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## A Hypothesis about the Source of the Sai Tribes

by  
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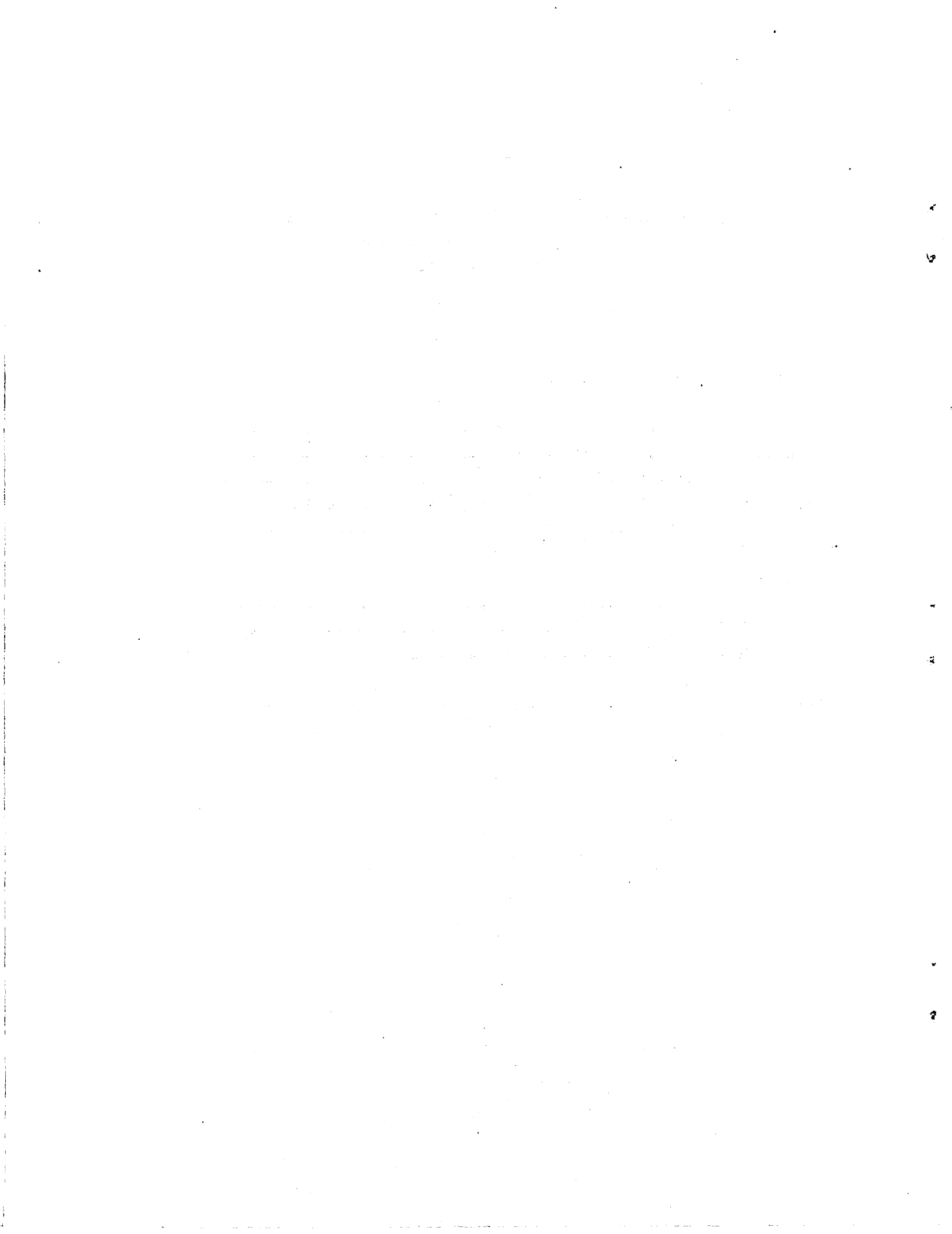
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## INTRODUCTION

The aim of this book is to trace the evolution and migrations of the Shaohao 少昊, Taotang 陶唐 and the Youyu 有虞 to construct a hypothesis about the sources of the Sai 塞 tribes.

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

By the end of the seventh century B.C. the Asii and other tribes had already appeared in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers. As late as the twenties of the sixth century B.C. the Asii and the other tribes extended westwards as far as the northern bank of the Syr Darya. After that they were called "Sakā" by the Persians.

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

In around 140 B.C., the Sai 塞 tribes crossed the Syr Darya and moved south. A group of them entered Ferghāna and another group, Bactria. The states they founded were respectively noted as Dayuan 大宛 and Daxia 大夏 in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123. At about the same time, another group of the Sai 塞 tribes migrated to the littoral of the Aral Sea and the Caspian Sea going downstream along the Sry Darya. These Sai 塞 people were noted as Yancai 奄蔡, but those who remained on the northern bank of the Syr Darya were known as Kangju 康居 in the *Shiji* 史記, ch.123.

In 130 B.C., with the support of the Xiongnu 匈奴, the Wusun 烏孫 made an expedition against the Da Yuezhi 大月氏; they defeated the latter and occupied the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers. The Da Yuezhi 大月氏 once more migrated west and reached the valleys of the Amu Darya, defeating Daxia 大夏 and occupying its territory. Thereupon, the states of Wusun 烏孫 and Da Yuezhi 大月氏, as described in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, were established.

The Sai 塞 tribes, which appeared in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers by the end of the seventh century B.C. had possibly come from the east. The precursors of the Asii, the Tochari, the Gasiani and the Sacarauli seem to have been the Rong of the surname Yun 允姓之戎, the Daxia, the Yuzhi 禺知 (Yuzhi 禺氏) and the Suoju 莎車 who appeared in pre-Qin 秦 records and books. In 623 B.C., Duke Mu 穆 of

Qin 秦 dominated the Western Rong 戎 and opened up territories which extended for 1,000 *li* 里. This event possibly caused the Sai 塞 tribes' westerly migration.

The Rong 戎 of surname Yun 允, the Daxia 大夏 and the Yuzhi 禺知 (Yuzhi 禺氏) can respectively be traced back to the Shaohao 少昊, the Taotang 陶唐 and the Youyu 有虞.

The Shaohao 少昊, which has known as the state of the surname Yun 允, originally dwelt in the valley of Ruo 若 River, then moved to Qionsang 窮桑 in the north of Lu 魯. A branch of the descendants of the Shaohao 少昊 dwelled at Ruo 都, and of them, those who moved to Guazhou 瓜州 were called "the villains of the surname Yun 允". Among "the villains of the surname Yun 允", some moved inwards (the Central Plains) and the others went westwards. Of the latter, those who reached the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers became a tribe of the Sai 塞 people, but those who remained to the west of Hami 哈密 (Kumul) were known as the Wusun 烏孫.

The Taotang was a tribal association, whose nucleus was the tribe of Yao 堯, including the Youtang 有唐 conquered by Yao 堯. The name "Taotang 陶唐" derived from the Youtang 有唐. The ruins of Daxia 大夏 in the south of Jin 晉 must have been the remnants of the Taotang 陶唐 or the Youtang 有唐. A branch of the Taotang 陶唐 moved westwards through the Hexi 河西 region (the Gansu 甘肅 Corridor) to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers and later became a tribe of the Sai 塞 people.

The ancestor of the Youyu 有虞 was Zhuanyu 顓頊. At first Zhuanyu 顓頊 lived in the valley of the Ruo 若 River, then moved east to Qionsang 窮桑 and replaced the lord of the Shaohao 少昊, and then again moved to the south of Jin 晉 from Lu 魯 following Shun 舜. After Shun 舜 died, a part of the Youyu 有虞 emigrated from the area. One branch moved north and developed into the Yuezhi 月氏, and another reached the valley of the Ili and Chu rivers *via* the Hexi 河西 region and became a tribe of the Sai 塞 people.

In addition, on the basis of the related records in the *History* of Herodotus, it can be seen that the Asii, the Tochari, the Gasiani and other tribes moved westwards to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, i.e., "the land of Sai 塞" according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, as a result of being driven by the Arimaspi. The Arimaspi people can be identified with the Rong 戎 of Gun 緄 who were driven away by Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦. The Rong 戎 of Gun 緄 came from the same source as the Quanfang 犬方, the Guifang 鬼方, the Gongfang 百方, the Xianyun 獫狁, the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 and the Xiongnu 匈奴.

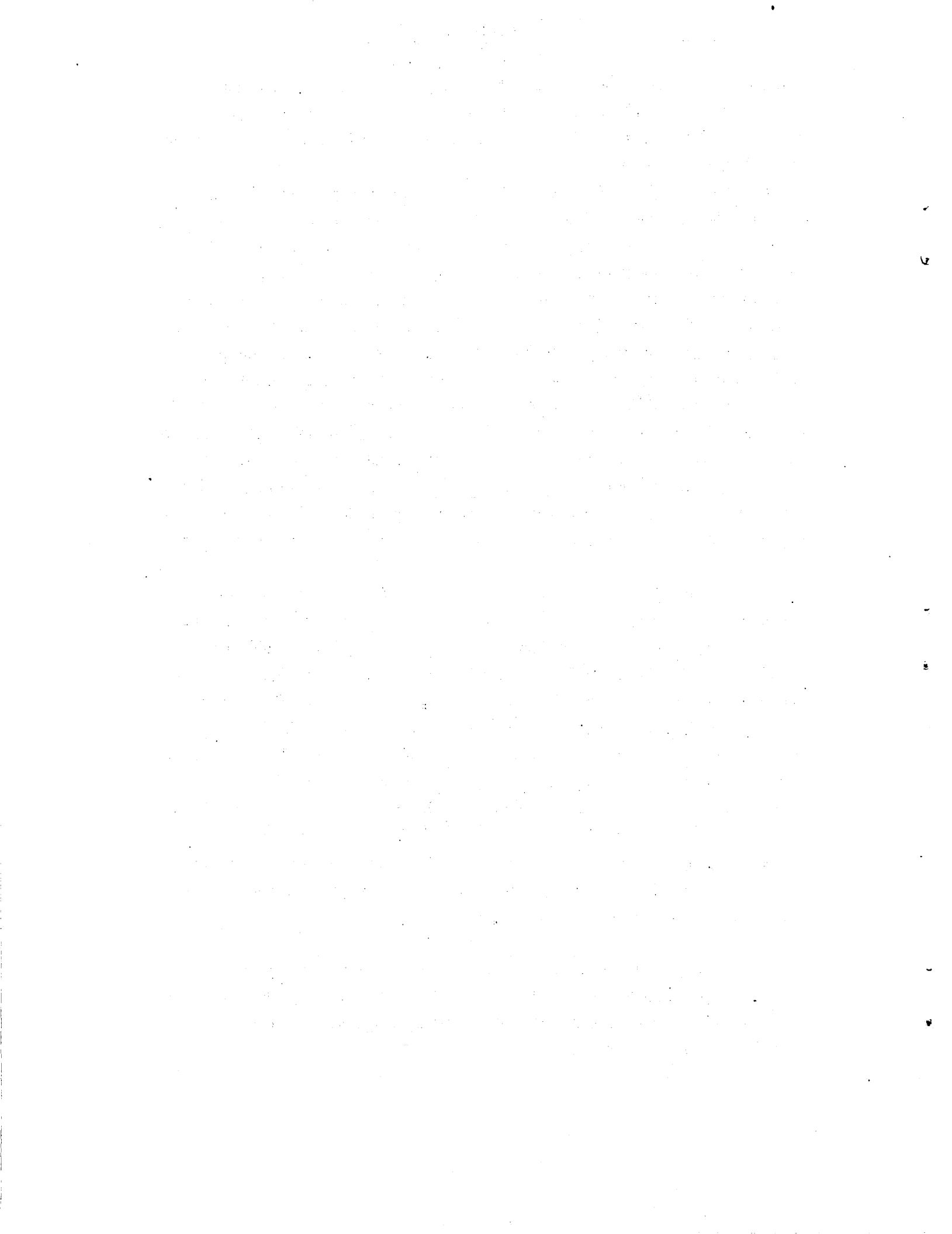
It is said that [the lord] of the Shaohao 少昊 was known as Qingyang 青陽 with the surname of Ji 己, the ancestor of Yao 堯 was known as Qingyang 青陽 with the surname of Ji 姬, and the ancestor of the Youyu 有虞 was Changyi 昌意. The two Qingyangs 青陽 and Changyi 昌意 were all the sons of the Yellow Emperor. The state of Gui 鬼, i.e., the state of Yimu 一目 (One Eye), which came

from the same source as the Rong 戎 of Gun 緄, the Guifang 鬼方, the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 and the Xiongnu 匈奴, allegedly derived from the Shaohao 少昊. In other words, it is possible that the above-named states or tribes can be attributed to the Yellow Emperor's system.

It should be pointed out that the "Sai 塞 (tribes)" as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96 is a Chinese transcription of Sakā or Sacae, but one must not equate the Sai 塞 tribes with the Sakās completely. Sakā or Sacae is a general term that the old Persians used to refer to the nomadic tribes on the banks of the Syr Darya, but not a special term to refer to a certain tribe. As for the connotation of the Sakā or Sacae seen in Western records and inscriptions, one must make a specific analysis and not lump them all together. For example, the "Sakā who are across the sea" as seen in Darius' Naqš-e Rostam inscription *a* must have been the Scythians who lived on the northern bank of the Black Sea. The Sacae of Herodotus' *History* were very possibly the Massagetae. But according to the time and place, the Sai 塞 tribes were possibly the Issedones as described in the *History* of Herodotus. It is possible that the Issedones were not called Sakās until they expanded as far as the northern bank of the Syr Darya and drove out the Massagetae. Therefore, it is impossible to infer the race and language of the Sai 塞 tribes from the race and language of other known tribes of Sakā or Sacae.

