptable, the majority of the states recorded in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96 would have been founded after 177/176 B.C. and the part of the "36 states" which Modu referred to did

not exist any more. The discussion of the Jushi in the following sections may give a deeper understanding of the situation.

3. Saying that the Sakās in the Tarim Basin came from the Congling region only describes the general trend; the actual situation may be more complicated. For one has to consider that a part of the Sakās entered Shendu 身毒 from the Congling region and then moved north to the Tarim Basin.

Juandu was possibly a state founded by the separated Sakās who returned north from Shendu. It has been suggested that "Juandu [kyuan-tuk]" was a different transcription of "Shendu" [sjien-tuk].^[12] "Yandun" 衍敦 [jian-tuən], the name of the seat of the king's government, may be a different transcription of "Juandu".

"Jiandu" 鞬都 [kian-ta], the name of the seat of the royal government of Qule, and "Qiandan" 乾當 [kan-tang], of Beilu, are also possibly transcriptions of "Juandu". Both states, as mentioned above, were also founded by the Sakās.

The Jushi (i.e. the Gushi), were first recorded in the *Shiji*, ch. 123. The state of Jushi, which was originally situated northwest of Lob Nor, was one of the small states that Zhang Qian passed through when he returned by the Southern Route. Since the Beilu was a branch of the Jushi, the state of Jushi was also founded by the Sakās who returned north from Shendu.

Thus it can be seen that the Sai tribes did not just separate in the Congling region.

For the same reason, "the king of the Sai moved south and established himself as master of Jibin", as mentioned above, not earlier than 129 B.C., which only refers to the date when the king of the Sai finally established himself as master of Jibin. The possibility cannot be ruled out that a part of the Sai had already entered Shendu before 129 B.C. and some of them returned north from Shendu and entered the oases in the Tarim Basin for reasons which we still do not know.^[13]

"Jingjue" 精絕 [dzieng-dziuat] as well as "Xunxian" 循鮮 [ziuən-sian], the name of the capital of Jibin, were possibly different transcriptions of one and the same name. In addition, the state of Loulan 樓蘭 changed its name to "Shanshan" 鄯善 [zjian-zjian] later. The latter was given by the Han people, but it is not necessarily impossible that the pronunciation of this name was borrowed from a local name. If this is true, "Shanshan" as well "Jingjue" and "Xunxian" would also be different transcriptions of one and the same name, thus the Jingjue and the Shanshan people might have something to do with Shendu.

4. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded:

To the west of Yuan and as far as the state of Anxi 安息 there are many different languages spoken, but they are in general the same, and people understand each other clearly. The inhabitants of the area all have deep-set eyes, and many wear moustaches and beards. They are expert traders, haggling over fractions of *zhu* 銖 (a unit of weight).

This shows that the inhabitants west of Dayuan, such as the Daxia, the Da Yuezhi, the Kangju, and the Yancai were all Europoid. Since the Dayuan, the Daxia, and the others were all Sakās,^[14] if the Sakās spread all over in the Tarim Basin, why are there no similar records?

First, the records concerning the race and languages west of Dayuan occur also in the *Shiji*, ch. 123; consequently, it is possible that these records were only what Zhang Qian had seen and heard when he passed through Dayuan, Kangju (Sogdiana), and

then arrived at Daxia and the Da Yuezhi after he had succeed in escaping from the Xiongnu, and not a conclusion that he drew from overall investigations in race and language in the Western Regions. The *Hanshu*, ch. 96, follows the *Shiji*, and the basis of the latter was the report of Zhang Qian. This report's focal point was beyond all question the various states west of Dayuan. The parts concerning race and languages, of course, did not include the situations of the inhabitants to the east of the Congling range.

Second, the situation east of the Congling (i.e. the Tarim Basin) was far more complicated than west of Dayuan as regards race and language, and consequently can not be summarized in a few words. In particular, the Sakās had once spread over the Tarim, but it was difficult to say that the inhabitants all had deep-set eyes and many wore moustaches and beards. Some of the original inhabitants in the locality could have been Mongoloid. The Sakās who entered there also could have mixed with the original inhabitants, with the result that their physical characteristics and languages were different from the typical Europoid. The state of Xiye is a perfect example. Given that the Chinese historical records concerning race and language have a lot of omissions, we have no proof which would allow us to draw the conclusion that there were no Sakās or Europoids in the Tarim Basin.^[15]

(B)

The following are discussions about Jushi, which may be regarded as supplements to the first two sections, because they are closely linked to each other.

Jushi had been known by the Han people since Zhang Qian's first mission. The state of Jushi was located northwest of Lob Nor at that time. It did not move to the south and north of Bogdo Ola (a large mountain to the east of modern Ürümchi) until 108 B.C.

1. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded: "Both Loulan and Gushi possess towns with inner and outer walls, and are situated on the Salt Marsh. The Salt Marsh is some 5,000 *li* to Chang'an." "Gushi" and "Jushi" are different transcriptions of one and the same name, and the Salt Marsh was what is the present Lob Nor. Since Gushi (i.e. Jushi) was "situated on the Salt Marsh", it was not, as is generally believed, situated to the south and north of the Bogdo Ola at that time, but nearby Lob Nor.^[16]

2. Loulan was situated southwest of Lob Nor. It has been suggested that the state had established its capital at the so-called Loulan ruins, northwest of Lob Nor, and moved it to the town of Wuni, southwest of Lob Nor. However, this view is inadequate. Since both Loulan and Gushi were situated on the Salt Marsh and the former was situated southwest of Lob Nor, the most likely location of the latter should be northwest of Lob Nor. In short, the so-called Loulan ruins must first have been within the territory of the Gushi. This area did not belong to Loulan until the Gushi migrated north, and was called "Loulan" after the state of Loulan had changed its name to "Shanshan". This is the reason for the statement that "the town continued to use the name of the (Loulan) state" in the *Shuijingzhu*, ch. 2.^[17]

3. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded:

Loulan and Gushi being small states and situated on the route, showed particular violence in attacking and robbing Wang Hui 王恢 and other Han envoys. ...In the next year (the 3rd year of the Yuan Feng reign period, i.e.108

B.C.), Han attacked Gushi. Zhao Ponu 趙破奴 reached the destination first, with seven hundred light cavalry, and having captured the king of Loulan he then defeated Gushi. He took the opportunity to stage a display of his military power so as to shock (states) like Wusun and Dayuan.

When the Han army attacked Gushi, Zhao Ponu, who "reached the destination first", "captured the king of Loulan" and then "defeated Gushi". This shows clearly that the only way to attack Gushi was through Loulan. Therefore, there are two possibilities for the locations of Loulan and Gushi. The first is that Loulan was situated northwest of Lob Nor, and Gushi, to the south and north of Bogdo Ola. The second is that Loulan was situated southwest of Lob Nor, and Gushi, northwest of Lob Nor. If the former is true, the route by which the Han army advanced would first have reached the present Loulan ruins, northwest of Lob Nor, then would have crossed over the Kuruk Tagh where they could march north to attack Gushi. If the latter is true, the route would have marched along the northern foot of the Altyn Tagh, arrived at the town of Wuni, the seat of the royal government of Loulan, and then advanced north reaching the northwest of Lob Nor to attack Gushi. The first route had existed and had been used by both Han and the Xiongnu.^[18] The second route had also existed, because in the *Hanshu*, ch. 79, it is recorded: "[Feng] Fengshi, as a guards' captain, was sent, with emblems of authority, to see visitors of Dayuan and of the other states and arrived at the town of Yixun." The town of Yixun was situated east of the town of Wuni, southwest of Lob Nor. Since the seat of the royal government of Loulan was at the town of Wuni, the Gushi that was attacked by Zhao Ponu and Wang Hui must have been situated northwest of Lob Nor.

4. The above-cited text states that Loulan and Gushi were "situated on the route". The route that Loulan was on must have been the Southern Route in the Western Regions, and Gushi, Northern Route, since the former was situated southwest and the latter, northwest. Starting from the so-called Loulan ruins, northwest of Lob Nor, and going north, one could reach the south and north of the Bogdo Ola, and going northwest one could reach Yanqi and Qiuci. However, if Gushi was situated to the south and north of the Bogdo at that time, although it could also be considered to be "situated on the route", it would not have been attacked by Han, because the region was entirely surrounded by the power of the Xiongnu. Evidently, Han's contacts with the Western Regions were unable to pass through the eastern end of the Tian Mountains and go west along the northern foothills of the mountains, but had to take the Southern Route or go west along the Kongque 孔雀 Darya from the present Loulan ruins at that time. It also can be taken as evidence that *li* Guangli 李廣利 took the latter route when he advanced on Dayuan and the former when he returned.^[19]

5. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, it is recorded:

In the second year of the Tianhan 天漢 reign period (99B.C.), Emperor Wu 武帝 appointed the king of Jiehe 介和, who had surrendered from the Xiongnu, to be noble of Kailing 開陵. Taking command of a force from the state of Loulan, he was the first to attack Jushi.

"Jushi" was in fact "Gushi". Since Han's first attack on Gushi was, as mentioned above, in the 3rd year of the Yuanfeng reign period; for "the first to attack Jushi" to

make sense, it has to be considered that Gushi had at the time not been situated northwest of Lob Nor. Since the noble of Kailing attacked Gushi in order to coordinate Han's military operations at the eastern end of the Tian Mountain, what he attacked at the time has to be considered along with the fact that Jushi was situated to the south and north of Bogdo Ola. The reason why the location of Gushi (i.e. Jushi) changed was because it was defeated and its king was captured by Han^[20] in the 3rd year of the Yuanfeng reign period. Its remaining people crossed over the Kuruk Tagh to go and seek refuge with the Xiongnu. Accordingly, the state of Jushi which was situated to the south and north of Bogdo Ola is purported to have been founded after 108 B.C.

(C)

Gushi was divided into the state of Nearer Pulei, the state of Farther Pulei, the state of Nearer Beilu, the state of Farther Beilu, the state of Western Jumi, the state of Eastern Jumi, and the state of Jushi after the Gushi had moved north. During the reign period of Emperor Xuan 宣, the state of Jushi was divided farther into the state of Further Jushi and the state of Nearer Jushi.

1. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded:

In the time of Emperor Xuan, a guards' major was sent with a commission to protect Shanshan and the several states to the west. At the conquest of Gushi, [the state] was not completely destroyed but was split between the two kings of Nearer and Farther Jushi and six other states north of the mountains. At that time Han only protected the Southern Route, being unable to take over Northern Route completely. However the Xiongnu no longer felt at ease. After this the Rizhu 日逐 king rebelled against the Chanyu and led his people to submit to [Han]. Zheng Ji 鄭吉, commissioner for the protection of Shanshan and the west, received him, and on his arrival the Han [government] invested the Rizhu king with the title of Noble of Guide 歸德 (allegiance to Imperial Authority), and Zheng Ji with that of Noble of Anyuan 安遠 (Pacification of Distant Areas). It was in the 3rd year of the Shenjue 神爵 reign period, and the government took the occasion to commission Zheng Ji to act as protector of both Northern Route [and the Southern Route].

This shows that Gushi was divided into the states of Nearer and Farther Jushi and "six other states north of the Mountains" during the reign period of Emperor Xuan, when Han was unable to take over Northern Route completely. However, if Gushi's division was really carried out by Han, considering the circumstances and judging by common sense, this event should have taken place after Han took over Northern Route completely.^[21] In fact, there was no record on the states of Nearer and Farther Jushi before this. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 8, it is recorded:

[In the 2nd year of the Shenjue reign period,] that autumn the Rizhu king of the Xiongnu, Xianxianshan 先賢蹇, came and surrendered to Han with his community of over 10,000. Han sent Zheng Ji, commandant of cavalry, to receive the Rizhu king, and thereupon defeated Jushi.