Also, in the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded that "To the west of the [Da]yuan [大]宛 and as far as 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". Since the above-mentioned sphere included the states of Yancai 奄蔡, Daxia 大夏, Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Kangju 康居 and others, and since there is no doubt that the Anxi 安息 people (the Parthian Arsacids of Persia) were Europoid, it is quite likely that the Asii, the Tochari, the Gasiani and the Sacarauli were also Europoids. And if my hypothesis about the sources of the Sai 塞 tribes can be established, one might further infer that the people of the Shaohao 少昊, the Taotang 陶唐 and the Youyu 有虞 might be suspected of having been Europoids. However, this inference remains to be supported by the evidence of archaeology, linguistics, anthropology and even genetics. Therefore, the book leaves this question open.

What is evidential research? In a word, to present the various possibilities. It goes without saying that it would be impractical to present each and every one of the possibilities. In a number of cases, all that an investigator presenting the evidence can do is offer representative examples.





## CHAPTER 1 TRACING THE SOURCE OF THE DAXIA

"Daxia 大夏" as seen in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, can be traced back to "Daxia 大夏", i.e., the Taotang 陶唐 as seen in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳. For the sake of convenience, our investigation will begin from the state of Daxia 大夏 in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123.

### A

In the *Shiji*, ch. 123, it is recorded: "Daxia 大夏 is more than two thousand *li* 里 to the southwest of Dayuan 大宛, on the south bank of the Gui 媯 River. The people have fixed abodes and live in walled cities and regular houses like the people of Dayuan 大宛. They have no great king or chief, but everywhere the cities and towns have their own petty chiefs. While the people are shrewd traders, their soldiers are weak and afraid to fight, so that, when the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 migrated westwards, they made war on Daxia, who became subject to them. The population of Daxia 大夏 may amount to more than a million. Their capital is called Lanshi 藍市, and it has markets for the sale of all sorts of merchandise. To the southeast of it is the state of Shendu 身毒". This was the situation discovered by the Western Han 漢 Dynasty emissary Zhang Qian 張騫 who arrived at the valley of the Amu Darya in the sixth year of the reign-period *Yuanguang* 元光 of Emperor Wu 武 (B.C. 129). At that time, the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 had conquered Daxia 大夏, so that Daxia 大夏 was said to have been "subject to them". The precursors of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 were the Yuezhi 月氏. They had occupied originally the regions between the present Qilian 祁連 Mountains and the present Tian 天 Mountains. After they had been defeated by the Xiongnu 匈奴, a rising horde in Northern Asia in c. B.C. 177/176, most of them gave up their homeland and migrated westwards to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers. These Yuezhi 月氏 people who moved west were termed the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 (the Great Yuezhi 月氏) by historians. Around B.C. 130 the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 who occupied the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers were attacked by the Wusun 烏孫, and forced to move farther west once again, whence they arrived at the valley of the Amu Darya. They defeated the state of Daxia 大夏, which occupied the south bank of the Amu Darya, and founded their principal town on the northern

bank of the river, ruling the land of Daxia 大夏 across both banks of the Amu Darya. <sup>[1]</sup>

It has been suggested that the state of Daxia 大夏 must have been the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria. <sup>[2]</sup> According to another theory, this state was founded by the Tochari people. <sup>[3]</sup> In my opinion, the former theory is inadequate.

Firstly, it is impossible that "Daxia 大夏" is a transcription of "Bactria" or the other names associated with this kingdom.

Secondly, in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded clearly: the state of Daxia 大夏 "has no great king or chief, but everywhere the cities and towns have their own petty chiefs". This situation disagrees with that of the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria. The latter was ruled under one king. <sup>[4]</sup>

Thirdly, in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded that Daxia 大夏 was attacked and defeated by the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 because "their soldiers are weak and afraid to fight". This situation also disagrees with that of the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria.

In contrast, the evidence which indicates that the state of Daxia 大夏 was founded by the Tochari people is the following:

1. "Daxia 大夏" [*dat-hea*] can be regarded as close transcription of "Tochari".

2. On the basis of a relatively credible theory, the downfall of the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria was in B.C. 140. This is to say when the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria had been already destroyed for ten years, the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 migrated to the valley of the Amu Darya from the valley of the Ili and Chu rivers. Therefore, it is not possible that the state of Daxia 大夏 that was conquered by the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 was the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria. According to the *Geography of Strabo*, <sup>[5]</sup> "those who took away Bactriana from the Greeks" were nomadic tribes, they came from the other shore of the Syr Darya, and were known as the Sacae: "the Asii, Gasiani, Tochari and Sacarauri". (XI, 8) The statement in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123 that the Daxia 大夏 had "no great king or chief", probably reflects the situation whereby the various tribes of the Sakās that came into Bactria did not subordinate each other. As for Zhang Qian's 張騫 calling Bactria that had been controlled by the various tribes of the Sakas "Daxia 大夏", it is possibly because the Tochari people were nominal suzerains of the various tribes at that time or because the Tochari people accounted for the overwhelming majority. <sup>[6]</sup>

3. Probably because the Daxia 大夏 had been conquered by the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, and the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, do not describe in detail the four boundaries of the state of Daxia 大夏, but record that it was located to the southwest of the state of Dayuan 大宛 (the present Ferghāna) and that the state of Shendu (the valley of the Indus) to the southeast of it. But, the four boundaries of the state of Daxia 大夏 can be deduced from that of the state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61, it is recorded that the Wusun 烏孫 "going west attacked and defeated the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, who again fled west, moving into the land of Daxia 大夏". This shows that when the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 migrated westwards to

the valley of the Amu Darya, the land that they had occupied was mostly the dominion belong to the original state of Daxia 大夏. And according to the relevant records in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123 and the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, it is easy to understand that the state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 adjoins the state of the Kangju 康居 (who were in possession of Sogdiana at that time) in the north, Dayuan 大宛 in the northeast, Anxi 安息 (the Parthian Arsacid Persia, whose eastern border was at the town of Mulu 木鹿, i.e., Merv) in the west, Jibin 罽賓 (middle and lower reaches of the Kabul River, its northern border was the Hindukush Mountains) in the south, Wulei 無雷 (the Little Pamirs) and Nadou 難兜 (the lower reaches of the Gilgit River) in the east.<sup>[7]</sup> Its sphere corresponded with "the former land of Duhuoluo 覩貨邏 (i.e. Tukhāra)" recorded in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, ch. 1:

Passing through the Tiemen 鐵門 ("Iron Gate") one arrives at the former land of Duhuoluo 覩貨邏. The land from north to south is over one thousand *li* 里 and from east to west is over three thousand *li* 里. It is confined by the Congling 葱嶺 (Pamirs) in the east, adjoins Bolasi 波刺斯 (Persia) in the west, the Great Snowy Mountains (the Hindukush Mountains) in the south, and reaches to Tiemen 鐵門 (at a distance of 90 km. south of present-day Shahr-i Sabz) in the north. The great river of Fuchu 縛芻 (the Amu Darya) flows west through the middle.

Since "the land of Daxia 大夏" in which the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 had founded their state was "the former land of Duhuoluo 覩貨邏", "Daxia" must have been a transcription of Tochari (Tukhāra), and the state of Daxia 大夏 must have been founded by the Tochari (Tukhāra) people. This is the reason why the *Xintangshu* 新唐書, ch. 146B, states that "The Daxia 大夏 were in fact the Tuhuoluo 吐火羅".

To prove that the state of Daxia 大夏 was founded by the Tochari people, another problem must be clarified. The event whereby the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 moved westwards in B.C. 130 and conquered the Daxia 大夏 surely exerted a far-reaching influence in the ancient history of Central Asia, yet the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 do not occur in Western sources. Therefore, some scholars who refer to the state of Daxia 大夏 as the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria also refer to the Tochari people who destroyed the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria as the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, and try to match Strabo's record about the four tribes including the Asii, Tochari and the others snatching Bactria from the Greeks with the records about the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 destroying Daxia 大夏.<sup>[8]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. The pronunciation of "Yuezhi 月氏" does not accord with that of Tochari; it is impossible that they were different transcriptions of one and the same name. The four tribes including the Asii, Tochari and the others were all Sai 塞 tribes. And, according to the above-quoted records in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, there was a clear difference between the Sai 塞 tribes and the Da Yuezhi 大月氏. It also shows that the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 were not

the Tochari people who had destroyed the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria or any of the other three tribes. The fact that the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 who destroyed the state of Daxia 大夏 was not recorded in Western historical books, just as the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria was not recorded in Chinese historical books, is very natural and not at all surprising. Although Chinese and Western historical books at times do not confirm each other, yet they may still complement each other.

## B

The Tochari people in the state of Daxia 大夏 came from the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers.

1. According to the *Geography* of Strabo, the above-mentioned four tribes, i.e., the Asii, Tochari and the others who destroyed the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria, "originally came from the country on the other side of the Iaxartes River (i.e., the Syr Darya) that adjoins that of the Sacae and the Sogdiani and was occupied by the Sacae". (XI, 8) In my opinion, "Sogdiani" refers to the regions that are to the south of the Syr Darya and to the north of the Amu Darya, whose central area is located in the valley of the Zarafshan River. "Sacae" refers to the original land of the Sacae (i.e., the Sai 塞 tribes), namely the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers (the so-called "land of the Sai 塞" in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A).<sup>[9]</sup> From this, it can be shown that the four tribes including the Asii and Tochari and the others who destroyed the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria came from the regions between "the land of the Sai 塞" and "Sogdiani". The time when the Sai 塞 tribes occupied these regions can not be exactly known, but it was possibly as early as the twenties of the sixth century B.C., or before Darius I of the Achaemenids ascended the throne (B.C. 521).

2. When the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 had migrated west to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, they drove out the Sai 塞 tribes whom they encountered there. Thereupon, a group of the Sai 塞 tribes went south to the Pamir regions, and another group withdrew to the regions between the land of the Sai 塞 and Sogdiani. The Sai 塞 tribes, including some of the Tochari people, finally crossed the Syr Darya, via Sogdiani, and invaded Greek ruled Bactria. They occupied the regions that were mainly located on the southern bank of the Amu Darya and was subsequently named Tukharestan. This was probably because they continued to suffer oppression from their powerful eastern neighbour. The state of Daxia 大夏, as seen in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, was thereupon established.

3. It is possible that when a group of the Sai 塞 tribes went south to Bactria, another group of the Sai 塞 tribes, who were mainly the Tochari, entered the Ferghāna Basin and the latter established the state of Dayuan 大宛 as seen in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123. "Dayuan 大宛" [*dat-iuan*] can also be regarded as a different transcription of "Tochari".<sup>[10]</sup>

We may mention in passing that, among the Sai 塞 tribes who moved south into the Pamir regions, one group entered the northwest of the Indian subcontinent and another group went east, probably entering the oases of the Tarim Basin. Among the latter also were the Tochari people, for which the following is evidence:

1. Of the names of places and states as recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, "Qule 渠勒" [*gia-lek*], "Taohuai 桃槐" [*do-huai*], "Quli 渠犁" [*gia-lyei*], "Danjuan 單桓" [*duat-huan*], "Duixu 兑虚" [*duat-khia*] and "Danqu 丹渠" [*tan-gia*] can all be regarded as different transcriptions of "Tochari".<sup>[11]</sup>

2. In the "Heshui 河水 2" chapter of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, it is recorded that all the mountains and rivers surrounding Yanqi 焉耆 were named after "Dunhong 敦薨" [*tuən-yuəng*], which can also be regarded as a different transcription of "Tochari". This fact shows that the Tochari people once lived there.<sup>[12]</sup>

3. In the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, ch. 10, it is recorded that starting from the eastern boundary of Yutian 于闐, "after a journey of more than four hundred *li* 里, one reaches the former state of Duhuoluo 覩貨邏, which has been quite desolate for a long time. The towns are deserted. From there going east after a journey of six hundred *li* 里 or more, one reaches 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 于闐 and Qiemo 且末.<sup>[13]</sup> According to the *Xintangshu* 新唐書, ch. 146B, there was a great desert named "Tulun 圖倫" to the east of Yutian 于闐. "Tulun 圖倫" [*da-liuən*] can also be regarded as a transcription of "Tochari".

4. The *Lidai Minghua* 歷代名畫記, ch. 9, states that "Yuchi Yiseng 尉遲乙僧 was a countryman of Yutian 于闐". The "Shenpin Xia 神品下" chapter of the *Tangchao Minghua Lu* 唐朝名畫錄 states that "Yuchi Yiseng was a countryman of Tuholuo 吐火羅" (the *Tanghuaduan* 唐畫斷, cited in the *Taiping Guangji* 太平廣記, vol. 210, states that "Yuchi Yiseng 尉遲乙僧 was a Hu 胡 person in the state of Tuholuo 吐火羅"). These facts show that there were the Tochari people in the state of Yutian 于闐. In fact, Yuchi Yiseng's 尉遲乙僧 citizenship was that of Yutian 于闐, but his nationality was that of the Tochari. For these reasons, Yuchi Yiseng 尉遲乙僧 was a Tochari person, but was designated with the surname "Yuchi 尉遲", the state surname of Yutian 于闐. Thus, the *Tangchao Minghua Lu* 唐朝名畫錄 is not entirely correct when it states Yuchi Yiseng 尉遲乙僧 was "a countryman of Tuholuo 吐火羅".