Jushi's division into the states of Nearer and Farther Jushi must have been taken place at that time. Consequently, it seems to be wrong that the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, states that Gushi was divided into the states of Nearer and Farther Jushi and "six other states north of the mountains", when Han only protected the Southern Route. However, this record is in fact not entirely wrong, because the state of Pulei, one of the "six states north of the mountains" of Gushi, had already been formed in 71 B.C. at the latest (for details, see below). In other words, it is really possible that the "six states north of the mountains" stemmed from Gushi when Han only protected the Southern Route. Therefore, we have to consider that Gushi's division into the states of Nearer and Farther Jushi and the "six other states north of the mountains" was not completed all at one time. The states of Nearer and Farther Jushi were founded after the 2nd year of the Shenjue reign period, but the "six states north of the mountains" had already been formed before this. The formation of the latter was also a considerably long process; it perhaps started when Gushi moved north to the Bogdo Ola region after having been defeated by Zhao Ponu. The editor of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, had not gone into it seriously and recorded indiscriminately, thereupon creating confusion.

2. It has been suggested that the "six other states north of the mountains" referred to the states of Nearer and Farther Beilu, the states of Nearer and Farther Pulei, and the states of Eastern and Western Jumi.^[22] I think that this view is possibly correct, because it is evidently based upon the records of the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, which states: "The tribes of Nearer and Farther (Jushi), the Eastern Jumi, Beilu, Pulei, and Yizhi 移支 are the six states of Jushi, which adjoins the Xiongnu in north."^[23] The information given in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, which was based on Ban Yong's records is sufficient to be believed, because the six states were close to Han and they were in frequent contacts with Han at the time of Ban Yong. Since the three states of Eastern Jumi, Beilu and Pulei belonged to the "six states of Jushi" in Eastern Han times, they must have been separated from Gushi in Western Han times.

Among the "six states of Jushi", Yizhi has never appeared in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, but Jumi, Beilu and Pulei were divided into Nearer and Farther or Eastern and Western in Western Han times, and there were six states in all, which must have been the "six other states north of the mountains" in Western Han times. In Eastern Han Times, Beilu and Pulei were no longer divided into Nearer and Farther, and moreover the Western Jumi was not recorded, which was possibly a result of their annexing each other.

As for Yizhi [*jiai-tjie*], its name might be another transcription of "Jushi", and its people probably separated themselves from a certain tribe of Jushi when the various states north of the mountains broke up and annexed each other in Eastern Han times. Therefore, this state is also included in the "six other states of Jushi" in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88.

The state of Pulei is generally believed to be named after the Pulei Marsh (which was also noted as "the Pulei Sea"). However, I would rather believe that the Pulei Marsh was named after the state or people of Pulei. The Pulei Marsh appears first in the *Hanshu*, ch. 94A, where it is recorded that in the 3rd year of the reign period Benshi 本始 of Emperor Xuan (71 B.C.), Han sent five generals with over 200,000 forces to attack the Xiongnu; among them, "Zhao Chongguo 趙充國, the Latter General, was appointed General of Pulei". It shows that the state of Pulei had already appeared on the Barkul Lake earlier than this. Since the state belonged to the

"six states north of the mountains", the state came into existence no earlier than 108 B.C. and no later than 71 B.C. However, in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, it is recorded:

Pulei was originally a large state. When, formerly, the Western Regions had been subject to the Xiongnu, the king offended the Chanyu. The Chanyu got angry and moved over 6,000 of the Pulei people to settle in the land of Awu 阿惡. To the south after 90 days' journey one reaches the tribe of Farther Jushi. The population is poor and weak. They were exiled among the mountain valleys, whereupon they remained there and formed a state.

The statement that "when, formerly, the Western Regions had been subject to the Xiongnu" seems to be referring to the situation that the Xiongnu dominated the Western Regions after the 170s B.C. Therefore, the state of Pulei and the state of Farther Pulei recorded in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, all developed from the remnants of the large state of Pulei recorded in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88.

However, in my opinion, it probably would have been difficult for this to have happened in reality. The letter that Chanyu Modu sent to Han, as recorded in the *Hanshu*, ch. 94A, states that the Xiongnu put down "Loulan, Wusun, Hujie 呼揭, and their nearby 26 states", meanwhile they "exterminated the Yuezhi". At the time, the Wusun lived around the present Hami and the Hujie lived in the southern foothills of the Altai Mountains.^[24] Since the two states had already been put down by the Xiongnu, the present Barkul region must have fallen into the Xiongnu's sphere of influence. It is notable that the letter never referred to Pulei, and that these are no other records sufficient to prove that there was a state named "Pulei" in the Barkul region at the time. If the statement of the *Houhanshu* that "Pulei was originally a large state", etc. was really reliable, it could only show that there had been a large state with a population of over 6,000 individuals and that the state was moved to "the land of Awu" after the Xiongnu had occupied the Barkul region. But the name of the state was not necessarily "Pulei". The Barkul Lake was named "Pulei", only because the Pulei people who were separated from Gushi migrated there later, with the results that the name of the predecessor of "the state of Awu" was mistaken for "Pulei".^[25] To put it in plainly, we should not rely on the records of the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88 to refute that the state of Pulei as well as the state of Farther Pulei belonged to the "six states north of the mountains" which were separated from Gushi.

(D)

Among the "six other states north of the mountains", the states of Nearer and Farther Beilu and the state of Nearer and Further Pulei all were, beyond question, situated north of the Tian Mountains; the only disputed question is the locations of the states of Eastern and Western Jumi.

It has been suggested that the states of Eastern and Western Jumi must have been situated in the valley of the River Yulduz. In other words, the two states may not have been among the states north of the Tian Mountains.^[26] I think this view is inadequate.

1. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, it is recorded: "The state of Eastern Jumi: The seat of the royal government is at the Duixu valley, east of the Tian Mountains, and it is

8,250 *li* from Chang'an. ...To the southwest it is 1,587 *li* to the seat of the Protector General." In the same chapter it is also recorded: "The state of Western Jumi: The seat of the king's government is at Yuda valley, east of the Tian Mountains, and it is 8,670 *li* from Chang'an. ...To the southwest it is 1,487 *li* to the seat of the Protector General." Concerning the identity of "the Tian Mountains" here, there are two arguments: The first is the Khaidu Tau,^[27] north of Yanqi and the second, the Döss Megen Ola Khaidu Tau.^[28] In any case, if the states of Eastern and Western Jumi were situated in the valley of the Yulduz River, their locations should be "south or southwest of the Tian Mountains", but not "east of the Tian Mountains".

Moreover, the distances from the seat of the protector general (at Wulei) to the seats of the royal governments of both states, according to the personal study of the scholar who suggests that both states of Jumi should be situated in the valley of the Yulduz River, were actually the distances to Duixu and Yuda valleys from Wulei via the town of Jiaohe. Therefore, the distance for Eastern Jumi should be "1,487 *li*" and for Western Jumi, "1,587 *li*". However, if the two states were situated in the valley of the Yulduz River, it would be rather obscure that one went from Wulei to both states by the roundabout way of Jiaohe, with the result of using this route to calculate the distances. The text clearly records that the two states were both situated northwest of Wulei. If the two states were situated in the valley of the Yulduz River (especially, the territories of the two states of Jumi being considered as part of the valley of the Yulduz River, north of Qiuci), we would be unable to explain the locations of the two states relative, to Wulei. In addition, the same chapter clearly records that the state of Wutancili 烏貪訾離 adjoined "Jumi in the south". The state of Wutancili was, as the same scholar pointed out, situated around the present Mannas.^[29] If both states of Jumi were situated in the valley of the Yulduz River, it would be very difficult to consider that both adjoined the state of Wutancili. The *Houhanshu*, ch. 88 states that the "six states of Jushi" including the state of Eastern Jumi, "adjoin the Xiongnu in north", which shows that both states of Jumi must have been situated "north of the (Tian) mountains".

2. According to the *Hanshu*, 96B, the distances from Chang'an to the town of Jiaohe in the state of Nearer Jushi was 8,150 *li*; to Duixu valley in the state of Eastern Jumi, 8,250 *li*; to Yuda valley in the Western Jumi, 8,670 *li*. That is to say, the two states were respectively 100 *li* and 520 *li* from the town of Jiaohe. Moreover, according to the *Houhanshu*, ch. 19, the distance from the town of Jiaohe to Wutu valley, in the state of Farther Jushi, was 500 *li*. Thus it can be seen, that the scholar who suggests that both states of Jumi were situated in the valley of the Yulduz River thinks both states of Jumi were not situated "north of the mountains". If both states of Jumi were situated north of the Tian Mountains, Wutu valley would be the only way from the two states to the town of Jiaohe. However, according to the aforementioned distances, Wutu valley was only 20 *li* from Yuda valley, and the distance from Yuda valley to Duixu valley was 400 *li* less than the distance to Wutu Valley. This shows that Wutu valley was not the only way from both states of Jumi to the town of Jiaohe.

In my opinion, his view is not valid. The distances from Chang'an to both states of Jumi recorded in the text were possibly based on the the distance to the town of Jiaohe; however, to go both to states of Jumi from the town of Jiaohe, it would not have been necessary to cross Wutu valley. In other words, it is very possible that one went to both states of Jumi from the town of Jiaohe directly. Moreover, since it is not reasonable to call for exact distances to Chang'an, it is impossible to judge that

both states of Jumi were not situated north of the Tian Mountains in the light of the aforementioned method of calculating distance. If we used the same method, the state of Beilu, which was situated west of Yulishi, would be only 30 *li* from Wutu valley, compared to being 150 *li* nearer to Yulishi. Would not the state of Beilu then fail to be a state north of the mountains?

3. In the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, it is recorded that "to the east", the state of Eastern Jumi "is 800 *li* from the seat of the senior administrator (at Liuzhong 柳中)". The scholar, who suggests that both states of Jumi were situated in the valley of the River Yulduz thinks that, if the state was situated north of the mountains, the text would have recorded clearly that it was situated north or northwest of Liuzhong. Since the distance from the state of Western Jumi to the town of Jiaohe, according to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, was 520 *li*, the state should be 500 *li* to the west of Liuzhong, south of the Eren-khabirgen Mountains.

In my opinion, this view is still unconvincing. "To the east" in the *Houhanshu*, may be wholly regarded as "to the south-east" and the understanding of the scholar seems to be too mechanical. If the distance from Liuzhong to Eastern Jumi recorded in the *Houhanshu* is reliable, Eastern Jumi would be 800 *li* to the west or northwest of Liuzhong and Western Jumi would not be 500 *li* to the west of Liuzhong. Firstly, that "Eastern Jumi" in the *Houhanshu*, is considered in fact to be a textual error of "Western Jumi" is utterly unjustifiable. Secondly, the "520 *li*" which has been gained from the records in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, must have been the distance from Western Jumi to the town of Jiaohe, but there were still 80 *li* between the town of Jiaohe and Liuzhong. In other words, Western Jumi should be 180 *li*, to the west of Liuzhong. For the same reason, Eastern Jumi should be 180 *li* to the west of Liuzhong (100 *li*, the distance from Jiaohe to Eastern Jumi added to 80 *li*, the distance from Jiaohe to Liuzhong). Thus it can be seen that, the states of Eastern and Western Jumi would not be situated in the valley of the Yulduz River, even if the records of the *Hanshu*, together with those of the *Houhanshu* are involved.

4. In the *Bowuzhi* 博物志 of Zhang Hua 張華 cited by the *Taipingyulan* 太平御覽, vol. 987, it is recorded:

Wang Chang 王暢, the envoy to the Western Regions, says: Stone Flowing Yellow 石流黃 springs from the Jumi mountains, which is 800 *li* from Gaochang 高昌. There is Stone Flowing Yellow [in the mountain], which is several tens of *zhang* 丈 (a unit of length=three and one-third metres) high and covers 50 or 60 *mu* 畝 (a unit of area = 0.165 acre). There are the holes from which one takes Flowing Yellow. During the day, looking upon the holes, there is something with a shape that is like blue smoke, and whose height is often several *chi* 尺 (a unit of length, 10chi = 1zhang) above them. During the night, looking upon them, the light is over one *chi* high, just like lamps. These are what Wang Chang has personally seen. The Jumi people say that they all come to the mountain to seek protection when the climate is at odds. The poisonous gas will disappear naturally.

It has been suggested that the statement the Jumi Mountain "is 800 *li* from Gaochang" is based on the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, but there are some errors in it (there also was a distance of 30 *li* between Gaochang and Liuzhong). "The Jumi mountain" must have been the base of the Shekui 射匱, the Kakhan of the Western Türks 西突厥.

According to the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, ch. 194B: "[Shekui] thereupon established his court at Sanmi 三彌 mountain, north of Qiuci." "Sanmi" was evidently a textual error for "Jumi". And, according to the *Shishi Xiyuji* 釋氏西域記 of Daoan 道安 cited by the *Shujingzhu*, ch. 2,

There is a mountain which is 200 *li* to north of Qiuci. There are flames at night and, during the day, only smoke. The people take coal from the mountain to smelt iron that comes from the mountain for the continual use of 36 states.

A similar record also occurs in the *Weishu*, ch. 102. The mountain which was 200 *li* to north of Qiuci must have been the Jumi Mountain recorded in the *Bowuzhi* and the Sanmi Mountain in the *Jiu Tangshu*. In my opinion, this view is inadequate.

First, the Jumi Mountain in the *Bowuzhi* was not necessarily the Sanmi Mountain, even if "三" was a textual error for "且", because "north of Qiuci" was not the only area which is produced Stone Flowing Yellow, which also produced from north of Bogdo Ola. In the *Songshi* 宋史, ch. 490, it is recorded:

The Northern Mountain in which the Northern Court 北庭 lies produces Nao Sands 礶沙 (Sal ammoniac). There is often smoke emerging, but no cloud and mist in the mountain. By night, flames are like torches and both birds and mice become red with the illumination. Those who mine Nao Sands wear shoes with wood soles to take it, soles made of leathers would be burnt.

The main composition of Nao Sands is Sal ammoniac, which is mostly produced by the spontaneous combustion of coal seam upon contact with sulphur. "Northern Mountain of the Northern Court" was not necessarily the Jumi Mountain in the *Bowuzhi*, but it shows at least that it was also an area which produced sulphur and the Jumi Mountain in the *Bowuzhi* consequently was not necessarily situated north of Qiuci.^[30]

Second, that the court of Shekui recorded by the *Jiu Tangshu* was really at the Jumi Mountain shows at most that there were also the Jumi people to north of Qiuci, but does not show that the state of Jumi in Han times was located to north of Qiuci (in the valley of the River Yulduz). Since in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, it is recorded that the Jumi people "live in tents, and go in search of water and pasture. ...Their homelands have been constant", it is very possible that some of them moved into the valley of the Yulduz River from north of the Tian Mountains after Han times, with the result that the mountain north of Qiuci was called "the Jumi Mountain".

Third, even if it can be proved that there had already been a Jumi Mountain or the Jumi people north of Qiuci in Han Times, we cannot consider that the states of Eastern and Western Jumi were not situated north of the Tian Mountains. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, it clearly records that both Yanqi and Qiuci "adjoin Wusun in north", which shows that there was no state of Jumi between both states and Wusun, and that even if the Jumi people already existed, no state had yet been formed.

Fourth, the Jumi were a branch of the Sakās. The Jumi people separated in the oases of the Tarim Basin. "Gumo", "Jumi" and "Wumi (Jumi)", etc., as seen in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, all were possibly the tracks that the Sakās left. In short, the Jumi people north of the Tian Mountains and those north of Qiuci had the same origin, but did not necessarily have contact later. Since both "Gushi" and "Qiuci" were different

transcriptions of "Gasiani" and the Jumi stemmed from Gushi, it is not at all surprising that the Jumi people had appeared north of Qiuci.

It has been suggested that Eastern Jumi must have been situated around the Eastern Salt Pool Post 東鹽池驛. Western Jumi was situated to northwest of Eastern Jumi, around Jiermadai 濟爾瑪臺. That is to say, only Western Jumi was situated north of the Tian Mountains.^[31] I think that it is also untenable.

1. According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, the distance from Chang'an to Western Jumi was 8,670 *li*, and was 520 *li* farther than to Nearer Jushi, and was 280 *li* nearer than to Farther Jushi. Moreover, the distance from Western Jumi to Wulei was 1,487 *li*, according to the collated and corrected distance to Wulei, which was 250 *li* farther than from Nearer Jushi and 320 *li* nearer than Farther Jushi. Thus it can be seen that Western Jumi must have been situated northeast of the town of Jiaohe. In my opinion, this view is unconvincing.

First, since the distances from Chang'an to Western and Eastern Jumi were based on the distance from Chang'an to the town of Jiaohe in Nearer Jushi,^[32] we could not therefore consider that the former was situated east of the latter as the distance to the former was 280 *li* shorter than to the latter.

Second, since the distances from Wulei to Western Jumi and Farther Jushi were based on the distance from Wulei to Nearer Jushi,^[33] we should not therefore consider that the former was situated east of the latter as the distance to the former was farther than to the latter.

2. According to the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, Eastern Jumi was 9,250 *li* from Luoyang 洛陽, and 800 *li* from the seat of the senior administrator. This shows that the distance from Chang'an to Liuzhong was 7,450 or 7,500 *li* (9,250 *li* - 800 *li* - 1,000 or 950 *li*). This distance does not conform to 8,170 or 8,150 *li*, the distance from Chang'an to Liuzhong, which was achieved by calculating on the basis of 9,620 *li*, the distance from Luoyang to Farther Jushi, and 500 *li*, to Liuzhong. Moreover, 9,250 *li*, the distance from Luoyang to Eastern Jumi, was achieved by adding 8,250 *li*, the distance from Chang'an to Eastern Jumi recorded in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, to the distance from Luoyang to Chang'an, which was correct. Thus it can be seen that "east" in the statement, "To the east, [Eastern Jumi] is 800 *li* from the seat of the senior administrator." It must have been a textual error for "west" in the *Houhanshu*. That is to say to go to Eastern Jumi from Chang'an and Luoyang, it was not necessary to pass through Liuzhong, and thus the state was situated east of the seat of the senior administrator, and not west. In my opinion, this view is unconvincing.

First, if Eastern Jumi was really situated east of Liuzhong, the distance from Eastern Jumi to Wulei would be 1,967 *li* (800 *li*, the distance from Eastern Jumi to Liuzhong, added to 80 *li*, from Liuzhong to the town of Jiaohe, and to 1,087 *li*,^[34] from Jiaohe to Wulei), which did not conform to the 1,487 *li*, the collated and corrected distance from Wulei to Eastern Jumi recorded in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96.

Second, if we calculate the distances from Luoyang and Liuzhong, according to the scholar's method, based on, Shule, Yanqi, Pulei, Nearer and Farther Jushi recorded by the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, the distance from Chang'an to Liuzhong, the results would not coincide. They are respectively 4,350 (4,300) *li*, 6,450 (6,400) *li*, 8,250 (8,200) *li*, 8,090 (8,040) *li* and 8,170 (8,120) *li*. Since, for this reason, we can not consider that Shule and Yanqi were situated east of Liuzhong, Eastern Jumi must not have been situated east of Liuzhong.

3. According to the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, to the east, Pulei was 1,290 *li* from the seat of the senior administrator and Eastern Jumi, 800 *li*. The difference between them was 490 *li*. If one went to Luoyang from both states by way of Liuzhong, the difference between the distances from Pulei and Eastern Jumi to Liuzhong should also be 490 *li*. However, according to the same chapter, Pulei was 10,490 *li* from Luoyang and Eastern Jumi, 9,250 *li*; the difference between them was 1,240 *li*, which was roughly equal to the sum of 490 *li* and 800 *li* (from Eastern Jumi to Liuzhong). This further shows that Eastern Jumi was situated east of Liuzhong.

In my opinion, this theory is also unconvincing. Pulei was situated around the present Barkul Lake, east of Liuzhong. "East" in the statement, "to the southeast, Pulei is 1,290 *li* from the seat of the senior administrator" is in fact a textual error for "west". It is incorrect to say that the state of Pulei was considered to be situated east of the present Mannas.^[35] However the distance from Pulei to Luoyang was based on the distance from Luoyang to Liuzhong. That is to say the distance from Pulei to Luoyang was equal to the sum of the distance from Luoyang to Jiaohe via Yanqi (9,120 *li*), and the distance from Jiaohe to Pulei via Liuzhong (80 + 1,290 *li*). In other words, according to the distance from Pulei to Luoyang, one must have passed through Liuzhong.^[36] For all this, the above-mentioned hypothesis cannot yet be approved. This is because the distances to Luoyang and to Liuzhong were based on two different distance systems. The former was based on the distances to Chang'an recorded in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, and the latter was, as far as Eastern Jumi and Pulei north of the Tian Mountains, by the direct distances from Liuzhong to both seats of the royal governments of the states, which was determined in Eastern Han times. Therefore it is reasonable that the difference between distances from both states to Luoyang was not equal to that between their distances to Liuzhong. For this reason, we may not consider that Eastern Jumi was situated east of Liuzhong.

In sum, Eastern and Western Jumi could neither have been situated in the valley of the Yulduz River nor northeast of Nearer Jushi, but were situated precisely to the south and to the southeast of the present Mannas, north of the Tian Mountains. Both states stemmed from Gushi and belonged to "the six states north of the mountains" recorded by the *Hanshu*, ch. 96.