## C

The Daxia 大夏 (i.e., the Tochari) people who were in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers came from the Hexi 河西 region (Gansu 甘肅 Corridor) and even Hetao 河套 (Ordos, i.e., the area within the big bend of the Yellow River).

1. In the "Xiaokuang 小匡" chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子 the words of Duke Huan 桓 of Qi 齊 are recorded as follows: "I went west on an expedition and trespassed the land of the White Di 狄, then reached Xihe 西河. Purchasing boats and rafts I embarked on them and crossed the [Yellow] River then reached Shizhen 石沈. Tightening the reins of my horses so that my carriage was suspended behind them, I crossed the gulches of Taihang 太行 and Beier 卑耳,<sup>[14]</sup> and arrested the Taixia 泰夏 people.<sup>[15]</sup> I went west on an expedition, and conquered the Flowing Sands and the Western Yu 虞, whereupon the Rong 戎 of Qin 秦 submitted". In the "Fengshan 封禪" chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子, it is also recorded that "I attacked Daxia 大夏 in the west and crossed the Flowing Sands. Tightening the reins of my horses so that my carriage was suspended behind them, I ascended Mount Beier 卑耳". A textually similar passage occurs in the "Qiyu 齊語" of the *Guoyu* 國語 in which we find the names "Pier 辟耳" and "Western Wu 吳", whereas the texts cited from the *Guanzi* 管子 have "Beier 卑耳" and "Western Yu 虞".<sup>[16]</sup>

"Daxia 大夏" (or "Taixia 泰夏") in the above-cited passages is consistently located in the one and the same area. But where on earth was the area? There have always been different views about it among scholars. It has been suggested that this Daxia 大夏 must have been located in Pingyang 平陽 (to the west of the present Linfen 臨汾 in Shanxi 山西 Province). In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the ninth year of Duke Xi 僖) it is recorded that "The Marquis of Qi 齊, with the armies of the princes, invaded Jin 晉 and returned, after advancing as far as Gaoliang 高梁". Du Yu's 杜預 commentary suggests that "Gaoliang 高梁 was to the southwest of Pingyang 平陽 County". The armies of Duke Huan 桓 of Qi 齊 that invaded Jin 晉 reached just to Gaoliang 高梁. And according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 32, Duke Huan 桓 had stated that "To the west I attacked Daxia 大夏". For this reason, it is very clear that Daxia 大夏 was located in Pingyang 平陽.<sup>[17]</sup>

Another suggestion is that Daxia 大夏 was located in the Hexi 河西 region. This is because Mount Beier 卑耳 (or Pier 辟耳) must have been identified as Mount Beiyi 卑移 (the present Mount Helan 賀蘭) in Beidi 北地 Prefecture as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28B, and "the Flowing Sands" can be identified as the present desert of Tynger, which is to the northwest of Mount Helan 賀蘭. Going west from the northern border of the present province of Shanxi 山西, *via* the northern part of Shanxi 陝西 Province, Duke Huan 桓 would have arrived at the region of Ningxia 寧夏, then crossed the Yellow River, and going west again, *via* the south of the "Flowing Sands", would have reached Daxia 大夏.<sup>[18]</sup>

In my opinion, the latter theory is preferable. This "Daxia 大夏" must have been located in the present province of Gansu 甘肅. If we follow the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 32, which states that "Mount Beier 卑耳 was located in Taiyang 大陽 County of Hedong 河東 Prefecture", then the "Flowing Sands" could not be placed in a suitable situation. That Duke Huan 桓 of Qi 齊 "attacked Daxia 大夏 in the west" would not be to attack Jin 晉 after all.

2. In the "Beishanjing 北山經" of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 it is recorded: "...A distance of three hundred and twenty *li* 里 farther to the north is Mount Dunhong 敦蕤 [*tuən-xuəng*]. ...The Dunhong 敦蕤 River rises in the mountain, then flows west and empties into Lake You 沕". The mountain, river and lake in this reference must have been identified with the present Qilian 祁連 Mountain, Dang 黨 River and lake of Karanor into which the Dang 黨 and Shule 疏勒 rivers flow. The Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture [*tuən-huang*] established in Han 漢 times probably derived its name from Dunhong 敦蕤. "Dunhong 敦蕤" and "Daxia 大夏" can be regarded as different transcriptions of one and the same name. The above-mentioned mountains and river must have been named after the Daxia 大夏 people. <sup>[19]</sup> This fact shows that the Daxia 大夏 people were at the western end of the Hexi 河西 region.

3. In the *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳, ch. 4, it is recorded that "The distance from west of the Chan 滙 River in Zong Zhou 宗周 to the state of Hezong 河宗 and Mount Yangyu 陽紆 is three thousand and four hundred *li* 里, from the west of Mount Yangyu 陽紆 to the state of Xi Xia 西夏 (Western Xia) is two thousand and five hundred *li* 里, from the Western Xia 夏 to the state of Zhuyu 珠余 as far as the head of the [Yellow] River is one thousand and five hundred *li* 里, from west of Mount Xiang 襄 at the head of the River going south to the Zhu 珠 Marsh of Mount Chong 春, and Kunlun 昆侖 Hill is seven hundred *li* 里". It is generally believed that the Western Xia 夏 must have been identified with the Daxia 大夏, because in the "Guyue 古樂" chapter of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 it is stated that "Formerly, the Yellow Emperor ordered Ling Lun 伶倫 to make a pipe with standard pitches. Ling Lun 伶倫 went westwards from Daxia 大夏 to the northern foot of Mount Ruanyu 阮諭...". It is generally accepted that the 諭 of Ruanyu 阮諭 is a textual corruption for 倫. "Ruanlun 阮倫" can be identified with "Kunlun 昆侖", because "Ruanlun 阮倫" is noted as "Kunlun 崑崙" in the parallel passages in the "Xiuwen 修文" chapter of the *Shuoyuan* 說苑 and in the "Shengyin 音聲" chapter of the *Fengsu Tongyi* 風俗通義. <sup>[20]</sup> Since the Western Xia 夏 and Daxia 大夏 were all to the east of Kunlun 昆侖 Mountains and were on the only route to Mount Kunlun 昆侖, the Western Xia 夏 can be identified with the Daxia 大夏. It has been suggested that there is no harm in regarding Mount Kunlun 昆侖 here as the Altai Mountains. <sup>[21]</sup> If this is true, the Daxia 大夏 from which Ling Lun 伶倫 went west i.e., the Western Xia 夏, which was a distance of two thousand and two hundred *li* 里 from Kunlun 昆侖 Hill, would be located in the Hexi 河西 region. The fact that Daxia 大夏 in the Hexi 河西 region were called the "Xi Xia 西夏" (Western Xia 夏) is probably because the former land of the Daxia 大夏 was located farther to the east of the Hexi 河西 region. Since the book *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳 was discovered during the Western Jin 晉 in the tomb of King Xiang 襄 of Wei 魏 (318-296 B.C.) during the period of the Warring States, its original compilation must therefore have been earlier than the third century B.C. This book relates a journey made by King Mu 穆 of Zhou 周 (947-928 B.C.) and its contents

can be dated to the Spring and Autumn period at the latest. The Western Xia 夏 described in it can therefore be regarded as the Daxia 大夏 who had been attacked by Duke Huan 桓 of Qi 齊.

4. The Thaguri people, Thaguri Mountains and Thogara town in the *Geography* of Ptolemy <sup>[22]</sup> (VI, 16) must have been located in the Hexi 河西 region, which has been confirmed further by studies on the Tibetan and Khotan documents. <sup>[23]</sup> Thaguri and Thogara can both be regarded as different transcriptions of "Daxia 大夏". This shows that the Tochari people were in the Hexi 河西 region. There is still a place named Tuhuoluquan 吐火洛泉 in the South Yuquan 榆泉 Basin of the Shule 疏勒 delta and this too can be regarded as evidence .

5. Not only did the Daxia 大夏 (i.e., Tochari) people live in the Hexi 河西 region, but their remnants were also in the region of Linxia 臨夏 farther to the southeast. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28B, it is recorded that there was a county named "Daxia 大夏" in Longxi 隴西 Prefecture. And in the "Heshui 河水 2" chapter of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, ch. 2, it is recorded: "[The Tao 洮 River] joins up with the Daxia 大夏 River on the left, ... flows northeastwards and passes south of the old seat of Daxia 大夏 County". <sup>[24]</sup> This shows that the Daxia 大夏 can be traced back to the east of the Hexi 河西 region.

## D

The Daxia 大夏, (i.e., Tochari) people who were in the regions of Hexi 河西 and Linxia 臨夏 came from the south of Jin 晉.

1. In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the first year of Duke Zhao 昭) it is recorded that "In ancient times, [the lord of] the Gaoxin 高辛 had two sons, of whom the elder was called Yanbo 閼伯, and the younger, Shichen 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 Yanbo 閼伯 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 辰 is the star of Shang 商. [Yao 堯 also] removed Shichen 實沉 to [the land of the] Daxia 大夏 to preside over the star Cen 參. The descendants of the Tang 唐 people followed him and served the dynasties of Xia 夏 and Shang 商. The prince at the end of their line was Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞. ...Later King Cheng 成 destroyed the Tang 唐 and granted its domains to Taishu 大叔. Hence, Cen 參 is the star of Jin 晉". "Daxia 大夏", according the Du Yu's 杜預 commentary, "was the present Jinyang 晉陽 County". But, according to Fu Qian's 服虔 commentary cited by the *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 42, "Daxia 大夏 was between the Fen 汾 River and the Kuai 澮 River, who presided over the star Cen 參".



Also, in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the fourth year of Duke Ding 定) it is recorded that "To Tang Shu 唐叔 there were given a grand carriage, the drum of Mixu 密須, the Quegong 闕鞏 mail, the Guxian 沽洗 bell, the nine clans of the surname Huai 懷, and the five presidents over the different official departments of office. The charge was given to him, as contained in the 'Announcement of Tang 唐', and the ruins of Xia 夏 were assigned as the center of his state. He was to commence his government according to the principles of Xia 夏, but his boundaries were defined by the rules of the Rong 戎". "The ruins of Xia 夏", according to Du Yu's 杜預 commentary, "was namely Daxia 大夏, the present Jinyang 晉陽 in Taiyuan 大原". But, according to the *Kuodizhi* 括地志 cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 42, "The former town of Tang 唐 was a distance of twenty *li* 里 west of Yicheng 翼城 County in Jiang 絳 Prefecture".

In my opinion, the ruins of Xia 夏, which was assigned to Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞, must have been located in Yicheng 翼城. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 39, it is recorded that "After King Wu 武 had passed away, King Cheng 成 ascended the throne and, when the state of Tang 唐 was in disorder, Duke Zhou 周 destroyed Tang 唐. ...Thereupon Tang 唐 was assigned to Shuyu 叔虞. Tang 唐, whose territory was one hundred *li* 里 square, was to the east of the [Yellow] River and the Fen 汾 River". Jinyang 晉陽 was located to the west of the Fen 汾 River, but Yicheng 翼城 was just to the east of both the rivers and between the Fen 汾 and Kuai 澮 rivers. This shows that the ruins of Daxia 大夏 was in Yicheng 翼城.<sup>[25]</sup>

2. In the "Benwei 本味" chapter of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 it is recorded that "Good seasonings comprise... the salt of Daxia 大夏...". The salt refers to that of Jiechi 解池, hence the Daxia 大夏 here must have been in Anyi 安邑.<sup>[26]</sup> In the "Qince 秦策 4" of the *Zhanguoce* 戰國策 it is recorded that "Wei 魏 attacked Handan 邯鄲, and when they withdrew to the meeting at Fengze 逢澤, riding a carriage of Xia 夏, [their leader] proclaimed himself the king of Xia 夏. He held court as the 'Son of Heaven' and all the land under heaven joined him". The statement that "riding a carriage of Xia 夏 [their leader] proclaimed himself the king of Xia 夏" shows that its capital Anyi 安邑 (the present Xia 夏 County) was originally the ruins of Xia 夏, i.e. the ruins of Daxia 大夏.<sup>[27]</sup> The *Diji* 地記 cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 42, states that "The state of Tang 唐 was located in the ruins of Daxia 大夏, which belonged to An 安 County in Hedong 河東 Prefecture. The town of Tang 唐, which is presently a distance of one hundred *li* 里 to the northwest of Jiangcheng 絳城, is believed to have been the former state of Tang 唐". The *Diji* 地記 must have maintained that the feudality of Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞 was in An 安 County, i.e. Anyi 安邑, because there were also ruins of Xia 夏 there.

3. There is the statement that "Yu 禹 cut through Longmen 龍門 and went to Daxia 大夏" in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 6 & 87. The Daxia 大夏 here must have been in E 鄂, because E 鄂 is quite close to Longmen 龍門. The *Shiben* 世本, cited by *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 39, states that Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞 "dwelt in E 鄂". The

*Shiben* 世本 commentary of Song Zhong 宋忠 also states that "The present land of E 鄂 was Daxia 大夏". But the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 6, states that "In the *Kuodizhi* 括地志 it is recorded that 'The former town of E 鄂 was a distance of two li 里 to the east of Changning 昌寧 County in Ci 慈 Prefecture'. Note: E 鄂 must have been near Xia 夏 County in Jiang 絳 Prefecture".<sup>[28]</sup> In my opinion, although the land of E 鄂 (the present county of Xiangning 鄉寧 to the west of Linfen 臨汾) may not necessarily have been the feudality of Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞, it is possible there was also the ruins of Daxia 大夏 there.