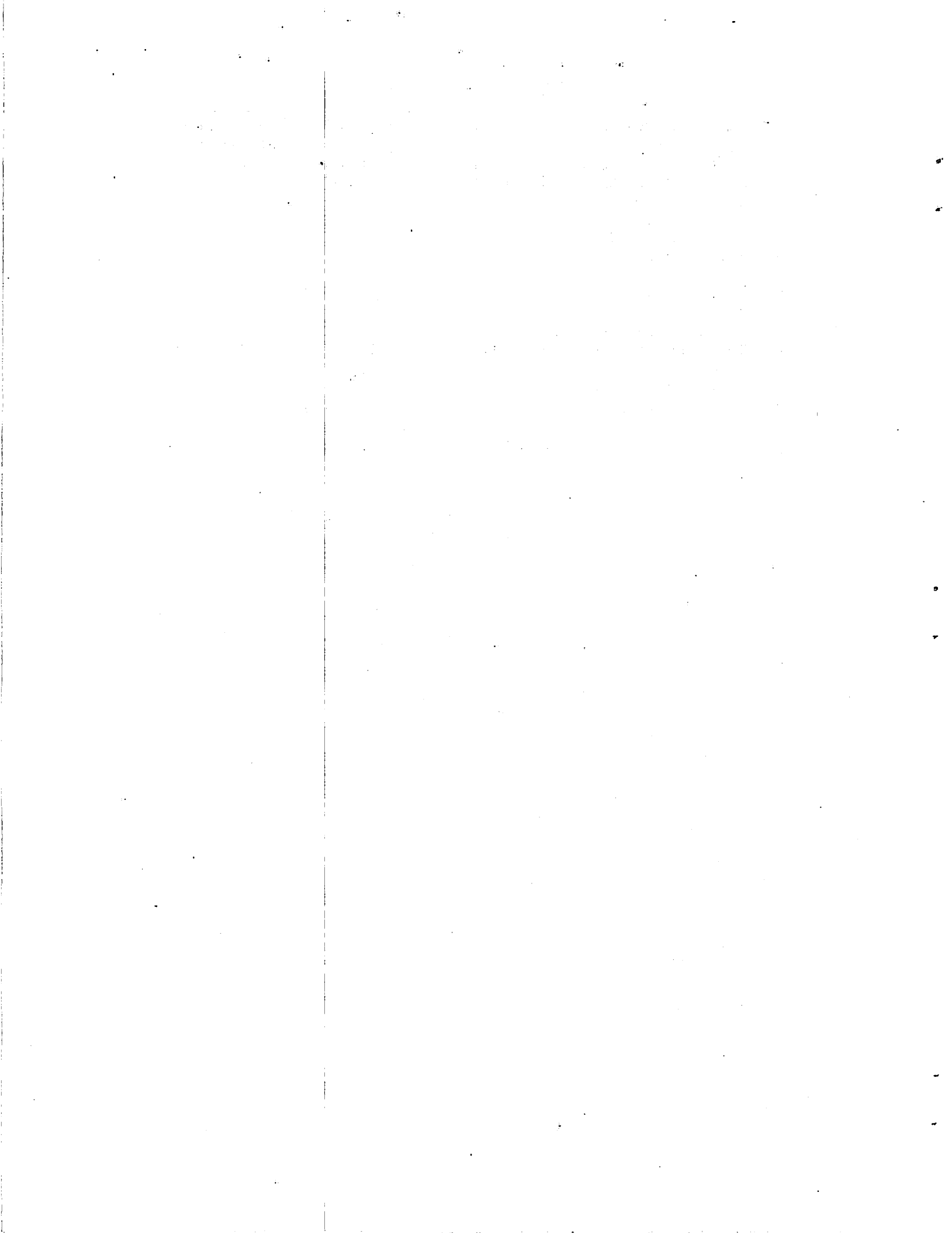
Notes:

1. Cf. chapter 3.
2. Cf. chapter 8.
3. On the four tribes of the Sakās, see chapter 1.
4. Hypotheses about phonetic identifications for the names of states or places under discussion have also been offered by a number of scholars. Although my reconstructions may superficially resemble theirs in some cases, it is important to note that they are employed as elements in different systems, hence their significations may be dissimilar. On the views of the other scholars, I have already given the sources in my above-cited papers, and thus will not repeat them here again one by one.
5. Cf. Yu, T. (1990).
6. Cf. chapter 1.
7. Cf. chapter 1.
8. The name "Massagetae" is supposed to signify "the great Sakā horde". See Tarn (1951), pp. 80-81. Therefore, that the Asii and other tribes were called "the Sakās" was only due to the Persians' taking the term of "Massagetae" to call the Asii and the other tribes. For this

- reason, it is, strictly speaking, inadequate that "Massagetae" was translated into "Moshan" by the Han people.
9. Cf. chapter 1.
 10. The name "Wusun" was probably used here, because there were the Asii in the state, but, the Wusun people were not necessarily there. The people had only heard the pronunciation of the name, but had not known the actual situation, so they adopted the name of "Wusun" which had a specially designated connotation.
 11. Cf. chapters 1, 3.
 12. See Wu.
 13. The *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, records that there was a noble people, whose name was "Shendu", in the state of Qiuci, which seems to indicate that Qiuci was in contact with Shendu.
 14. Cf. the chapters concerned.
 15. Cf. Shimazaki (1977), pp. 3-58, based on the reference in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, concerning the Yizhi people, one of the "six states of Jushi", "with hair hanging down". The scholar judges the Jushi people as being Mongoloid. I think that his theory is unconvincing, because there is no evident relation between custom and race.
 16. Matsuda (1970), pp. 58-59, has put forward a question at this point and suggests that this remark of Zhang Qian "has already become a continual unfathomable enigma".
 17. See Zhang, X. (1990),
 18. See Matsuda (1970), pp. 55-57.
 19. See Matsuda (1970), pp. 60-62.
 20. The king of Jushi's being captured was recorded in the *Shiji*, ch. 20 and the *Hanshu*, ch. 17.
 21. See Shimazaki (1977), pp. 3-58,.
 22. See Xu.
 23. Xu considers that the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, does not refer to the state of Western Jumi, which shows that it was possibly annexed by the others. Moreover, in the "Xirongzhuan" of the *Weilue* it is recorded: "Going west along the New Northern Route one could reach the state of Eastern Jumi, the state of Western Jumi, the state of Danhuan.... They are all subject to the tribe of Farther Jushi." Following Xu, Chavannes (1905) considers that this state had won independence during the 3rd century A.D. Cen (1981), p.458, considers that the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, has only recorded the situations which were different from the former dynasties, so these states which were not mentioned had not necessarily been destroyed at all. The statement, "...they are all subject to..." in the *Weilue* may not necessarily have been the situation in the time of the Three Kingdoms (A.D. 220-280). We should no longer come to the conclusion that the state had won independence later. In my opinion, Xu's theory is correct. If Western Jumi still existed, the "seven states of Jushi" would be recorded in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88. As for the statement of the *Weilue*, I consider that it was, as Cen has said, not necessarily the situation in the time of the Three Kingdoms. The text only states that the territories of Eastern and Western Jumi were subject to the state of Farther Jumi at that time. In other words, Western Jumi was not necessarily annexed again after having won independence. In addition, the state of Farther Beilu and the state of Farther Pulei are not mentioned in the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, which shows that the two states were also annexed by the others at the time described by the text.
 24. Cf. chapter 2, 7, and Yu T. (1989).
 25. The statement of the *Houhanshu*, ch. 88, "the population is poor and weak. They were exiled among the mountain valleys, and thereupon remained there and formed a state", should refer to "the state of Awu", from where "to the south one reaches the tribe of Farther Jushi after some 90 days' journey." This would be very clear if we read the text carefully. Therefore, it is utterly groundless to consider that the state of Pulei recorded by the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, was developed from the remnants who were left over after 6,000 individuals had been forced to move out. Moreover, even if the predecessor of the state of Awu was also named "Pulei", it is still difficult to decide whether the remnants were actually the predecessors of the state of Pulei recorded in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, because Pulei, as a Sakā tribe, separated in the Tarim Basin at the time described in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, for example, into the states such as Puli and Wulei. Since the Sakās had possibly expanded their power as far as the eastern

end of the Altai Mountains, before moving west in 720s B.C., it is logical to assume that the Pulei people had occupied the Barkul region at that time. In short, if the predecessor of the state of Awu was really named "Pulei", this state and the state of Pulei in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, should have had the same origin, but later separated and went different ways.

26. See Matsuda (1970), pp. 85-95.
27. See Xu.
28. Matsuda (1970), pp. 48-49.
29. Matsuda (1970), pp. 77-78, 108, 111.
30. Cf. Zhang.
31. Cen (1981), pp. 457-465.
32. Matsuda (1970), pp. 53-62.
33. Matsuda (1970), pp. 63-76.
34. Matsuda (1970), pp. 64-65. This distance noted as "1,870 *li*" in the original text of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96.
35. Cen (1981), pp. 446-454.
36. Matsuda (1970), pp. 96-110.



APPENDIX 2 ON THE LOCATION OF CAPITAL OF THE STATE OF SHANSHAN

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, it is recorded:

The original name of the state of Shanshan 鄯善 was Loulan 樓蘭. The seat of the royal government is at the town of Wuni 扞泥, and it is 1,600 *li* 里 distant from the Yang 陽 barrier and 6,100 *li* from Chang'an 長安. ...To the northwest it is a distance of 1,785 *li* to the seat of the Protector General. It is 1,365 *li* to the state of [Mo]shan 墨山, and to the northwest it is 1,890 *li* to Jushi 車師.

It is also recorded that "Shanshan is situated on the Han communication routes; to the west it is connected with Jumo at a distance of 720 *li*." On the location of the town of Wuni, the seat of the royal government of Shanshan, there have been two main theories. The first suggests that Wuni was situated southwest of Lob Nor, around present Ruoqiang 婼羌 county.^[1] The second suggests that Wuni lay northwest of Lob Nor, around the ruins of Loulan (Kroraimna, Krarayina).^[2] In addition, it has been suggested that Shanshan had established its capital at Kroraimna when the name of the state was Loulan, and later moved its capital south of Lob Nor.^[3] In my opinion, Shanshan, (i.e. Loulan) never moved its capital and the seat of the royal government had always been southwest of Lob Nor.

(A)

There is insufficient evidence to prove that the state of Loulan removed its capital when its name was changed into "Shanshan".

1. According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, in the 4th year of the Yuanfeng 元鳳 reign period of Emperor Zhao 昭帝, Fu Jiezi 傅介子 was sent to stab Changgui 嘗歸, the king of Loulan, to death.

Han then established Weituqi 尉屠耆 as king, and changed the name of the state to Shanshan. An official seal was engraved for [the king's] use; and he was presented with one of the women of the palace to be his wife, and carriages, a mounted retinue and baggage carts were prepared for him. The chancellor and generals led [a group] of government officials to escort him outside the Guang Gate 橫門; and when the ceremony of godspeed had been performed he was sent on his way. The king had made a personal request to the Son of Heaven. "For a long time", he said, "I have been in Han. Now I am returning home deserted

and weak at a time when sons of the former king are alive, and I fear that I may be killed by them. There is a town [called] Yixun 伊循 in the state, where the land is fertile. I would be grateful if Han could send one general to station there and open up wastelands, and accumulate a store of field-crops, so that I would be able to rely on the support of Han Prestige." Thereupon Han sent one major and forty officers and others to be stationed at Yixun, in order to maintain a peaceful situation. At a later time the office of commandant was established instead; the foundation of an official post at Yixun started at this juncture.

It has been suggested that since the name of the state was changed, the capital must have been moved. However, this is unconvincing. The above-cited records enumerate exhaustive details of Weituqi's departure, the presentation of the palace women, the request to station a general and open up wasteland, etc. Can one assume that a significant incident such as the migration of the capital would have been omitted altogether? Since there is no established connection between the changing of the name and the migration of the capital, we must assume the capital was not removed.^[4]

2. In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that "both Loulan and Gushi 姑師 possess towns with inner and outer walls and are situated by the Salt Marsh, which is some 5,000 *li* from Chang'an." But, according to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, the town of Wuni was situated 6,100 *li* from Chang'an. This discrepancy in distance of 1,100 *li* between the two sources seems to show that the capital of Loulan and of Shanshan were not situated at one and the same place.

In my opinion, this does not follow. The former was the distance from the Salt Marsh to Chang'an; the latter, the distance from the town of Wuni. Both, of course, could not be equal. Moreover, since both Loulan and Gushi were situated on the Salt Marsh at that time, even if "some 5,000 *li*" was referring to the distance from a certain state situated on the marsh to Chang'an, we have no way of deciding if it was the distance from Chang'an to Loulan or to Gushi. In addition, all the distances to various states seen in the *Shiji*, ch. 123, are estimates, and are far less accurate than those of the *Hanshu*. We simply cannot compare them.