4. The above-cited commentary of Du Yu 杜預 on the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the fourth year of Duke Ding 定) maintains that the ruins of Xia 夏, i.e. Daxia 大夏, were in Jinyang 晉陽, Taiyuan 太原. It is generally considered that the basis for Du's 杜 assertion was the record in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28A which reads: "Jinyang 晉陽: it was the state of Tang 唐 as seen in the *Shijing* 詩經. King Cheng 成 of Zhou 周 destroyed the state of Tang 唐 and granted it to Shuyu 叔虞, his younger brother. Mount Long 龍 was to the northwest of it, and an office for salt was established there. This is where the Jin 晉 River has its source and empties east into the Fen 汾 River".<sup>[29]</sup> Tang Shuyu's 叔虞 feudality may have been in Yicheng 翼城, as mentioned above, so Du Yu's 杜預 commentary must not be correct. The reason why Ban Gu 班固 refers to Jinyang 晉陽 as the feudality of Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞 is because there were ruins of Xia 夏 in Jinyang 晉陽 according to legend. In fact, while Tang Shuyu's feudality was in the ruins of Xia 夏, the ruins of Xia 夏 were not necessarily in Tang Shuyu's 唐叔虞 feudality. This shows that there should also have been ruins of Xia 夏 (i.e., Daxia) in Jinyang 晉陽.

It has been suggested that Jinyang 晉陽 where the ruins of Daxia 大夏 were was not located in Taiyuan 太原, but in Yuxiang 虞鄉. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 15, it is recorded that "Qin 秦 attacked my Puban 蒲坂, Jinyang 晉陽 and Fengling 封陵". The parallel record in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 44, has the syllables of "Jin-yang" reversed as "Yang-jin 陽晉". According to the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, "Yangjin 陽晉, which is a textual corruption, should be understood as Jinyang 晉陽. The *Kuodizhi* 括地志 states that 'The town of Jinyang 晉陽 is presently named Jincheng 晉城, and is a distance of thirty-five li 里 to the west of Yuxiang 虞鄉 County of Pu 蒲 Prefecture.' ...Fengling 封陵 is also located in Pu 蒲 Prefecture". This shows that there really was a Jinyang 晉陽 in Yuxiang 虞鄉.<sup>[30]</sup>

Another explanation is that the Jinyang 晉陽 in which there was the ruins of Daxia 大夏 was not located in Taiyuan 太原, but to the west of Linfen 臨汾, namely, in Pingyang 平陽. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 106A, "There is a Jin 晉 River" in Pingyang 平陽 County, Pingyang 平陽 Prefecture, Jin 晉 Province. In the *Kuodizhi* 括地志, cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 1, it is also recorded that "The Pingyang 平陽 River has an alternative name, which is the Jin 晉 River". In the "Fenshui 汾水" chapter of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, it is recorded that "The Fen 汾 River flows south and joins with the Ping 平 River, which rises in

Mount Hukou 壺口 to the west of Pingyang 平陽 County.... The river flows east and passes north of Hugu 狐谷 Pavilion, ...then flows east and passes south of the town of Pingyang 平陽, and empties into the Fen 汾 River. The river commonly is regarded as the Jin 晉 River, but it is a mistake". In fact, the author of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注 also admitted that the Ping 平 River has an alternative name, Jin 晉. Since the Ping 平 River can be called the Jin 晉 River, Pingyang 平陽 can also be called Jinyang 晉陽.<sup>[31]</sup>

Also, the reason Du Yu's 杜預 commentary identified the feudality of Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞 with Tainyuan 太原 is simply because the Jin 晉 River flows south of the feudality, and this can be regarded as the basis for the Tang 唐 later becoming the Jin 晉. But the counties and towns to the north of Mount Huo 霍 were not established until the accession of the Duke Dao 悼.<sup>[32]</sup> No record occurs before this. Therefore, the possibility cannot be ruled out that there were also ruins of Daxia 大夏 in Jinyang 晉陽 of Taiyuan 太原, but the ruins of Daxia 大夏 are not necessarily the feudality of Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞. In contrast, Pingyang 平陽 has an alternative name, Jinyang 晉陽, and the Ping 平 i.e., Jin 晉 River, passes south of it. If Pingyang 平陽 were regarded as the feudality of Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞, it would not be difficult to explain how Tang 唐 turned into Jin 晉 afterwards. This explains how Pingyang 平陽 may be possibly the ruins of Daxia 大夏 as well as the feudality of Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞. If this is correct, it seems probable that Yicheng 翼城, which is located "to the east of the [Yellow] River and the Fen 汾 River" or "between the Fen 汾 and Kuai 滄 rivers" was only the ruins of Daxia 大夏, not the feudality of Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞.

5. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 31, it is recorded that "[The King Wu 武] granted to Yuzhong 虞仲, Zhouzhang's 周章 younger bother, the former ruins of Xia 夏, which was north of Zhou 周". Xu Guang's 徐廣 commentary cited by the *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解 thinks that these ruins of Xia 夏 were located in Taiyang 大陽 County of Hedong 河東. But the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱 states that "The capital of the Xia 夏 Dynasty was at Anyi 安邑, and Yuzhong's 虞仲 capital was in the town of Yu 虞 of Taiyang 大陽, which is called the ruins of Xia 夏 because it was south of Anyi 安邑". In my opinion, since Yuzhong's 虞仲 capital was called the ruins of Xia 夏 because it was south of Anyi 安邑, and since there were ruins of Daxia 大夏 in Anyi 安邑, the ruins of Xia 夏 in Taiyang 大陽 (the present county of Pinglu 平陸) can also be regarded as the ruins of Daxia 大夏.<sup>[33]</sup>

In sum, there can be no doubt that there were the Daxia 大夏 people in the south of Jin 晉. Of course, the possibility cannot yet be ruled out that the Daxia 大夏 people in the south of Jin 晉, as well the Daxia 大夏 in the Hexi 河西 region and even in the Western Regions, were also the Tochari people.

Confirming that the Tufang 土方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions were identified with the Daxia 大夏 can allow us to gain a deeper understanding of the above-mentioned view.

1. The geographical situation of the Tufang 土方 agrees with that of Daxia 大夏. The Tufang 土方 must have been located to the west of Yin 殷, since in the oracle inscriptions it is recorded:

Crack-making on the *kuisi* 癸巳 day, Que 殼 divined: In the (next) ten days there will be no disaster. The king, reading the cracks, said: "There will be harm; there will perhaps be the coming of alarming news". When the fifth day, *dingyou* 丁酉, arrived there really was the coming of alarming news from the west. Zhige (?) 沚戩, reporting, said: "The Tufang 土方 are besieging our eastern borders and have harmed two settlements". The Gongfang 舌方 also raided the fields of our western borders. 【癸巳卜, 殼, 貞旬亡囧. 王固曰: 有崇, 其有來艱. 迄至五日丁酉, 允有來艱自西. 沚戩告曰: 土方屺于我東鄙, 戕二邑, 舌方亦侵我西鄙田.】 (*Heji*, 6057, positive)

Tufang 土方 should be located to the north of Yin 殷, since in the oracle inscriptions it is also recorded:

The king, reading the cracks, said: "There will be harm; there will perhaps be the coming of alarming news". When the ninth day, *xinmao* 辛卯, arrived there really was the coming of alarming news from the north. Youqizhu (?) 虬妻笄, reporting, said: "The Tufang 土方 raided our fields and ten men". 【王固曰: 有崇, 其有來艱. 迄至九日辛卯, 允有來艱自北, 虬妻笄告曰: 土方侵我田十人.】 (*Heji*, 6057 negative)

Therefore, we can consider that the Tufang, in fact, were to the northwest of Yin.<sup>[34]</sup>

Also, the Tufang 土方, together with the Gongfang 舌方 and Xiawei 下危, were frequently divined at the same time, and they were often attacked by the Yue 戍. Furthermore, it is known that the Gongfang 舌方, Xiwei 下危 and Yue 戍 were all located to the northwest of Yin 殷. This shows that the Tufang 土方 were located to the northwest of Yin 殷 as well.<sup>[35]</sup> Since the Tufang 土方 were located to the northwest of Yin 殷, we may consider that they were located in the south of Jin 晉.

It has been suggested that since You 虬 was located to the north of Qinyang 沁陽 and the Tufang 土方 were located to the east of Zhi 沚, the Tufang 土方 must have been located to the west of You 虬. It is quite possible that the "Tu 土" of "Tufang 土方" was the equivalent of the "Du 杜" of "Tangdu 唐杜".<sup>[36]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. So far as the geographical situation is concerned, since the Tufang 土方 were located to the northwest of Qinyang 沁陽,

there is nothing to prevent us from considering that Tufang 土方 was located in the south of Jin 晉, or even at Yicheng 翼城. But, so far as the appellation is concerned, "Tang 唐" was the equivalent of "Du 杜" because "Tangdu 唐杜" was like "Taotang 陶唐". Since Tangdu 唐杜 was the settlement to which the descendants of the Taotang 陶唐 moved in Zhou 周 times (for details, see the following paragraphs), rather than taking the Tufang 土方 as Tangdu 唐杜, it would be better to take them as a reference to Tang 唐, i.e., Daxia 大夏 to which Shichen 實沉 had moved.

2. Tufang 土方 administered by Yu 禹 was originally located in the ruins of Daxia 大夏.

The "Zhangfa 長發" poem of the "Shangsong 商頌" section of the *Shijing* 詩經 says that "Yu 禹 came down to put the land of the Tufang 土方 in order all over".<sup>[37]</sup> The "Tianwen 天問" in the *Chuci* 楚辭 also says that "Yu 禹 worked hard to build up his confidence, and came down to inspect the land of the Tufang 土方".<sup>[38]</sup> And on the basis of the *Shiben* 世本 cited by *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 28, "Yu 禹 of the Xia 夏 [Dynasty] founded his capital at Yangcheng 陽城... and also made Pingyang 平陽, or Anyi 安邑 or Jinyang 晉陽 his capital". As mentioned above, it is possible that there were ruins of Daxia 大夏 in Pingyang 平陽, Anyi 安邑 and Jinyang 晉陽.

3. Yin's 殷 attacks upon the Tufang 土方 occurred mostly during the reign period of Wu Ding 武丁 and very rarely after this. The reason for this may be sought from the oracle inscriptions themselves:

...divined: [The king] will build a great settlement in the land of Tang 唐.

【貞祚大邑于唐土。】 (*Yingzang*, 1105)

Crack-making on *jimao* 己卯, Zheng divined: the king will build a settlement and the high god will agree with him; we will be just in the land of Tang 唐. 【己卯卜, 爭, 貞王作邑, 帝若, 我从之唐。】 (*Yibian*, 570)

The land of Tang 唐 was namely the land of Daxia 大夏. The Tufang's 土方 invading and rebelling was greatly reduced, because Wu Ding 武丁 had built a great settlement in the land of Daxia 大夏. This shows also that the Tufang 土方 were precisely the Daxia 大夏.<sup>[39]</sup>

4. We may regard the "Tu 土" of "Tufang 土方" as "Da 大" of "Daxia 大夏", thus "Tu[fang] 土[方]" was a shortened form of "Daxia 大夏".

The Daxia 大夏 in the south of Jin 晉 were precisely the Tufang 土方, and "Tu[fang] 土[方]" can also be regarded as the aptest shortened form of "Tuhuoluo 吐火羅". This shows further that the Daxia 大夏 people in the south of Jin 晉 were none other than the Tochari people.

5. It can be taken as circumstantial evidence that there were some traces of the activity of the Tufang 土方 people to the northwest of Tang 唐, i.e., Yicheng 翼城

(the area around modern Shilou 石樓). In the "Qishui 淇水" chapter of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, it is recorded: "Wei 魏 removed various Barbarians who dwelt in Jiuyuan 九原, Xihe 西河 and Tujun 土軍 and set up Tujun 土軍 [County] by the side of [Tun]qiu [頓]丘". In the *Yuanhe Junxian Tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志, ch. 12, it is also recorded:

Shilou 石樓 County was originally Tujun 土軍 County and belonged to Xihe 西河 Prefecture in Han 漢 times, and was retrenched in Jin 晉 times. Emperor Xiaowen 孝文 of the Later Wei 魏 (the Northern Wei 魏 Dynasty) put the seat of the government of Tujing 吐京 Prefecture at this town, which was namely Tujun 土軍 County in Han 漢 times, probably because the pronunciation of "jun 軍" was read mistakenly as "jing 京" by the Barbarian people. In the fifth year of the reign-period *Kaihuang* 開皇 of the Sui 隋 Dynasty, Tujing 吐京 belonged to Shi 隰 Prefecture, and in the eighteenth year Tujing 吐京 was changed to Shilou 石樓 County, which was named after Mount Shilou 石樓 to the east of the county. ...The town, which is the seat of the county's government, was the town of Tujun 土軍 in Han 漢 times.

Also in the same book, ch. 13, under the entry on Fen 汾 Prefecture it is recorded:

In the second year of the reign-period *Huangchu* 黃初 of Wei 魏 (A.D. 221), the Xihe 西河 Prefecture was established in Zishi 茲氏 County in Han times, which is the seat of the present government of Fen 汾 Prefecture. ...In the eighth year of the reign-period *Taihe* 太和 of Emperor Xiaowen 孝文 of the Later Wei 魏, Xihe 西河 Prefecture was reestablished in the old city of Zishi 茲氏, which belonged to Tujing 吐京 Post. Tujing 吐京 Post is the present county of Shilou 石樓, which is to the northwest of Shi 隰 Prefecture. In the twelfth year, Tujing 吐京 Post was changed to Fen 汾 Province, to which Xihe 西河 Prefecture belonged as before.

Of the bronze ware that has been handed down from the Warring States period, there is a "Tuyun Liangqi" 土勻量器 (measuring vessel from Tujun 土勻). This shows that "Shilou 石樓" had derived its name "Tujun 土軍" before Han 漢 times, which can be traced back, at the latest, to the Eastern Zhou 周 Dynasty.<sup>[40]</sup> "Tujun 土軍" [*tha-kiwən*] or "Tujing 吐京" [*tha-kyang*] can both be regarded as shortened forms of "Tochari".

We presently have no way to determine when the Daxia 大夏 people in the south of Jin 晉 moved to the Hexi 河西 region, but the Daxia 大夏 people were there by the end of the fifties of the seventh century B.C. at the latest. It seems probable that another branch of the Daxia 大夏 people had moved to the north of Jin 晉 or Hetao 河套 from the south of Jin 晉. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 2, it is recorded

that the "Langxietai 琅邪臺 Inscription", which was engraved in the twenty-eighth year of the First Qin 秦 Emperor, Ying Zheng 嬴政 (219 B.C.), says, "All within the whole world is the territory of the Emperor, Crossing the Flowing Sands in the west, ending at the Northern Door in the south, possessing the Eastern Sea in the east, and surpassing Daxia 大夏 in the north, wherever human traces appear, all without exception swear allegiance to him". The place name "Daxia 大夏" in the inscription may well be a relic of the branch of the Daxia 大夏 people who had moved north.

## F

The source of the Daxia 大夏 people in the south of Jin 晉 can be traced back to the Taotang 陶唐, namely, the tribal association that took Yao's 堯 tribe as its suzerain.

The *Shiben* 世本 cited by the *Shangshu Zhengyi* 尚書正義 (the "Wuzi zhi Ge 五子之歌" chapter) says that "Emperor Yao 堯 was [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐". The *Shijing* 世經, cited by the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 21B, also says:

In the *Dixi* 帝繫 it is recorded that "Emperor Ku 嚳 had four concubines. Of them, Chen Feng 陳豐 gave birth to Emperor Yao 堯, upon whom Tang 唐 was conferred as a feudality. When the Gaoxin 高辛 had declined, all under heaven pledged fealty to him (Yao 堯). ...The world called him [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐.

It has been suggested that "Taotang 陶唐" or "Tang 唐", which first appears in the *Guoyu* 國語 and *Zuozhuan* 左傳, was the name of an ancient state, and was located at the ruins of Xia 夏. This ancient state did not finally become extinct until the beginning of the Zhou 周 Dynasty, and actually has nothing to do with Yao 堯. The "Guyue 古樂" chapter of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 narrates the affairs of the lords of the Zhuxiang 朱襄, the Getian 葛天 and the Taotang 陶唐, the Yellow Emperor, Emperor Zhuangxi 顓頊, Emperor Ku 嚳, Emperor Yao 堯 and Emperor Shun 舜, and others one by one. [The lord of] the Taotang 陶唐 and Emperor Yao 堯 are juxtaposed, and [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐 is put before the Yellow Emperor. From this, it can be seen that [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐 was not Emperor Yao 堯. The statement "Yao 堯 attacked the Youtang 有唐" in the "Shibing 世兵" chapter of the *Heguanzi* 鶡冠子 also shows that Yao 堯 and Tang 唐 are not identical.<sup>[41]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing.

Firstly, the records on [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐 in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 must refer to Yao 堯, and not to the Youtang 有唐 attacked by Yao 堯.

1. In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-fourth year of Duke Xiang 襄) it is recorded that "Anciently, the ancestor of the Gai 匄, anterior to the time of Yu 虞

were the lords of the Taotang 陶唐. In the time of the Xia 夏 Dynasty, they were known as the Yulong 御龍. In the time of the Shang 商 Dynasty, they were known as the Shiwei 豕韋. In the time of the Zhou 周 Dynasty, they were known as the Tangdu 唐杜. When the state of Jin 晉 became the leader of the Xia 夏 alliance, they were known as the Fan 范". Du Yu's 杜預 commentary suggests that "Tang 唐 and Du 杜 are the names of two states. The state of Shiwei 豕韋 was founded in Tang 唐 at the end of the Yin 殷 [Dynasty], but was removed to Du 杜 and served as the Earl of Du 杜 after King Cheng 成 of Zhou had destroyed Tang 唐". In the "Jinyu 8" 晉語 chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 it is recorded that the descendants of the Taotang 陶唐" were known as the lords of the Tangdu 唐杜 in Zhou 周 times". Wei's 韋 commentary also states, "Tang 唐 and Du 杜 are the names of two states. The Shiwei 豕韋 removed his state to Tang 唐 at the end of Shang 商 times. King Cheng 成 of Zhou destroyed Tang 唐, which was conferred as a feudality upon Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞, his younger brother, and the Shiwei 豕韋 was removed to Du 杜, where he became the Earl of Du 杜". In my opinion, to regard "Tang 唐" and "Du 杜" as the names of two states is mistaken. Both "Tang 唐" and "Du 杜 [da]", just as both "Tao 陶" and "Tang 唐", can be taken as different transcriptions of one and the same name. The inscription on the bronze *li* 鬲 (a kind of ancient cooking vessel) of the Earl of Du 杜 says,

The Earl of Du 杜 made the *zunli* 樽鬲 (a kind of sacrificial vessel) for Shuyu 叔虞. 【杜白(伯)乍(作)叔虞樽鬲.】

The character 嬭 is a variant of 祁. In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the sixth year of Duke Wen 文) it is recorded that "The lady Du Qi 杜祁, out of regard for our recently deceased marquis, yielded her place to Bi Ji 偃媯". This shows that the surname of [the lord of] the state of Du 杜 was Qi 祁,<sup>[42]</sup> and thus the surname of [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐, the ancestors of the Earl of Du 杜, was also Qi 祁. Therefore, "[the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐" in the above-cited *Zuozhuan* 左傳 undoubtedly refers to Yao 堯. The *Diwangji* 帝王紀 cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 1, also says that "The surname of Emperor Yao 堯, [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐, was Qi 祁".<sup>[43]</sup>

2. The statement, "Now the Director of Fire under Taotang 陶唐 was Yanbo 闕伯, who dwelt in Shangqiu 商丘" in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the ninth year of Duke Xiang 襄) refers to Yao's 堯 ordering Yanbo 闕伯, who dwelt in Shangqiu 商丘, to assume the office of the Director of Fire, after his accession as successor of [the lord of] the Gaoxin 高辛. Yao 堯, i.e., [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐, rose after [the lord of] the Gaoxin 高辛; since "all under heaven pledged fealty to him", it is not at all surprising that he would have ordered Yanbo 闕伯, the son of [the lord of] the Gaoxin 高辛, to hold the office of the Director of Fire.



The so-called "[lord of] the Gaoxin 高辛" in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the first year of Duke Zhao 昭) refers to Emperor Ku 嚳. "The sovereign Emperor" in it, according to Du Yu's 杜預 commentary, "was Yao 堯". It has been suggested that "the sovereign Emperor" refers to [the lord of] the Gaoxin 高辛, and that [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐 was precisely [the lord of] the Gaoxin 高辛 based upon the record in the above-cited passage of the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the ninth year of Duke Xiang 襄).<sup>[44]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. It is impossible to reach the conclusion that [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐 was none other than [the lord of] the Gaoxin 高辛 even if "the sovereign Emperor" refers to [the lord of] the Gaoxin 高辛. If we suppose that [the lord of] the Gaoxin 高辛 was [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐, his son, Shichen 實沉, would be a Tang 唐 person, so the statement that "The descendants of the Tang 唐 people followed him" would make no sense.

3. In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-ninth year of Duke Xiang 襄) it is recorded: "Prince Zha 札 of Wu 吳 having come to Lu 魯 on a complimentary mission. ...He then begged that he might hear the music of Zhou 周. ...They sang to him the [odes of] Tang 唐. He said, 'How expressive of thought and deep [anxiety]! Did not Tang 唐 possess the people that came down from [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐? But for that, how should there have been here an anxiety so far-reaching? Were it not for the remaining influence of his excellent virtue, who could have produced anything like this?'" "The remaining influence of his excellent virtue" could only refer to Yao 堯.

4. In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-ninth year of Duke Zhao 昭) it is recorded: "The Taotang 陶唐 had declined but, among the descendants of [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐, there was a man called Liu Lei 劉累 who had learned the art of rearing dragons from the Huanlong 豢龍. With this he undertook to serve Kongjia 孔甲 and was able to feed the dragons. The sovereign of Xia 夏 esteemed his service, gave him the state-name of Yulong 御龍 (Dragon Controller), and appointed him to the place of the descendants of the Shiwei 豕韋. One of the female dragons died, and he secretly preserved it as minced meat in brine, supplying with it the table of the sovereign of Xia 夏, who enjoyed it, and required him to find others [for the same use]. Thereupon Liu Lei 劉累 was afraid and removed to Lu 魯 County (to the northeast of the present Lushan 魯山 County of Henan 河南 Province). The lords of the Fan 范 are descended from him". Since [the lord of] the Yulong 御龍 was the descendant of [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐, [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐 here refers also to Yao 堯, just as [lord of] the Taotang 陶唐 recorded in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-fourth year of Duke Xiang 襄) does.

5. The so-called "Announcement of Tang 唐" as seen in the above-cited passage of the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the fourth year of Duke Ding 定) undoubtedly refers to the announcement of Yao 堯.

6. In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the sixth year of Duke Ai 哀) it is recorded that "In one of the *Books of Xia* 夏 it is said, 'There was [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐, who

observed the rules of Heaven and possessed this country of Ji 冀. Now they have fallen from the [correct] path, and have thrown into confusion the rules and laws: the consequence is extinction and ruin".<sup>[45]</sup> In my opinion, the conclusion that "the consequence is extinction and ruin" must refer to the statement "the Taotang 陶唐 had declined" as seen in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-ninth year of Duke Zhao 昭). Thus "[the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐" here refers to the same lord as that in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-ninth year of Duke Zhao 昭).

Secondly, in the "Shibing 世兵" chapter of *Heguanzi* 鶡冠子 it is recorded that "Yao 堯 attacked the Youtang 陶唐, and Yu 禹 conquered the Youmiao 有苗". And the *Diwangji* 帝王紀, cited in the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義 says, "Fangxun 放勳 was made the Marquis of Tang 唐" by Emperor Zhi 摯 after his accession. Combining both records, one can infer that Yao 堯 attacked the Youtang 有唐 at the time when Ku 嚳 or Zhi 摯 was on the throne. Yao 堯 was granted the land of Tang 唐 after his attack upon the Youtang 有唐, thus he was called the Marquis of Tang 唐. After this, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1, because Zhi 摯 "had not been good", Yao 堯 ascended the throne. This matches perfectly the statement in the "Jiyan 吉驗" chapter of the *Lunheng* 論衡 that Yao 堯 "succeeded the throne in his capacity as the Marquis of Tang 唐". It is possible that Yao 堯 adopted the title of Emperor Ku 嚳 and Zhi 摯 at the beginning of his reign period. Later Yao 堯 changed his title to "Taotang 陶唐", probably because he had transferred his capital to the land of Tang 唐 from the place where Ku 嚳 and Zhi 摯 had established their capital.<sup>[46]</sup>

In the "Shijiie 史記解" chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書 it is recorded that "It is dangerous for important official positions to be vacant for a long time. Anciently, Gonggong 共工 considered himself to be virtuous and able, and nobody could make him acknowledge allegiance. Thus important official positions were left vacant for a long time. His low-ranking officers engaged in armed rebellion one after the other, so the people did know to whom they should turn. [The lord of] the Tang 唐 attacked him, and Gonggong 共工 thereupon was destroyed". "[The lord of] the Tang 唐" here refers to Yao 堯.<sup>[47]</sup> This can also prove that Yao 堯 was none other than "[the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐".

Thirdly, "[the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐" who is placed before Yao 堯 in the "Guyue 古樂" chapter of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, can be regarded as the state of Youtang 有唐 which Yao 堯 attacked. It seems that the latter should be called "the former Youtang 有唐". The location of the former Youtang 有唐 must have been in Daxia 大夏, to which Shichen 實沉 was removed as seen in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the first year of Duke Zhao 昭).

1. It is generally suggested that the so-called "sovereign Emperor" who "removed Shichen 實沉 to Daxia 大夏" as seen in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the first year of Duke Zhao 昭) refers to Yao 堯. Indeed, the land to which Shichen 實沉 was removed must have been the former Youtang 有唐 which had been conquered by Yao 堯. The

time when this happened was probably not long after Yao 堯 had "succeeded the throne in his capacity as the Marquis of Tang 唐". This, in part, is because "Tang 唐" [*dang*] can be taken as a shortened form of "Da[xia] 大[夏]" or "Tu[huoluo] 吐[火羅]".