3. Kroraimna, as seen in the Kharoshti documents, was possibly situated northwest of Lob Nor. "Loulan" [*lo-lan*] may be taken as a transcription of Kroraimna. For this reason, it has been suggested that the seat of the capital of Loulan had been there.^[5] However, the *Hanshu* tells us that various states in the Western Regions had one name to designate both state and capital, while a number of them carried two separate names. In other words, we cannot consider that the capital of Loulan was situated there only because there had been a town named "Loulan" northwest of Lob Nor. According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96B, there was an area named "Wushi" 惡師 [*a-shei*] in the state of Wusun 烏孫 [*a-sen*]. "Wushi" and "Wusun" were different transcriptions of one and the same name, but it consequently has not been considered that the capital of Wusun must have been situated at Wushi and removed to the town of Chigu 赤谷 later.

4. In the *Suijingzhu* 水經注, ch. 2, it is recorded:

The River (Yellow) flows farther east and passes south of the town of Zhubin 注賓, and then flows still farther east and passes south of the town of Loulan and continues eastward. The town was a place stationed by officers who

opened up wasteland, and thereupon the town continued to use the name of the state. The River flows farther east and empties into the You 泲 Marsh.

Since the text states that after the state of Loulan had changed its name to Shanshan, the town continued to use the former name of the state, it is doubtful that the town was originally the capital of Loulan, but rather only borrowed the name of the state.^[6] If the seat of the royal government of Shanshan had originally been situated at the town of Loulan, a continuation of the name of the state would be out of the question. And if the seat of the royal government of Shanshan was originally situated at the town of Loulan and the name of the town was not the same as that of the state, then the town must have had another name, consequently there was no need to use the name of the state after the royal government had been removed. Therefore, the statement "continued to use the name of the state" shows that the area around the town of Loulan was originally not subject to the state of Loulan, but later when it belonged to the state of Loulan, the town was named after the former name of the state, in order to mark the political allegiance of the town.^[7]

5. Since the name of the state of Loulan was changed to "Shanshan" in 77 B.C., the town could have been called "Loulan" after this year. However, the area of Loulan (Kroraimna) was first mentioned in the *Houhanshu* 後漢書 ch. 47. According to this book, in the first year of the Yongning 永寧 reign period of Emperor An 安帝, Ban Yong 班勇 presented a memorial to the Emperor, which says:

... should also send the Senior Administrator of the Western Regions taking command of 500 men stationed at Loulan, to intercede at Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲 in the west, heighten the confidence of Shanshan and Yutian 于闐 in the south, resist the Xiongnu 匈奴 in the north, and approach Dunhuang 敦煌 in the east. This will be suitable.

The "Loulan" mentioned in the memorial was without question the town of Loulan northwest of Lob Nor. Moreover, in the "Xirongzhuan" 西戎傳 of the *Weilue* 魏略 it is recorded:

The way which starts westwards from the Yumen barrier, starting from the Protector General Well 都護井, flanking the northern end of the Three Long Sands 三隴沙, passing by way of the Julu Barn 居廬倉, turning northwest from the West Well of the Sands 沙西井, traversing the Dragon Mounds 龍堆, and reaching the former Loulan, turning west from there and arriving at Qiuci and then reaching the Congling 葱嶺 is the Middle Route.

"The former Loulan" is also refer to the town of Loulan northwest of Lob Nor. In the same chapter it is also recorded:

Skirting west along the Southern Route there are the state of Jumo, the state of Xiao Yuan 小宛, the state of Jingjue 精絕, and the state of Loulan. These states are all subject to Shanshan.

"Loulan" is called a "state" here, which seems to indicate that the town of Loulan indeed was the seat of the royal government of the state of Loulan (i.e. the predecessor of the state of Shanshan). Therefore, those scholars who hold that the state of Loulan, (i.e. the state of Shanshan) had never removed its capital when it changed its state name doubt this record.^[8] It has also been suggested that "the state of Loulan" in the text is redundant due to miscopying. Furthermore it has been stated that the so-called "state of Loulan" and the town of Loulan were not at one and the same place: the former may have been situated west of Jingjue, according to the order of the states listed in the text, and was possibly "Helaoluojia" 曷勞落迦(Rauraka) as seen in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, ch. 12.^[9] In the same chapter it is recorded:

Skirting west along the Middle Route one can reach the state of Weili 尉犁, the state of Weixu 危須, and the Shan 山 Kingdom. These states are all subject to Yanqi...

Skirting west along the New Northern Route one can reach the state of Eastern Jumi 且彌, the state of Western Jumi, the state of Danhuan 單桓, the state of Bilu 畢陸, the state of Pulu 蒲陸, and the state of Wutan 烏貪. These states are all subject to the king of the Further tribe of Jushi 車師.

Various states on the routes listed are not arranged in an order from east to west.

Moreover, since "Loulan" had already been used to indicate the town of Loulan northwest of Lob Nor, it could not be used for Helaoluojia west of Jingjue again in the same chapter. Accordingly, "the state of Loulan" on the Southern Route is not referring to Rauraka.

In the same chapter it is also recorded: "The state of Jibin 屬賓, the state of Daxia 大夏, the state of Gaofu 高附 and the state of Tianzhu 天竺 are all subject to the Da Yuezhi 大月氏." "The state of Daxia" was originally founded by the Tochari and had already been destroyed by the Da Yueshi who came from the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu as early as 130 B.C. The so-called "Da Yuezhi" in the *Weilue* do not refer to the Da Yueshi who destroyed Daxia but to the state of Guishuang 貴霜 which had already replaced the Da Yuezhi. The latter was called "the Da Yueshi" only by the Han people. Because it refers to the territory and the seat of the royal government of the original Daxia, "the state of Daxia... are subject to the Da Yuezhi" only signifies the state of Guishuang possessed at that time the territory of the original state of the Da Yueshi. The reason why the term "the state of Daxia" had been adopted is that the term "the Da Yuezhi" had already been used to identify the state of Guishuang.^[10]

For the same reason, "the state of Loulan" indeed referred to the state of Shanshan in Han times. The only difference is the names between the former and the latter. Their territories and the seats of the royal government were alike. "The state of Loulan... are subject to Shanshan" only signifies that the state of Shanshan at that time had possessed the territory of the state of Shanshan in Han times. The reason why the old term "Loulan" had been adopted was because the state of Shanshan in Han times was not the same as the state of Shanshan described by the *Weilue*. If both were called "the state of Shanshan", confusion would be unavoidable. The former old term was consequently borrowed for use. Thus it can be seen that "the state of Loulan" in the text was not necessarily a redundancy.

If we believe that the territory of the state of Shanshan in Han times and of the state of Shanshan as described by the *Weilue* were different, and that the royal systems, as shown by the Kharoṣṭhī documents, were also different, but the seat of the royal government had not been moved, it would be not difficult to understand the reason why the editor of the *Weilue* placed "the state of Loulan" after "the state of Jingjue" and not according to the order from east to west. In other words, there is no confusion caused by the editor's carelessness or by his being unfamiliar with the situation in the Western Regions.

(B)

The town of Wuni was not situated northwest of Lob Nor, but was situated in the present Ruoqiang county (Qarkilik), on the south bank of the Charchen River, by the northern foothills of the Altyn Tagh, southwest of Lob Nor.^[11]

1. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded:

Starting from the Yumen and the Yang barriers there are two routes which lead into the Western Regions. The one which goes by way of Shanshan, skirting the northern edge of the Southern Mountains and proceeding along the course of the river west of Suoju 莎車 is the Southern Route.

Here "Shanshan" refers to the town of Wuni, the seat of the royal government of the state of Shanshan. The statement "...goes by way of Shanshan..." signifies skirting west from the town of Wuni along the northern edge of the Southern Mountains (the Altyn Tagh) and the Charchen River. The town of Wuni lay at the eastern end of the Southern Route. In the above-cited text it is recorded that "Shanshan is situated on the Han communication route", which amounts to saying that the Southern Route started in the town of Wuni, the seat of the royal government of Shanshan. It is clear that the town lay south of Lob Nor, north of the Altyn Tagh. The distances, 6,100 *li* (from Wuni to Chang'an), 720 *li* (from Wuni to Jumo) and 6,820 *li* (from Jumo to Chang'an) must have been arrived at by calculating the journey starting from Chang'an, leaving the Yang pass, skirting along the northern edge of the Altyn Tagh, then on to the town of Wuni and the town of Jumo:

$$6,100 + 720 = 6,820 \text{ li}^{[12]}$$

2. According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, the town of Wuni was 1,600 *li* from the Yang barrier and 1,785 *li* from Wuni. In the same chapter it is also recorded that Wuni was at a distance of 2,378 *li* from the Yang barrier. The latter must have been the shortest distance from Wuni to the Yang barrier. If the town of Wuni lay northwest of Lob Nor and its location was identical with that of Loulan, the sum of the first two distances should be close to the third one. In fact, the former amounts to 647 *li* more than the latter. It shows that the town of Wuni could not have been situated northwest of Lob Nor.^[13]

3. According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, the town of Wuni was 1,365 *li* distant from the state of [Mo]shan and 1,890 *li* from the state of Jushi (the town of Jiaohe 交河). The fact that the two distances are recorded shows that starting from the town of

Wuni one went to Jushi via the state of Moshan. And, according to the *Yuanhe Junxianzhi* 元和郡縣志, vol.40, the Xi prefecture 西州 (i.e. Gaochang 高昌) "lay 1,200 *li* north of the state of Loulan". The distance may be taken as the distance from Gaochang to the town of Loulan, but was 690 *li* less than the distance between the town of Wuni and the town of Jiaohe recorded by the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A (ca. 60 *li* was the distance between Jiaohe and Gaochang). This also may be taken as evidence to prove that the town of Wuni did not lie northwest of Lob Nor.^[14]

4. In the *Shuijingzhu*, ch. 2, it is recorded:

The River Zhubin 注賓 further flows east and passes through the north of the state of Shanshan, whose seat of royal government is at the town of Wuni. It is popularly called "Eastern Former Town", which is 1,600 *li* distant from the Yang pass, and is separated by 1,785 *li* from the state of Wulei 烏壘 to the northwest, by 1,365 *li* from the state of Moshan, by 1,890 *li* from the state of Jushi to the northwest.

"The state of Moshan" refers to "the state of Shan" of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A. The locations of the town of Wuni as described by both books are completely alike, which indicates that the former was based on the latter. Since *li* Daoyuan 酈道元, the editor of the *Shuijingzhu*, clearly states that the River Zhubin flowed to the north of the town of Wuni, the town of Wuni was undoubtedly situated on the southern banks of the River Charchen (i.e. the River Zhubin).

In the same chapter it is also recorded:

The river (the Zhubin River) empties eastwards into the marsh, which is situated north of the state of Loulan, therefore the Marsh is popularly called the Laolan 牢蘭 Sea.

"The state of Loulan" here refers to the state of Shanshan. The old term was used to explain how "the Laolan Sea" was named; "Loulan" and "Laolan" were different transcriptions of one and the same name. Since the marsh lay north of the state, the town of Wuni was undoubtedly situated south of the marsh.

In the same chapter it is also recorded:

[The You Marsh] is exactly the so-called Puchang 蒲昌 Sea, whose water stores up north-east of Shanshan, southwest of the town of Dragon.

This shows further that the town of Wuni was situated southwest of Lob Nor.