2. On the basis of the above-quoted record in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the first year of Duke Zhao 昭), it can be seen that the relation between "Daxia 大夏" and the Tang 唐 people is the same as that between "Shangqiu 商丘" and the Shang 商 people. In other words, the Tang 唐 people derived their name from Daxia 大夏 in the same way that the Shang 商 people derived their name from Shangqiu 商丘. It can be seen that, so far as the appellation is concerned, "Daxia 大夏" is equivalent to "Tang 唐". The so-called "Tang 唐 people" of the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 refers to the descendants of Yao 堯, i.e., [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐. Since Yao 堯 removed his capital to the land of Tang 唐 after he had ascended the throne and changed his title to "Taotang 陶唐", his descendants were of course called the Tang 唐 people.

3. In the "Shijijie 史記解" chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書 it is recorded that "If both cultural and military achievement do not prevail, a state will perish. Formerly, the Western Xia 夏, was benevolent in nature, criticizing 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, then [the lord of] the Tang 唐 attacked it. Because walled towns were not kept guarded and the warriors were not appointed to posts, the Western Xia 夏 lost their country". Since "[the lord of] the Tang 唐" who attacked upon Gonggong 共工 refers to Yao 堯, "[the lord of] Tang 唐" here also undoubtedly refers to Yao 堯. Thus, "Western Xia 夏" here must have been a branch of the former Youtang 有唐 people, namely, the Daxia 大夏 people who moved west after having been attacked. The statement that "[the lord of] the Tang 唐 attacked it" refers to the fact that this branch of the former Youtang 有唐 people was once again attacked by the Taotang 陶唐.<sup>[48]</sup>

As for why Yao did not change his title to "Youtang 有唐" but to "Taotang 陶唐" after he had removed his capital to Tang 唐, there are four theories.

The first, advanced by Chen Zhan 臣瓚 in his commentary on the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 1, is that "Yao 堯 dwelt at Tang 唐 at the beginning and moved to Tao 陶 later, thus his state was known as Taotang 陶唐".

The second, put forward by Xu Shen 許慎 in his *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字 cited in Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentary on the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 1, is that "Tao 陶 originally meant a two-fold mound. [Taoqiu 陶丘] is at Jiyin 濟陰, and the *Xiashu* 夏書 says, 'to reach Taoqiu 陶丘 in the east'. There is the town of Yao 堯 at Taoqiu 陶丘, where Yao 堯 had dwelt. Afterwards Yao 堯 dwelt at Tang 唐, thus he was known as [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐".<sup>[49]</sup>

The third, as found in a commentary by Wei Zhao 韋昭 cited in the "Wuzi zhi Ge 五子之歌" chapter of the *Shangshu Zhengyi* 尚書正義, is that "Both Tao 陶 and

Tang 唐 are the names of a state, just as Tang 湯 was also known as Yinshang 殷商".

The fourth, put forward in the sub-commentary on the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-fourth year of Duke Xiang 襄), "Tang 唐" and "Taotang 陶唐" are the singular and plural forms of one and the same place name. It is said that "Looking through the books and records, it is not mentioned that Emperor Yao 堯 had dwelt in Tao 陶. The reason why *tang* 唐 is preceded by *tao* 陶 is probably because this place name is comprised of two [Chinese] characters, which signify its singular or plural forms".

In my opinion, one possibility is that Yao 堯 or his descendants moved around after occupying the land of Tang 唐, with the result that the places where they dwelled also received the name Tang 唐. Otherwise, the former Youtang 有唐 must have moved around in the south of Jin 晉, and their settlements therefore were known as "Daxia 大夏". Those who were ignorant of the facts transcribed their names as "Tang 唐" or "Tao 陶" [*du*], which were in fact, shortened forms of "Tochari". The name of "Taotang 陶唐" may have arisen in this fashion. Amid the descendants of the Taotang 陶唐 were the "Tangdu 唐杜". This may probably be taken as evidence that "Tang 唐" and "Du 杜" were also different transcriptions of one and the same name, and all were shortened forms of "Daxia 大夏". The differences between Chen Zan 臣瓚 and Xu Shen 許慎, early and late, only help to clarify this point.

Another possibility is that the *tao* 陶 of "Taotang 陶唐" refers to Taoqiu 陶丘.<sup>[50]</sup> This is to say that Yao 堯 had dwelt at Dingtao 定陶 of Jiyin 濟陰 before he attacked the Youtang 有唐 and was then made the Marquis of Tang 唐. Indeed, Yao 堯 was known as [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐 because he moved from Tao 陶 to Tang 唐, in accordance with Xu's 許 theory.

In sum, "[the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐" as seen in both the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 and the *Guoyu* 國語 refers to Yao 堯. This fact that Yao 堯 changed his title to "Taotang 陶唐" after attacking the Youtang 有唐 shows not only that Yao 堯 occupied the land of Tang 唐 from that time, but also that a new geopolitical group was established. Therefore, the so-called "Taotang 陶唐" as seen in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 and *Guoyu* 國語 refers in fact to a tribal association that esteemed the tribe of Yao 堯 as suzerain, including the former Youtang 有唐, i.e., the Daxia 大夏.

## G

The following is a brief discussion on the relations between the remains of Yao 堯 and the ruins of Xia 夏.

1. Du Yu's commentary on the statement in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-fourth year of Duke Xiang 襄) that "the ancestor of the Gai 句, anterior to the time of Yu 虞, was [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐" says, "Taotang 陶唐 was the land ruled

by Yao 堯, and it corresponds to Jinyang 晉陽 County of Taiyuan 太原". Combining Du Yu's 杜預 commentaries on the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the first year of Duke Zhao 昭 and the fourth year of Duke Ding 定), it can be seen that the so-called "Taotang 陶唐" was the name of the land ruled by Yao 堯. It was the ruins of Xia 夏, i.e., Daxia 大夏, and was also the land to which Shichen 實沉 moved, and was subsequently granted to Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞. [The lord of] the Taotang 陶唐 occupied the land for a time after his attacking the Youtang 有唐. Of course, as mentioned above, the land that was granted to Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞 was possibly located in Yicheng 翼城, hence it is inaccurate for Du Yu's 杜預 commentary to regard it as being in Taiyuan 太原.<sup>[51]</sup>

If one takes Yicheng 翼城 as the settlement of the Youtang 有唐 which was attacked by Yao 堯, the fact that there were the ruins of Xia 夏 (i.e., Daxia 大夏) in the counties of Yuxiang 虞鄉, Pinglu 平陸, Xia 夏 and Pingyang 平陽, etc., would be the result of the descendants of the Taotang 陶唐 having multiplied and migrated. Of course, the possibility that some of these remains were those of the former Youtang 有唐 can not yet be ruled out.

As to the Daxia 大夏 who were in the area of E 鄂, it is quite possible that they were "the Western Xia 夏" as seen in the "Shijijie 史記解" chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書.<sup>[52]</sup> In other words, a group of the former Youtang 有唐 moved westwards to the area of present-day Xiangning 鄉寧 County, very probably because their former land had been attacked by Yao 堯. Then they were swallowed up by their eastern neighbor because "both cultural and military achievement do not prevail". The reason they were called "the Western Xia 夏" is that their land was located to the west of Daxia 大夏 in Yicheng 翼城.<sup>[53]</sup>

Furthermore, there are the so-called "Rong 戎 of Northern Tang 唐" in the "Wanghuijie 王會解" of *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書. It seems probable that they were located to the north of Daxia 大夏 in Yicheng 翼城,<sup>[54]</sup> and may have been in Jinyang 晉陽 of Taiyuan 太原. As mentioned above, according to legend, this place also had ruins of Xia 夏 (i.e., Daxia 大夏). It is not impossible that some people of the Taotang 陶唐 moved northwards to the area around Taiyuan.<sup>[55]</sup> But the so-called "Rong 戎 of Northern Tang 唐" may have been a branch of the former Youtang 有唐, since they were "Rong 戎" (barbarians).

2. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28B, it is recorded that "There is a Tang 唐 County in the principality of Zhongshan 中山" and that: "Mount Yao 堯 is to the south of the principality". Ying Shao's 應劭 commentary, cited by Yan Shigu 顏師古 says, "This refers to the former state of Yao 堯. The Tang 唐 River flows to the west of it". Zhang Yan's 張晏 commentary, also cited by Yan 顏 says, "Yao 堯 founded his capital here when he was made the Marquis of Tang 唐. Mount Yao 堯 is to the northeast of Tang 唐 County, and is bounded on Wangdu 望都 County".<sup>[56]</sup> In my opinion, if the theory is acceptable that Yao 堯 was made the Marquis of Tang 唐 as the result of his attacking the Youtang 有唐, and the latter were none other than

Daxia 大夏, then Tang 唐, the earliest feudality of Yao 堯, should be sought in Jin 晉, namely, the ruins of Daxia 大夏 or Tang Shuyu's 叔虞 feudality. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28B, it is said "The land of Hedong 河東 Prefecture, being plain and abounding in salt and iron, was originally the settlement of Yao 堯, [the lord of] the Tang 唐, and was comparable to the states of Tang 唐 and Wei 魏 as described in the "Tangfeng" 唐風 and "Weifeng" 魏風 sections of the *Shijing* 詩經. ...After King Cheng 成 had destroyed the state of Tang 唐, the land was granted to Shuyu 叔虞. Because there is a Jin 晉 River in Tang 唐, Xie 燮, the son of Shuyu 叔虞, was known as the Marquis of Jin 晉. Hence, Cen 參 is the star of Jin 晉". The land as described in this passage should be in Yicheng 翼城.<sup>[57]</sup> Since the ruins of Daxia 大夏 were all in the south of Jin 晉 and there was no legend similar to that of Tang 唐 in the principality of Zhongshan 中山, these legends, such as "Mount Yao 堯" and "the state of Yao 堯", are all baseless. Otherwise, it might have been that a group of Yao's 堯 descendants moved to that place, with the result that some traces pertaining to Yao 堯 would be found there.

3. Ying Shao's 應劭 commentary on the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28A, cited by Yan Shigu 顏師古, says: Pingyang 平陽 County in Hedong 河東 Prefecture "was originally the capital of Yao 堯. It is located on the northern bank of the Ping 平 River". It seems probable that Yao 堯 removed his capital there.<sup>[58]</sup> Thus, as mentioned above, there were also ruins of Daxia 大夏 in Pingyang 平陽 County.

4. To the above-cited statement, "the descendants of the Tang 唐 people followed him", in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the first year of Duke Zhao 昭), Jia Kui's 賈逵 commentary, cited by *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 42, says, "The Tang 唐 people refers to Liu Lei 劉累, a descendant of the Taotang 陶唐, who served Kongjia 孔甲 of Xia 夏. Liu Lei 劉累 was granted the land of Daxia 大夏 to follow the state of Shichen 實沉, and his descendants served Xia 夏 and Shang 商". After the Taotang 陶唐 had declined and fallen, the emperor of Xia 夏 ordered the Shiwei 豕韋 whose surname was Peng 彭 to guard the land. According to the record in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-ninth year of Duke Zhao 昭), when Kongjia 孔甲, the sovereign of Xia 夏, was on the throne, Liu Lei 劉累, the descendant of the Taotang 陶唐, was in Kongjia's 孔甲 good graces because he was adept at rearing dragons. And Kongjia 孔甲 granted Liu Lei 劉累 the land of Daxia 大夏 to take the place of the Shiwei 豕韋, bestowing upon him the title of "Yulong 御龍".

On the basis of Du Yu's 杜預 commentary on the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-fourth year of Duke Xiang 襄), "Shiwei 豕韋 was a state name. There is a town of Wei 韋 to the southeast of Baima 白馬 County in Dong 東 Prefecture". It seems probable that Kongjia's 孔甲 replacing the Shiwei 豕韋 with Liu Lei 劉累 did not mean that he granted Liu Lei 劉累 the town of Wei 韋, the town formerly of the Shiwei 豕韋, but rather that he had him replace the Shiwei 豕韋 to guard the land of Tang 唐. Kongjia's 孔甲 grant to Liu Lei 劉累 was to return his former land to him. But Liu Lei 劉累 soon moved out of the land of Tang 唐.<sup>[59]</sup>

In the *Kuodizhi* 括地志 cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 2, it is recorded that "The former town of Liu Lei 劉累 is a distance of fifty-five *li* 里 to the south of Goushi 緱氏 County in Luo 洛 Prefecture. The town was the former land of Liu Lei 劉累". If the former town of Liu Lei 劉累 really was to the south of Goushi 緱氏 County, it must have been the settlement where Liu Lei 劉累 had dwelt before he replaced the Shiwei 豕韋.<sup>[60]</sup>

Also, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 2, "After the Taotang 陶唐 had declined, among the remains of the state there was a descendant called Liu Lei 劉累. ...Kongjia 孔甲 granted him the surname of Yulong 御龍, and made him succeed the descendants of the Shiwei 豕韋". The *Xiben* 系本, cited by *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 2, says, "The Shiwei 豕韋 had the surname Fang 防", which refers to the Shiwei 豕韋 in Xia 夏 times. And *Shiben* 系本, cited by the *Xingxi* 姓觴, ch. 5, says, the Shiwei 豕韋 "stemmed from the descendants of Zhuaxu's 顓頊 offspring, i.e. Dapeng 大彭. Because they had been enfeoffed at Shiwei 豕韋 in Xia 夏 times, their state name was Shiwei 豕韋". In fact, the old pronunciations of "Fang 防" [*piuang*] and "Peng 彭" [*beang*] were very close, thus the surname Peng 彭 was equivalent to the surname Fang 防.<sup>[61]</sup> The "Zhengyu 鄭語" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 records that the descendants of Zhurong 祝融 had eight surnames. Among them "Dapeng 大彭 and Shiwei 豕韋 were earls of the Shang 商 Dynasty. ...Pengzu 彭祖, Shiwei 豕韋, and Zhuji 諸稽 who were surnamed Peng 彭 were destroyed by Shang 商". According to Wei's 韋 commentary, "Pengzu 彭祖 was none other than Dapeng 大彭, while Shiwei 豕韋 and Zhuji 諸稽 were both descendants of Pengzu 彭祖 who were separately enfeoffed. This shows that the Shiwei 豕韋 of the Xia 夏 Dynasty had continued into the Shang 商 Dynasty, and was made the Earl of Shang 商 for a time. And Du Yu's 杜預 commentary on the records in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-ninth year of Duke Zhao 昭) says, "The Shiwei 豕韋 recovered their state, which lasted until Shang 商 times before it was destroyed. The descendants of Liu Lei 劉累 succeeded to their state again, and were known as Shiwei 豕韋". The latter Shiwei refers to the Shiwei 豕韋 in Shang 商 times.

Also, Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentary on the records in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 1, says, "The Shiwei 豕韋 removed their state to Tang 唐 at the end of the Yin 殷 Dynasty. When King Cheng 成 of Zhou 周 destroyed Tang 唐, they were removed to Du 杜, and were made the Earl of Du 杜". "Shiwei 豕韋" here refers to the descendants of Liu Lei 劉累, and is equivalent to the statement that "the descendants of Liu Lei 劉累 succeeded to their state again, and were known as Shiwei 豕韋". Jia Kui's 賈逵 commentary, cited by the *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 2, says, "The descendants of Liu Lei 劉累 continued down to Shang 商 times without dying out and replaced the descendants of the Shiwei 豕韋. The descendants of Zhurong 祝融 were granted Shiwei 豕韋. Wuding 武丁 of Yin 殷 destroyed them, and replaced them with the descendants of Liu Lei 劉累". And Wei's 韋 commentary on the

statement that "They were known as the Shiwei 豕韋 in Shang 商 times" in the "Jinyu 晉語 8" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 says, "This refers to their being known as Shiwei 豕韋 in Shang 商 times, namely, since Wuding 武丁". Combining the above-cited two theories, one can see that the Shiwei 豕韋 who were surnamed Liu 劉 in Shang 商 times began from the reign period of Wuding 武丁.<sup>[62]</sup>

Also, after Liu Lei 劉累 had been removed, according to the *Kuodizhi* 括地志 cited by *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 42, "It seems probable that the sovereign of Xia 夏 separately granted a grandson of Liu Lei 劉累 the ruins of Xia 夏, and that he was made the Marquis of Tang 唐. At the time of King Cheng 成 of Zhou 成, the Tang 唐 people revolted, King Cheng 成 destroyed them, and granted Taishu 大叔 [the ruins of Daxia 大夏]. He removed the descendants of the Tang 唐 people to Du 杜, which was known as the Earldom of Du 杜. This accords with what Fan Gai 范匄 said, in Zhou 周 times, they were known as the Tangdu 唐杜". But on the basis of Yan's 顏 commentary on the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 1, "At the end of the Yin 殷 Dynasty, the Shiwei 豕韋 removed their state to Tang 唐. When King Cheng 成 of Zhou 周 destroyed Tang 唐, they were removed to Du 杜, which was known as the Earldom of Du 杜". From this it can be seen that the Tang 唐 destroyed by King Cheng 成 were not the descendants of Liu Lei's 劉累 grandson who was enfeoffed by the sovereign of Xia 夏, but the descendants of the family of Liu 劉 at the end of the Yin 殷 Dynasty who came from the feudality of Zhurong's 祝融 posterity. The grandson of Liu Lei 劉累, who was enfeoffed by the sovereign of Xia 夏 and his descendants may be the "Tufang 土方" as seen in oracle inscriptions. The Tufang 土方 invaded and seized the Shang 商 people many times; in return Wuding 武丁 attacked them repeatedly. The rebellion of the Tufang 土方 weakened after Wuding 武丁 had built a great settlement in the land of Tang 唐 and guarded them. It was probably due the need both to suppress and comfort the Tufang 土方 that the Shang 商 people removed the descendants of Liu Lei 劉累 to the land of Tang 唐.

Liu Lei 劉累 and his descendants must have been the so-called Yulong 御龍, Shiwei 豕韋, and Tangdu 唐杜 as seen in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-fourth year of Duke Xiang 襄), namely, the Tang 唐 people who served Xia 夏 and Shang 商 as seen in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the first year of Duke Zhao 昭). Early or later, besides those who served Xia 夏 and Shang 商, a part of the other Taotang 陶唐 people in Jin 晉 set out to migrate westwards or northwards. The period of their migrations, which cannot be exactly determined, probably lasted for quite a long time. If we believe the record that "Shun 舜 forced Yao 堯" as seen in the "Shuoyi 說疑" chapter of the *Hanfeizi* 韓非子,<sup>[63]</sup> there would be no harm in considering that the prologue of the migration had been opened as early as the beginning of Shun's 舜 succession.

Those who moved westwards, as mentioned above, and the Taotang 陶唐 that moved northwards were probably the Daxia 大夏 who made tribute Zibai 茲白



oxen as seen in the "Wanghuijie 王會解" chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書. It was also possible the "Daxia 大夏", who are juxtaposed with the "Yuezhi 月氏", that were due north of Zhou 周 as seen in the "Yiyin Chaoxian 伊尹朝獻" section attached to the same chapter. But it is more probable that they were the "Daxia 大夏" as seen in "Langxietai 琅邪臺 Inscription" which was engraved in the twenty-eighth year of First Qin 秦 Emperor, King Qin, Ying Zheng 嬴政, and whose settlement should be to the north of Taiyuan 太原 at the time described by the inscription.

## H

The following is some circumstantial evidence indicating that the Daxia 大夏 in the Western Regions came from the south of Jin 晉.

1. Zhang Qian 張騫 acquired the information on the Daxia in the Western Regions, i.e., the Tochari during his first mission to the west. The destination of Zhang Qian's first mission was originally the state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏, which was located in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers. He traced the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 and arrived in the valley of the Amu Darya because they had migrated westwards, and it was only from this that he realized there was a state of Daxia 大夏. Zhang Qian 張騫 stayed in the land of Daxia 大夏 for more than a year and it can be said that he gained relatively full understanding of the local climate and customs. Therefore, when he adopted "Daxia 大夏", an ancient term, to refer the state that was founded by the Tochari people who had submitted to the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 at that time, it is highly unlikely that he did so only out of consideration to seek an exact transcription for "Tochari". When he referred the Amu Darya (whose name was Vakhshu or Wakshu at that time <sup>[64]</sup>), which was close to the state of Daxia 大夏, as the Gui 媯 River, obviously an important factor was that he had in mind that there was a Gui 媯 River in the south of Jin 晉. Huangfu Mi's 皇甫謐 commentary, cited by the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 1, says, "The Gui 媯 River flows to the west of Mount Li 歷 in Yuxiang 虞鄉 County of Hedong 河東 Prefecture". As stated previously, according to a legend, there were ruins of Xia 夏, i.e., of Daxia 大夏, in Yuxiang 虞鄉. It is possible that Zhang Qian 張騫 was thinking of the Daxia 大夏 in the south of Jin 晉, and even of Yuxiang 虞鄉, when he adopted the term "Daxia 大夏".

2. The aim of Zhang Qian's 張騫 first mission to the west was to unite with the Yuezhi 月氏 and resist the Xiongnu 匈奴 together. Though he was not able to carry out this concrete aim because the situation had changed, the two-way contacts between the various states in the Western Regions and Han 漢 were, after all, initiated as a result of this mission during which Zhang Qian 張騫 went through all kinds of hardships and difficulties, taking thirteen years to go there and back. As Sima Qian 司馬遷 put it, Zhang Qian 張騫 "opened up spaces", and it can be said that

his services to the country were truly great. However, the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 20, only says that he "was sent as an envoy to Daxia 大夏, a distant and inaccessible region", and makes no mention whatsoever of his being sent as an envoy to Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Dayuan 大宛, and Kangju. The *Shiji* 史記, ch. 111, in discussing Zhang Qian's 張騫 first mission to the west also gives prominence to Daxia 大夏, but does not speak of the rest. These facts are sufficient to show how particular stress is laid on the discovery of Daxia 大夏 when people of the time appraised Zhang Qian's 張騫 mission to the west. Such being case, it is not at all surprising that the statement "[Marquis] Bowang 博望 (Zhang Qian 張騫), holding the tally, succeeded in Daxia 大夏" was actually adopted to sum up the life of Zhang Qian 張騫 in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 100B.

On the basis of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 116, after returning to his homeland, "Zhang Qian 張騫 reported to the emperor with enthusiasm that Daxia 大夏, which is located southwest of Han 漢, is eager to open relations with the Middle State and is much distressed that the Xiongnu 匈奴 are blocking the road in between. If we could find a new route from Shu 蜀 *via* the state of Shendu 身毒 (India), however, we would have a short and convenient way to reach Daxia 大夏 which would avoid the danger. The emperor therefore ordered Wang Ranyu 王然于, Bo Shichang 柏始昌, Lü Yueren 呂越人, and others to go on a secret expedition through the region of the southwestern barbarians and on to the west to search for the state of Shendu 身毒". From then on the Western Han 漢 began large-scale management of the Southwestern Barbarians, and Zangke 牂牁, Yuexi 越嶲, Shenli 沈黎, Wenshan 汶山, Wudu 武都 and Yizhou 益州 prefectures were set up from the sixth year of the reign-period *Yuanding* 元鼎 (114 B.C.) to the second year of the reign-period *Yuanfeng* 元封 (109 B.C.). According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, the aim of setting up the prefectures was mainly "the wish that these territories should form a link in the development of the route to Daxia 大夏". In fact, the envoys were sent out by Emperor Wu 武 in more than ten parties "from these newly founded prefectures to reach Daxia 大夏", but in the end did not succeed because of the obstructions of the Kunming 昆明. Emperor Wu's 武 large-scale management of the Southwestern Barbarians, despite the unfavorable conditions at that time, was precisely the result that Zhang Qian 張騫 "reported to the emperor with enthusiasm". It can be seen that Zhang Qian's 張騫 report on Daxia 大夏 must have had a deep impact on Emperor Wu 武.

Afterward, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, "the Son of Heaven thereupon consulted Zhang Qian 張騫 several times about Daxia 大夏 and other countries". Zhang Qian 張騫 then persuaded Emperor Wu 武 to have relations with Wusun 烏孫. He said, "Once we are connected with the Wusun 烏孫, Daxia 大夏 and the other states to the west of them could all be persuaded to come to court and acknowledge themselves our outer subjects". As expected, the Son of Heaven approved of Zhang Qian's 張騫 proposal, and Zhang Qian 張騫 was sent as an

envoy to Wusun 烏孫. According to the same chapter, "Zhang Qian 張騫, therefore, sent deputy envoys in several directions to the states of Dayuan 大宛, Kangju 康居, Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Daxia 大夏, Anxi 安息, Shendu 身毒, Yutian 于窰, Wumi 扞采 and the adjacent states". More than one year after Zhang Qian 張騫 had died, "some of the envoys whom Zhang Qian 張騫 had sent to Daxia 大夏 and other states returned with natives of those states, and after this the various states of the northwest began to have intercourse with Han 漢". Thus it can be known that Zhang Qian's 張騫 mission to Wusun was ostensibly for the purpose of combining with Wusun 烏孫 to resist the Xiongnu 匈奴, but fundamentally aimed at forging closer relations with Daxia 大夏. The coming of Daxia's 大夏 envoys with the deputy envoys Zhang Qian 張騫 had sent was simply taken as an indication that the various states of the northwest had begun to have intercourse with Han 漢.

During the reign-period *Taichu* 太初, Li Guangli 李廣利 went on a punitive expedition to Dayuan 大宛. At the beginning of the war, the Han 漢 army suffered a defeat and returned to Dunhuang 敦煌. The dukes, ministers, and councils called upon to deliberate. All wished to give up the expedition against Dayuan 大宛, but Emperor Wu did not agree with them. The reason, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, was that Emperor Wu 武 thought that "[Da]yuan [大]宛 was a small state, and that if Han 漢 was unable to reduce it, states such as Daxia 大夏 would gradually come to despise Han 漢; the [supply of] fine horses of [Da]Yuan [大]宛 would be cut off and would reach Han 漢; Wusun 烏孫 and Luntou 侖頭 would easily harass Han 漢 envoys, and he would become a laughing stock among the outer states. He then brought up a case against Deng Guang 鄧光 and those others who had declared that an expedition against [Da]Yuan [大]宛 would be most impractical". Thus, he dispatched main troops once again to attack [Da]yuan [大]宛, not hesitating to make "all parts of the Empire bestir themselves in contributing offerings". Here Emperor Wu's primary consideration was still Daxia 大夏.