5. In the *Tang Guangqi Yuannian Shazhou Yizhou Dizhi Canjuan* 唐光啓元年沙州伊州地志殘卷 (A Fragment of Geography on Prefectures Sha and Yi in the First Year of the Reign Period Guangqi in the Tang Times) it is recorded:

The town of the Stone Wall, which is 1,580 *li* distant to the east of the Sha prefecture, and 6,100 *li* from the Emperor's capital (Changan), was originally the state of Loulan in the Han Times, ... but later was renamed the state of Shanshan. Shi 隋 had established the town of Shanshan there. The town was abandoned when Sui fell into disorder. During the reign period Zhenguan 貞觀, the great chief of the state of Kang 康, Kang Yandian 康艷典, came east and lived in the

town, the barbarians followed him and thereupon formed a settlement, which is also called the town of Dianhe 典合; there are sands on all sides of the town. In the 2nd year of the reign period Shangyuan 上元, it was reestablished as the town of the Stone Wall, which is subordinate to the Sha prefecture. The town of Tun 屯城 (the town stationed by soldiers who opened up wasteland) is 180 *li* west of the town of Stone Wall 石城鎮. The hostage of Shanshan, Weituqi, returned home deserted and weak, and made a request to the Son of Heaven. There was a town called Yixun in the state, whose land was fertile. He would be grateful if Han could send one general to be stationed and open up wasteland there and to accumulate a store of field-crops, so that he would be able to rely on the support of Han prestige. Thereupon Han sent a major and officers and others to be stationed at Yixun, in order to maintain a peaceful situation. The town of Yixun is exactly this one, which is called "Little Shanshan" by the barbarians because there is the great town of Shanshan west of it; Little Shanshan is precisely the present town of Tun. ...The town of Shanshan is 1,640 paces in circumference, and to west it is a distance of 20 paces to the town of the Stone Wall. It was the town of Shanshan in the Han times, which has been damaged.^[15]

Thus it can be seen that the town of Shanshan in Han times (i.e. the town of Wuni) was twenty paces east of the town of the Stone Wall, and the latter was 180 *li* to the west of the town of Tun. Since the *Shuijingzhu* called Shanshan "Eastern Former Town", the town of the Stone Wall may be called "Western New Town". Moreover, the town of the Stone Wall (or both, the town of the Stone Wall and the town of Shanshan) was called "the great town of Shanshan" and therefore the town of Tun was called "Little Shanshan".^[16]

In the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, ch. 43, it is recorded:

...Another route goes by way of Shouchang 壽昌 county in Sha prefecture; to the west there is the former town wall of the Yang pass at a distance of 10 *li* and farther to the west there is the south bank of the Puchang Sea at a distance of 1,000 *li*. Starting from the south bank of the Puchang Sea, passing by the town of Qitun 七屯, which was the town of Yixun in Han times, at a distance of 80 *li* to the west it leads to the town of the Stone Wall, which was the state of Loulan in Han times, and was also called Shanshan. The town is situated at a distance of 300 *li* to the south of the Puchang Sea, which has been established by Kang Yandian to open communications with the Western Regions.

"The Puchang Sea", we may assume, is none other than Lob Nor, and "the town of Qitun", the town of Tun of the *Dizhi Canjuan*. In the latter it is also recorded that "the ancient town of Tun is situated northwest of the town of Tun". Therefore, the town of Yixun in the Han times must have been the ancient town of Tun. The "80 *li*", the distance from the town of Yixun to the town of Stone Wall, in the light of *Dizhi Canjuan*, should be corrected to "180 *li*". The "Shanshan" in the statement "...also was called Shanshan" refers to "the great town of Wuni". All this can be taken as evidence to prove that the town of Wuni was situated south of Lob Nor. Since the town of Yixun was situated 180 *li* to the east of the town of Wuni, Weituqi requested Han to send officers to be stationed there for emergency needs.

6. In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded:

Loulan was the farthest east [of the states of the Western Regions]. It lay close to Han and confronted the White Dragon Mounds. The locality was short of water and pasture, and was regularly responsible for sending out guides, conveying water, bearing provisions and escorting or meeting Han envoys.

This was the situation before the 4th year of the Yuanfeng reign period of Emperor Zhao, when the state of Loulan was not renamed "Shanshan". "The White Dragon Mounds" refers to "the Dragon Mounds" of the *Weilue*. This seems to show that the seat of the royal government of Loulan lay at the present Loulan ruins, northwest of Lob Nor.

In my opinion, at the time described by the *Hanshu*, the area around the present Loulan ruins was also controlled by the state of Loulan. It provided not only access to the oases of the Southern Route, but also to the states on the northern Route. Its position was more important for contacts with the Western Regions than that of the town of Wuni south of Lob Nor. The statement that "Loulan was the farthest east [of the states of the Western Regions]" only stressed this point, but does not show that the capital of Loulan lay northwest of Lob Nor. Also, there is no evidence to prove that the ruins had already been called "Loulan" at that time. Loulan submitted to Han after it had been renamed "Shanshan". The area around the present ruins of Loulan, of course, was controlled by Han. Because of this, the statement that "Shanshan is situated on the Han communication routes" must refer to the Southern Route.^[17]

7. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, it is recorded:

The state of Shanshan, whose capital was the town of Wuni, was the ancient state of Loulan. It is 7,600 *li* distant from Dai 代. The town where it established its capital is 1 *li* square and the locality is abundant in sand and salt, and short of water and pasture, and confronts the way to the White Dragon Mounds in the north.

Based on this, the town where the state of Shanshan established its capital (that is, according to the text, the town of Wuni) seemed to be situated northwest of Lob Nor: The text states that the town was 7,600 *li* distant from Dai, the distance is only 1,500 *li* farther than 6,100 *li*, the distance between the town of Wuni and Chang'an as recorded in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A. Dai, (i.e., the town of Ping 平), according to the *Yuanhe Junxianzhi*, Vol.14, "is 1,960 *li* distant to the southwest to the Emperor's capital (Chang'an)." Therefore, the distances from Dai to states of the Western Regions as recorded by the *Weishu*, ch. 102, are mostly based on the distances to Changan as recorded by the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, with the addition of 1,900 *li*. Ordinarily, the distance from Shanshan to Dai should be 8,000 *li* (6,100 *li* + 1,900 *li*), but the distance stated was 7,600 *li*. Combined with the statement that "...confronts the way of the White Dragon Mounds in the north", one could assume that the seat of the royal government of Shanshan was northwest of Lob Nor, and not south.

In my opinion, however, this conclusion can be challenged. In the *Weishu*, ch. 102, it continues:

At the time when Emperor Taiwu 魏太武帝 had put down Liang 涼 prefecture, Wuhui 無諱, the younger brother of Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍, fled to

guard Dunhuang 敦煌. Later Wuhui plotted to cross the Flowing Sand and sent Anzhou 安周, his younger brother, to attack Shanshan. The king of Shanshan, Bilong 比龍, was frightened and intended to surrender to him. At the right moment, the Wei envoys who had returned from Tianzhu and Jibin and assembled at Shanshan, advised Bilong to resist him continuously. Anzhou could not overcome him and moved back to guard the Eastern Town. Later Bilong was frightened and led his people to flee west to Jumo, and his prince then accepted Anzhou.

"The Eastern Town", which must have been "the Eastern Former Town" of the *Shuijingzhu*, also refers to the town of Wuni in Han times, Bilong must have lived in "the Western New Town" at that time, which was the town of the Stone Wall in the Tang times. This is supported by the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 98, which states:

In the 11th month [of the 18th year of the Yuanjia 元嘉 reign period], Wuhui sent his younger brother, Anzhou, to attack Shanshan leading 5,000 men. Shanshan stood fast and was not overcome. In the 9th month of the 19th year, Wuhui gave up Dunhuang and personally led over 10,000 households to move towards Anzhou. Bilong, the king of Shanshan, led over 4,000 households and ran away before he arrived there. Therefore Wuhui took possession of Shanshan.

It seems that Anzhou first attacked Bilong at the new town of Wuni, and then moved back to guard the former town of Wuni because he was not able to overcome the former. Later, Wuhui and Anzhou took possession of the new town of Wuni, because Bilong gave it up and fled west to Jumo. The new town was not far from the former one; according to *Dizhi Canjuan*, the distance was only 20 paces. In the time of Bilong, the new town of Wuni, which had not necessarily been damaged, possibly formed a part of the town of Wuni. In other words, the seat of the royal government of Shanshan was still situated southwest of Lob Nor in the northern Wei Times. We may infer that the town which was 1 *li* square and was situated south of the White Gragon Mounds. As described by the *Weishu*, ch. 102, it was in fact the town of Loulan, and "7,600 *li*" was the distance from Dai to the town of Loulan. The reason why the town was called "Wuni" is the fact that the town had already been named "Loulan" long ago, and that the state of Shanshan, whose capital was this Wuni, originally had been called "Loulan". In addition, it seems that the editor of the *Weishu*, ch. 102, misunderstood the statement that "Loulan was the farthest east [of the states of the Western Regions]".

As for the "8,320 *li*", the distance from Dai to Jumo recorded by the *Weishu*, ch. 102, it cannot be taken as evidence, for this distance was only the sum of 7,600 *li* (the mistaken distance from Dai to the town of Wuni) and 720 *li* (the distance from Jumo to the town of Wuni) as described by the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A.

Furthermore, in the preface of the *Weishu*, ch. 102, it is recorded: "[Starting at Yumen], travelling west and after a journey of 2,000 *li*, one reaches Shanshan." This also seems to show that the seat of the royal government of Shanshan was situated at the town of Wuni. The *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, records that the town of Wuni was 1,600 *li* distant from the Yang pass: If the royal government was situated at the town of Loulan northwest of Lob Nor, the former distance would have been shorter than the latter one.

Even if the town of Wuni was precisely the town of Loulan, there should hardly be any difference between them. However, the former was actually 400 *li* more than the latter. We have to consider that the seat of the royal government of Shanshan was still situated southwest of Lob Nor. To reach it from Yumen one had to pass by the town of Loulan, rather than skirting the northern edge of the Altyn Tagh.

(C)

Finally, we will discuss various theories claiming that the town of Wuni was situated at the present Loulan ruins, northwest of Lob Nor.

1. It has been suggested that the record concerning Weituqi requesting the Han soldiers to be stationed at Yixun in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, cannot be taken as evidence to prove the town of Wuni lay northwest of Lob Nor at the time. The Han soldiers numbered only over 40 men, who, in an emergency, would be of no avail.

According to the same chapter, Han had built a line of government posts and defences stretching as far as the Yumen pass at that time. If distance made no difference, there would be no need to request the Han soldiers to be stationed at Yixun; why did they take the trouble to do so? In addition, at a later time the office of commandant was established, whose locality was close to the seat of the royal government; the deterrent force should therefore not be underestimated.

2. It has been suggested that Ban Yong's proposal in the *Houhanshu* ch. 47, refers to "heightening the confidence of Shanshan and Yutian in the south". This, however, only indicates that if the Han soldiers were stationed at Loulan, to the south, Han could control the whole territory of Shanshan. In other words, it should not follow that the seat of the royal government of Shanshan was situated south of Loulan. In the *Houhanshu*, ch. 47, it is also recorded that "...Ban Yong arrived at Loulan and granted the king a royal ribbon because of his submitting [to Han]." This further shows that the king of Shanshan lived at Loulan, which was indeed the seat of the royal government, the town of Wuni.

In my opinion, combined with statements such as "getting in the way of Yanqi and Qiuci" and "resisting the Xiongnu", the reference to "heightening the confidence of Shanshan and Yutian in the south" may be considered as referring to strengthening the defence forces of Shanshan and Yutian, which were situated south of Loulan. Ban Yong then also says:

Currently, Youhai 尤還, the king of Shanshan, is a grandson of the Han people; if the Xiongnu achieve their ambition, Youhai will surely be killed. Such people are just like birds and beasts, but also know to avoid evils. If Han dispatches troops to be stationed at Loulan, it would be enough to summon his heart to submit. I think this would be suitable.

If Youhai had established his capital at Loulan, the term "to summon his heart to submit" would not have been used.

As for the fact that Ban Yong granted the king of Shanshan a royal ribbon, it shows at most that the king of Shanshan himself stayed at Loulan at certain times, but not that the seat of the royal government was there. Moreover, it would be possible that Ban Yong called in the king of Shanshan at Loulan after he had arrived. In the same chapter it is also recorded:

However, Baiying 白英, the king of Qiuci, himself hesitated and did not yield. [Ban] Yong showed him favor and trust. Baiying thereupon led the kings of Gumo 姑墨 and Wensu 溫宿 to call upon [Ban] Yong to surrender.

The locality which Ban Yong accepted to surrender must have been Loulan. In addition, in the same chapter it is recorded:

[Ban Chao 班超] arrived at Yanqi, encamped in a large marsh, which is 20 *li* from the town. ...Thereupon [he] set a date to assemble various kings on a large scale and openly talked about granting handsome rewards. So Guang 廣, the king of Yanqi, Fan 汎, the king of Weili 尉犁 as well as Beijianzhi 北鞬支 and the others, numbering more than 30 persons, called on [Ban] Chao.

This is another example that the kings of various states in the Western Regions were called in.

3. It has been suggested that the capital of Shanshan which Faxian 法顯 had passed in A.D. 400 must have been at the town of Loulan. The reason given is the *Faxianzhuàn* 法顯傳, in which it is recorded:

After travelling for seventeen days and covering about 1,500 *li*, they reached the state of Shanshan. This land is rugged and barren, and its inhabitants dress much the same as in China, except that their clothes are made of felt. The king embraced the Buddhist faith and this state has some 4,000 monks of the Hinayana School. ...They travelled on northwest for fifteen days till they came to the state of Yanqi.^[18]

Thus it can be seen that Faxian's journey took him west from Dunhuang to the town of Loulan, and then proceeded west to Yanqi. In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing.

First, it is very likely that Faxian travelled from Dunhuang to Yanqi via Shanshan: starting from the Yang pass, skirting the northern edge of the Altyn Tagh, he reached the town of Wuni, south of Lob Nor. From here he proceeded north to Yanqi by way of the town of Loulan. This Southern Route of the Western Regions, which went by way of Shanshan from the Yang pass, skirting the northern edge of the Southern Mountains, and proceeding along the course of the river west of Suoju 莎車, is clearly recorded in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A. Chapter 79 of the same book also recorded that Feng Fengshi 馮奉世 "was sent to see visitors from Dayuan and other states and arrived at the town of Yixun", which shows that this route had, opened up as early as Western Han times.^[19]

Second, according to the *Faxianzhuàn*, the distance from Dunhuang to Shanshan was "some 1,500 *li*". However, according to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, the distance from the Yang pass to the town of Wuni was 1,600 *li*. Since the two documents date several hundred years apart from Han and Jin, and the distance recorded by Faxian was only a rough estimate, it is comprehensible that there may be an error of some 100 *li* between them.

Since the "1,600 *li*" of the *Hanshu* was the distance of the journey which started from the Yang pass, skirted the northern edge of the Altyn Tagh and proceeded to the

town of Wuni, Faxian on his way to the town of Wuni certainly did not reach Loulan first and then go south from there.^[20]

It has been suggested that if we converted the distance from Shanshan to Dunhuang (from the *Faxianzhuàn* and other sources in the Han and Tang times) into kilometres and compared them with the distance (km) from Qarkilik to Dunhuang furnished by Aurel Stein,^[21] the conclusion drawn would be that it is difficult to decide which location seems accurate, the town of Loulan or Qarkilik.

However, according to this calculation, the distance from Dunhuang to the town of Loulan is 100 kilometers more than the distance from Dunhuang to Qarkilik. In fact, the former must be shorter than the latter. Thus it can be seen that such results of calculation may not be taken as evidence.

Third, it has been suggested that the distance covered by Faxian from Shanshan to Yanqi during 15 days can be calculated based on the "1,500 *li*", which is the distance as travelled from Dunhuang to Shanshan during 17 days; and the distance from Shanshan to Yanqi can be obtained by subtracting the distance between Yanqi and Chang'an (or Wulei) from the distance between Shanshan and Chang'an (or Wulei) recorded by the *Hanshu*, ch. 96; and that as long as we compare these two distances with the distance from Qarkilik to Yanqi, given by Stein,^[22] it can be seen that Faxian must have gone to Yanqi from Dunhuang by way of the town of Loulan.

In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. Since it is unable to prove that the town of Wuni was indeed the town of Loulan, how can the distance from Shanshan to Yanqi based on the record of the *Hanshu* be taken as that between Yanqi and the town of Loulan?

Fourth, in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded that in the state of Shanshan "the land is sandy and salty, and there are few cultivated fields. The state hopes to obtain [the produce of] cultivated fields and looks to neighboring states for field-crops"; and that "in company with their flocks and herds the inhabitants go in search of water and pasture, and there are asses, horses, and a large number of camels". This tallies with the description of Faxian, which also shows that the town he arrived at was the town of Wuni. As has been proven, the town of Wuni was situated southwest of Lob Nor. In other words, these records of the *Hanshu* cannot be taken as evidence to prove that the capital of Shanshan which Faxian passed was situated at the town of Loulan.

Fifth, it has been believed that the "some 4,000 [monks]," which is the number given by Faxian, must refer to the number of monks in the whole state of Shanshan including Loulan and Niya. Obviously, this takes into consideration that there would not have been so many monks at that time in the town of Loulan. However, Faxian had never gone to Niya and he actually was also unable to count the number of the monks in the whole of Shanshan. The statement "the king embraced Buddhism and this country has some 4,000 monks of the Hinayana School" undoubtedly refers to the situation in the capital of Shanshan.

4. It has been suggested that the record of the *Shishi Xiyuji* 釋氏西域記 as cited by the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, ch. 2, shows that the capital of Shanshan was situated at the town of Loulan, northwest of Lob Nor.

(1) According to the *Shishi Xiyuji*, "The river (the River Zhubin) empties eastwards into the marsh, which is situated to the north of the state of Loulan." "The state of Loulan", in the original text of the *Shishi Xiyuji*, must have been noted as "the town of Laolan", which has been changed to "the state of Loulan" by *li* Daoyuan based on the record of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96. Since the *Shishi Xiyuji* calls Lob Nor "the

Laolan Sea", and Laolan was situated within the territory of Shanshan, it should not be called "the state of the Loulan" but "the town of Laolan".

If this is correct, the above cited fragment shows at most that there was a town named "Loulan" northwest of Lob Nor, but not that the seat of the royal government of Shanshan was situated at the town of Loulan. Additionally, there is a textual error in the relevant records of the *Shuijingzhu*. The statement "to the north of the state of Loulan", in fact, is followed by the statement "the marsh is popularly called the Laolan Sea". I believe that the statement, as well as the above cited passage, is not the original text of the *Shishi Xiyuji*, but *li Daoyuan's* explanation for the *Shishi Xiyuji*, because closely following this passage *li Daoyuan* has cited the record of the *Shishi Xiyuji* again. The reason why the old term "Loulan" was used is to explain the origin of the name of "the Laolan Sea". Therefore, the statement "the marsh is situated to the north of the state of Loulan" must indicate that Lob Nor lay north of the capital of the state of Shanshan.

(2) In the *Shishi Xiyuji*, it is recorded that "the River Zhubin further flows east and passes north of the state of Shanshan". This seems to show that the capital of Shanshan was situated south of Lob Nor in the period described by the *Shishi Xiyuji*. However, in the *Shishi Xiyuji*, it is also recorded: "[The Southern River] is the one which flows to Shanshan and then empties into the Laolan Sea..." The Northern River] is the one which passes by Quci 屈茨 (i.e. Qiuci), Wuyi 烏夷 (i.e., Yanqi) and Shanshan 禪善 (i.e. Shanshan), and then empties into the Laolan Sea." This shows that the statement, "the River Zhubin passes north of the state of Shanshan," refers to the fact that the river passed through the north of the territory of Shanshan.

In my opinion, the "Shanshan" in these two statements which refer to the Southern and Northern Rivers is not noted as "the state of Shanshan", and therefore must be taken as "the territory of Shanshan". However, "the state of Shanshan" in the first statement may be regarded as "the capital of Shanshan". Additionally, according to the proofread and corrected text of *Shuijing Zhu*, the statement "...north of the state of Shanshan" is followed by "the seat of the royal government is situated at the town of Wuni, which is popularly called the the Eastern Former Town". This shows further that the statement "...passes north of the state of Shanshan" has to be regarded as passing north of the town of Wuni, the capital of Shanshan. Even if the statement "the River Zhubin further flows east and passes north of the state of Shanshan" is the original text of the *Shishi Xiyuji*, we have to comprehend these fragments on basis of *li Daoyuan's* commentaries, because the whole picture of the *Shishi Xiyuji* has long been unknown. Those explanations which conflict with *Li's* commentaries are inappropriate.

5. All the Kharoṣṭhī documents excavated from the ruins of Loulan belong to the kingdom of Shanshan, and the relevant records of the documents show that at that time the seat of the royal government of Shanshan was situated at Kroraimna, i.e., the town of Loulan. To be more exact, during the reigns of five kings belonging to five generations, the locations of the seat of the royal government of the first and second generations are unknown, while it is reasonable to assume that during the reign period of the third, fourth, and fifth, the capital of the kingdom was situated at the town of Loulan (Kroraimna).

(1) In document No.706, which belongs to Amgoka, the third king, we find mentioned "...by me the Great King in Kroraimna" which shows that his capital was Kroraimna.

(2) In document No.370, excavated from the ruins of Niya, which is considered to belong to Mahiri, the fourth king, "some men of Kroramna" are mentioned. This shows that there was really the town of Loulan at that time. And in document No. 383, which came from the same ruins and is dated to the later period of Mahiri or the earlier period of Vaşmana, the fifth king, we find mentioned "witnesses of Kroramna" who were on the scene, when the royal camels were examined. This also shows that the seat of the royal government of the kingdom was situated at Kroramna at that time.

(3) In Niya document No.530, which is considered to belong to Mahiri, it is recorded that the king issued his instruction at "Khuhani". "Khuani" may be identified with "Wuni" (扞泥 is possibly a textual error for 杆泥). Since the capital of Mahiri was situated at Kroramna, the town of Loulan was exactly the town of Wuni (or Ganni). "Khuani", i.e., "Wuni (Ganni)" meant "capital".

In my opinion, the fact that the king stayed at Kroramna does not necessarily show that the seat of the royal government was situated at Kroramna. It certainly is possible that the king had temporarily stayed at the town. The fact that the witnesses of Kroramna "were on the scene" when the royal camels were examined does not necessarily show that the seat of the royal government was situated at Kroramna, but at most that a group of the royal camels was herded at Loulan.

"Wuni [*a-hyai*]" also is noted as "Ganni [*kan-hyai*]" or "Huanni 驩泥 [*xuan-hyai*]". All of these names may be taken as different transcriptions of "khuhani". However, if "Wuni" was a transcription of "khuhani", it would only show that Mahiri issued his instruction at the town of Wuni, but not that the town of Wuni was the town of Loulan. If "khuhani" was a common noun, meaning "capital", even if the Shanshan people had already spoken the Ghandara language in the Western Han times and Kroramna was indeed "khuhani (capital)", this fact at most shows that Kroramna was the capital of Shanshan in the period described by the Kharoṣṭhī documents, but not that the town of Wuni was precisely the town of Loulan.

Additionally, not only is there little evidence to prove that Kroramna was the *khuani* (capital), but also the above study based on the Chinese sources shows that the seat of the royal government of Loulan or Shanshan had always been established at the town of Wuni, which lay southwest of Lob Nor, during the period from the end of the 2nd century B.C. to the 4-5th centuries A.D. The Chinese documents from the ruins of Loulan furthermore show that the town of Loulan (Kroraimna) had always been the seat of the Senior Administrator in the Western Regions during the period from the Cao Wei 曹魏 to the Former Liang 前凉 times, which roughly corresponds to the period reflected by the Kharoṣṭhī documents belonging to the state of Shanshan.^[23]

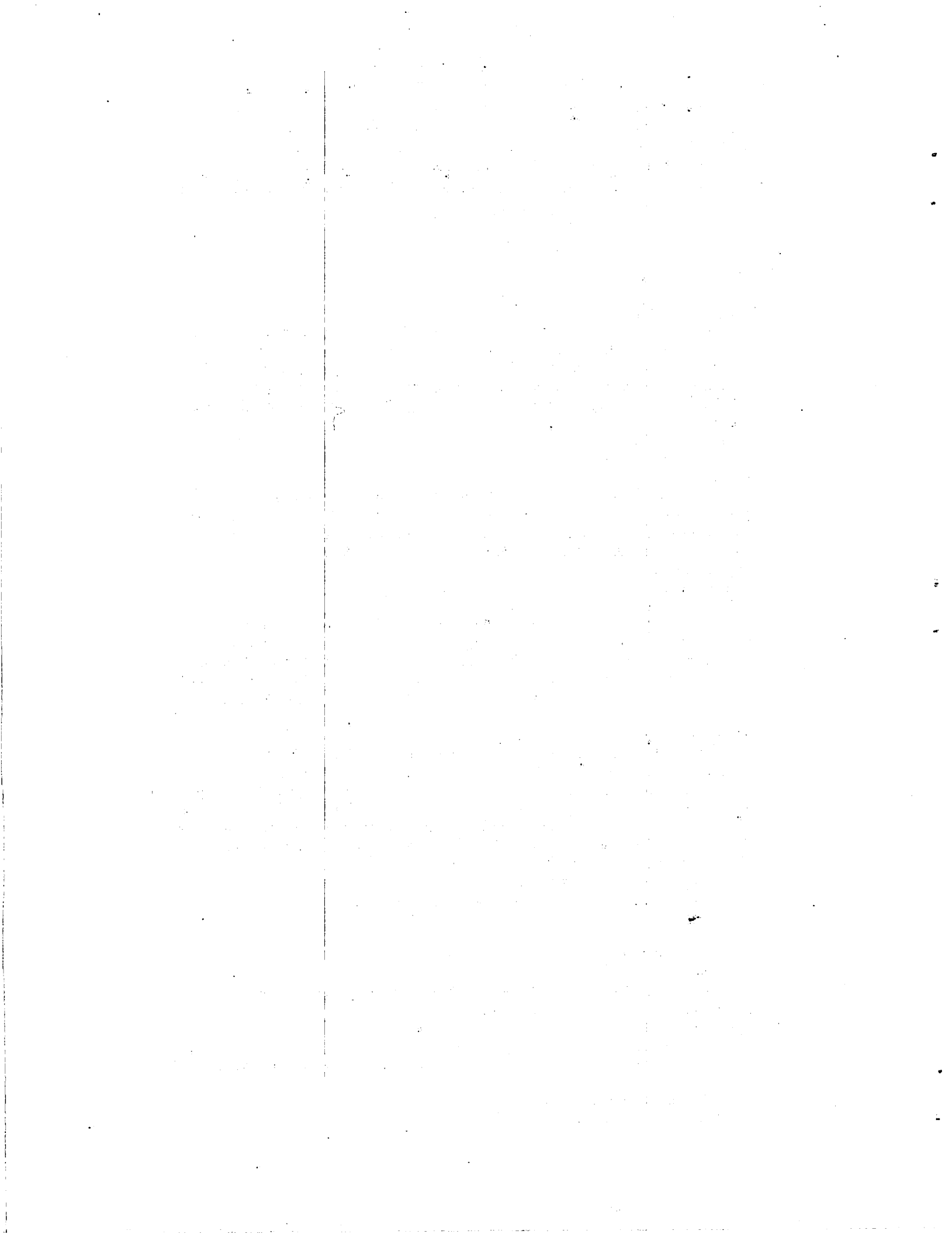
(4) It has been suggested that Loulan document No. 678, also shows that at that time the seat of the royal government of Shanshan was situated at the town of Loulan.^[24] In my opinion, this theory also is unconvincing.

According to this document, Camaka, a man who came from Kroramna, had sold land to another man called Yapgu, which was situated "on the south side of the great city in Kroramna" (Kroraimnammi mahamta nagarasa daçh'ina šitiyaṃmi.) The "Kroraimna" in this document is in the singular ablative, meaning "in Kroramna". And Kroramna, the same as Caç'ota and Calmadana, etc., was a raya (the term of administrative divisions in the Shanshan kingdom) at that time. The highest administrative official of a raya was called "cojhbo". Therefore, "mahamta nagarasa" in this document must refer to the capital of the Kroramna raya, but not the royal

government of the state of Shanshan. At that time the seat of the royal government of the state of Shanshan must have been situated at the town of Wuni, which might be "Khuvani" as seen in the document. If this is correct, the fact that "Khuvani cojhbo" is mentioned in document No.571 would show that the town of Wuni was both the seat of the royal government and a capital of a raya.^[25]

Notes:

1. Feng (1976-1); Zhang, X. (1990).
2. Enoki (1966, 1967). All theories which are discussed in the third section of this paper, apart from those that are specially given sources, come from these two papers by Enoki.
3. Stein, pp. 318-415; Chavannes (1905); Otani; Matsuda (1963), pp. 92-98 and 204-229, also hold that the state of Shanshan had removed its capital. Also, Cf. Huang (1981); Han, R. (1982); Cen (1981), pp. 7-28; Ma, Y. (1979, 1986). These scholars also hold the same theory.
4. Zhang, X. (1990).
5. See Stein, pp. 318-415.
6. Zhang, X. (1990); Ma, Y. (1979, 1986).
7. In my opinion, the area northwest of Lob Nor had been subject to the Gushi. In the third year of the Yuanfeng reign period of Emperor Wu, Han attacked and defeated the Gushi, capturing their king. The remainder of the Gushi migrated north to the Bogdo Ola Region. After that the area was subject to the state of Loulan. Cf. Appendix 2.
8. Feng (1976-1).
9. Enoki (1961).
10. Cf. chapter 2, 3.
11. All scholars who hold that the town of Wuni was situated south of Lob Nor have offered their own theories about the location of the town. Their theories are mainly based on the relevant records in the *Shuijingzhu*, in which there is a serious textual error. Considering that this error has already been exposed by Zhang, X. (1990) and all misunderstanding should have been swept away, I do not point out the mistakes based on the the *Shuijingzhu* here one by one.
12. Otani; Matsuda (1963), pp. 92-98 and 204-229.
13. Cf. Matsuda (1963), pp. 92-98 and 204-229. Also, Han, R. (1982), suggests that, going to the town of Wuni from the Yang pass, one must pass by the town of Loulan. Based on this, he has calculated the distances from the town of Loulan to the town of Wuni, the Yang pass, and Wulei. In my opinion, his theory is unconvincing. Going to the town of Wuni from the Yang pass one could pass by the town of Loulan, but the main route was going west skirting the northern edge of the Altyn Tagh. The distance of 1,600 *li*, as recorded in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, must refer to that of the latter journey.
14. Cf. Matsuda (1963), pp. 92-98 and 204-229.
15. The record of the Dizhi cited here is based on Haneda (1957-2).
16. Cf. Otani.
17. Cf. Otani.
18. Zhang, X. (1985), pp.7-8. English Translation by Li, Y..
19. Cf. Otani.
20. He, p.38, suggests that Faxian went south to the town of Wuni by way of the town of Loulan. In my opinion, his theory is also inadequate.
21. Stein, pp. 318-415.
22. Stein, pp. 318-415.
23. On the date of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from the ruins of Loulan and Niya, see Ma, Y. (1979, 1986).
24. Cf. Stein, pp. 318-415; Enoki (1965).
25. Ma, Y. (1979, 1986); and Lin.



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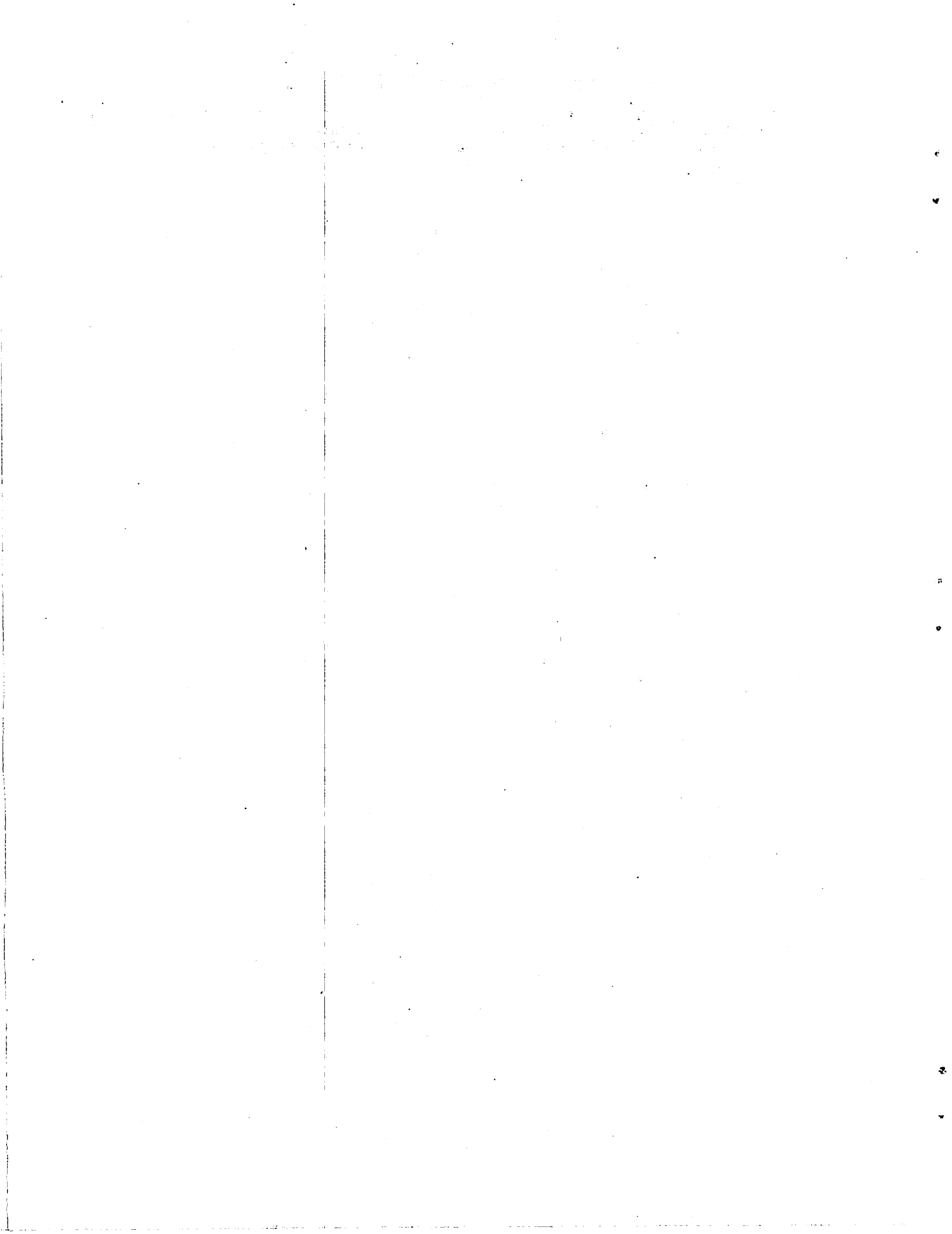
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