The state of Daxia 大夏, which was thus always on the minds of the monarch and the subjects of the Western Han 漢, as mentioned above, was only a distant state whose "soldiers are weak and afraid to fight" and was subject to the king of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏. The central area of the state of Daxia 大夏 was completely controlled by the king of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, although there were five *Xihou* 翮侯 in the eastern mountains area who did not subordinate each other.<sup>[65]</sup> On the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, these five *Xihou* 翮侯 had certain autonomous rights, and were able to "provide supplies for Han 漢 envoys", but to invite such a state as an "outer subject" was, after all, not very important. Where, then, did the appeal of the Daxia 大夏 come from after all? At present, it would seem that the only conceivable answer is that Zhang Qian 張騫 and Emperor Wu 武 believed that the Daxia 大夏 people had moved from the south of Jin 晉, and that they were the descendants of the Taotang 陶唐. It is probably because Zhang Qian 張騫 had been personally on the scene and immersed in the remains of the Taotang 陶唐, and had reported to this

effect on his return home, that Emperor Wu 武 -- who craved greatness and success -  
- looked upon the Daxia 大夏 with such tremendous enthusiasm. <sup>[66]</sup> This fact was  
lost in oblivion until now, only because Sima Qian 司馬遷 was very cautious, not  
daring to speak of it openly, thus causing Zhang Qian's 張騫 revelations to sound  
like the absurd blather of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經. <sup>[67]</sup>

3. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded that "The people occupying the tracts  
from Dayuan 大宛 westwards as far as the state of Anxi 安息 talked different  
dialects, but their manners and customs being in the main identical, they understood  
each other. They had deep-set eyes, and most of them wore beards, and as shrewd  
merchants they would haggle about the merest trifles". The descriptive phrase "from  
Dayuan 大宛 westwards as far as the state of Anxi 安息", of course, includes the  
state of Daxia 大夏, since in the same chapter, it is also stated that "Daxia 大夏 is  
more than two thousand *li* 里 to the southwest of Dayuan 大宛". In his first mission  
to the west, Zhang Qian 張騫 passed through the state of Dayuan 大宛 and arrived  
in the land of Daxia 大夏 in person. After that, according to the same chapter, "It  
was from this period that the coming and going of envoys of foreign states of the  
northwest became more and more frequent". In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is also  
recorded that the five *Xihou* 翮侯 of Daxia 大夏 even "provided supplies for Han  
漢 envoys". This shows that the Han 漢 people were relatively conversant with the  
situation of the state of Daxia 大夏 in the Western Regions. Therefore, we have no  
reason to doubt the general descriptions of the physical appearance characteristic of  
the Daxia 大夏 people in the Western Regions, namely, "they had deep-set eyes, and  
most of them wore beards".

In another respect, on the basis of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 8, "Gaozu 高祖 (Liu Bang  
劉邦) was a man with a prominent nose and a dragon forehead. He had a beautiful  
beard on his chin and cheeks". And in the eulogy of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 1, it is said  
that:

In the *Chunqiu* 春秋, according to the Jin 晉 historian, Cai Mo 蔡  
墨, "When the Taotang 陶唐 had lost its power, among its descendants there  
was a Liu Lei 劉累 who learned to train dragons. He served Kongjia 孔甲. The  
Fan 范 people were his descendants". Moreover the Grandee Fan Xuanzi 范宣  
子 also said, "My ancestors before the time of Yu 虞 were the lords of the  
Taotang 陶唐. In the time of the Xia 夏 Dynasty, they were known as the  
Yulong 御龍. In the time of the Shang 商 Dynasty, they were known as the  
Shiwei 豕韋. In the time of the Zhou 周 Dynasty, they were known as the  
Tangdu 唐杜. When the state of Jin 晉 became the leader of the Xia 夏  
alliance, they were known as the Fan 范". A lord of the Fan 范 was the  
Supreme Judge of Jin 晉. In the time of Duke Wen 文 of Lu 魯, they fled to  
Qin 秦. Later they returned to Jin 晉. Of them, those who remained [in Qin  
秦] were known as the Liu 劉. <sup>[68]</sup> Liu Xiang 劉向 said, "In the time of the

Warring States, a member of the Liu 劉 was captured by Wei 魏 from Qin 秦, and when Qin 秦 destroyed Wei 魏, they moved to Daliang 大梁 and dwelt at Feng 豐". ...Thus the eulogy of Gaozu 高祖 said, "The line of descent of the Han 漢 Emperor is traced from the Emperor of the Tang 唐. Coming down to the Zhou 周 Dynasty, in the state of Qin 秦 it became the Liu 劉. It crossed into Wei 魏 and went eastwards. Thereupon its head became [the lord of] Feng 豐". [The lord of] Feng 豐 was indeed the Grand Emperor's father. The period since his moving [to Feng 豐] had been brief, for there are few mounds or graves at Feng 豐.

It seems clear that Liu Bang 劉邦 was a descendant of Liu Lei 劉累.<sup>[69]</sup> If this is really the case, it would not be a coincidence that the statements "with a prominent nose and a dragon forehead" and "they had deep-set eyes, and most of them wore beards" were cut from the same cloth. In other words, the general physical appearance characteristic of the Daxia 大夏 people in the Western Regions agrees with that of Liu Bang 劉邦. This shows that the predecessors of the Daxia 大夏, i.e., the Tochari, in the Western Regions were mainly the tribal association that took Yao's 堯 tribe as its suzerain, probably including the former Youtang 有唐. It also seems to contribute to an understanding of Emperor Wu's 武 special interest on the state of Daxia 大夏 in the Western Regions.

4. In the "Yaodian 堯典" chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書 it is recorded:

Thereupon [Yao] commanded Xihe 羲和, in reverent accordance with the observation of the wide heavens, to calculate and delineate the movements and appearances of the sun, the moon, the stars, and the zodiacal spaces; and respectfully to deliver the seasons to the people. He separately commanded Xizhong 羲仲 to reside at Yuyi 嵎夷, in what was called Yanggu 暘谷 (Bright Valley), and there respectfully to receive as a guest the rising sun, and to adjust and arrange the labors of the spring. "The day", he said, "is of medium length, and the constellation is in Niao 鳥; you may thus exactly determine midspring. The people begin to disperse; and birds and beasts breed and copulate. He further commanded Xishu 羲叔 to reside at Nanjiao 南交 and arrange the transformations of the summer, fully respecting, the extreme limit of the shadow. "The day", said he, "is at its longest, and the constellation is Huo 火; you may thus exactly determine mid-summer. The people are more dispersed; birds and beasts have their feathers and fur thin, and change their coats". He separately commanded Hezhong 和仲 to reside at the west, in what was called Meigu 昧谷 (the Dark Valley), and there respectfully to convoy the setting sun, and to adjust and arrange the completing labors of the autumn. "The night", he said, "is of medium length, and the constellation is Xu 虛; you may thus exactly determine mid-autumn. The people begin to feel at ease; and birds beasts have

their coats in good condition". He further commanded Heshu 和叔 to reside in the northern region, in what was called Youdu 幽都 (the Somber Capital), and there to adjust and examine the changes of the winter: "The day", said he, "is at its shortest, and the constellation is Mao 昴; thus you may exactly determine mid-winter. The people keep their cozy corners; and the coats of birds and beasts are downy and thick.

In the *Pseudo-Kong's* 孔 *Commentaries*, it is said that "The descendants of Zhongli 重黎, Xi 羲 and He 和, were in charge of heaven and earth and of the four seasons for generations". *Xihe* 羲和 was an important official position of the Taotang 陶唐. And according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, there was an official position named "*Xihou* 翺侯" [*xiəp-ho*], whose pronunciation approximated that of *Xihe* 羲和 [*xia-huai*], in the state of Daxia in the Western Regions. Since there were five *Xihou* 翺侯 in the state of Daxia 大夏 in the Western Regions, it may be possible to trace back *Xihou* 翺侯 to *Xihe* 羲和.

- [1] On the times and courses of the Da Yuezhi's 大月氏 two migrations to the west, see Yu, T. (1992), pp. 56-61.
- [2] For example, Gutschmid, p. 32; Tarn, pp. 283-287.
- [3] For example, Kingsmill, Marquart, p. 206.
- [4] Narain, p. 181.
- [5] Jones.
- [6] Cf. K. Enoki.
- [7] On the territory of the state of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, see Yu, T. (1992), pp. 56-61.
- [8] The earliest work who held this theory is Richthofen, p. 439. Tarn, pp. 283-287, also held a similar view.
- [9] For the sphere of the land of the Sai 塞, see Yu, T. (1992), pp. 136-137.
- [10] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 71-72. In my opinion, we cannot in fact know when the Sai 塞 tribes, especially the Tochari among them, entered the Ferghāna Basin. The earliest is possibly during the twenties of the sixth century B.C. when the Sai 塞 tribes expanded westwards as far as the northern bank of the Syr Darya from the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers; and the latest would be, at the same time when they invaded Bactria in c.140 B.C. or slightly earlier.
- [11] It is also possible that the state of Xiao Yuan 小宛 as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A was founded by the Tochari, see Yu, T. (1992), pp. 70-71.
- [12] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), p. 38.
- [13] Marquart, pp. 206-207, considers that the former land of the Daxia 大夏 was between Yutian 于闐 and Qiemo 且末, and that the Tochari people moved to Bactria from there. The view of Wang, G. (1984-2) is roughly the same as that of Marquart. In my opinion, this theory is not inadequate. This is because Strabo records clearly that the Tochari people invaded Bactria from the northern bank of the Syr Darya.

- [14] Although "太行與卑耳之谿" (the gulches of Taihang 太行 and Beier 卑耳) was originally noted as "太行與卑耳之貉", it has been corrected on the basis of the theory in the *Dushu Zazhi*, vol. 5. Ogawa (1939), pp. 104-106, considers that the character for "Mo 貉" is correct, and that the reference is to Duke Huan's 桓 bringing the Mo 貉 of Beier 卑耳 with him to arrest the Qin Xia 秦夏 who did not submit. In my opinion, Ogawa's theory is not acceptable.
- [15] "Taixia 泰夏" was originally noted as "Qinxia 秦夏", which is a textual error owing to similarity in shape. "Taixia 泰夏" is no other than "Daxia 大夏".
- [16] "Xi Yu 西虞 (the Western Yu 虞)" or "Xi Wu 西吴 (the Western Wu 吴)" refers to the tribes of the Yuzhi 月氏 that lived in the Hexi 河西 region, see the second chapter of this book.
- [17] See *Rizhilu*, vol. 31.
- [18] Cf. Ogawa (1939), pp. 101-117; Huang (1989-1).
- [19] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), p. 25.
- [20] See *Lüshi Chunqiu Jiaoshi*, pp. 291-292.
- [21] Cf. Ma & Wang.
- [22] Stevenson.
- [23] Thomas; Bailey.
- [24] Huang (1989-1).
- [25] Cf. *Rizhilu*, vol. 31., and Xu (1985-1), Liu, Q. (1991-2).
- [26] Liu, Q. (1991-2).
- [27] Tong (1962).
- [28] Liu, Q. (1991-2).
- [29] In the "Tangpu 唐譜" chapter of the *Shipu* 詩譜 it is recorded that "Tang 唐 was the land in which Emperor Yao 堯 founded his former capital and it is the present Jinyang 晉陽 County of Taiyuan 太原. Yao 堯 had dwelt there at first, then moved to Pingyang 平陽 County of Hedong 河東. King Cheng 成 granted Yao's 堯 former ruins to Shuyu 叔虞, his younger brother, who was thus known as the Marquis of Tang 唐. "The Marquis of Tang 唐" was restored as "Marquis of Jin 晉" until the time when Xie 燮, his son, succeeded because the Jin 晉 River follows to the south of Tang 唐". It may be the basis for Du Yu's 杜預 commentary.
- [30] Liu, Q. (1991-2).
- [31] Cf. the *Rizhilu*, vol. 31., and Ding (1935).
- [32] *Rizhilu*, vol. 31.
- [33] Liu, Q. (1991-2).
- [34] See Guo, M. (1982-1); Hu (1989). The aim of Guo and Hu's papers is to prove that the Tufang 土方 can be identified with the nations of Xia 夏.
- [35] See Hu (1989).
- [36] Chen, p. 272.
- [37] "*Fu* 敷" as seen in the statement "禹敷下土方 (Yu 禹 came down to put the land of the Tufang 土方 in order all over)", Zheng's 鄭 commentary on the "Lai 賚" poem of the "Zhou Song 周頌" of the *Shijing* 詩經 says "*fu* 敷 means all over". Here it refers to put all in order. In the "Tengwengong 滕文公 A" chapter of the *Mengzi* 孟子 it is recorded

that "堯獨憂之，舉舜而敷治焉" (Yao 堯 alone was worried about the plight, and appointed Shun 舜 to put the world in order all over).

[38] The related explanation See Hu (1989).

[39] Cf. Hu (1989).

[40] Cf. Zou (1980-2), esp. 280-281. Zou considers that Tufang 土方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions was located at Shilou 石樓. In my opinion, Shilou 石樓 was one of the locations in which the Tufang 土方 people as seen in the oracle inscriptions had lived in Yin 殷 times.

[41] Tong (1983), p. 9.

[42] Yang, Sh.-4; the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhu*, p. 1088.

[43] The "Zhengyu 鄭語" of the *Guoyu 國語* says, "To the south of Chengzhou 成周 (the eastern capital of Zhou 周, Luoyi 洛邑) there were ...Sui 隨 and Tang 唐". Wei Zhao's 韋昭 commentary says, "Sui 隨 and Tang 唐 both were surnamed Ji 姬". The *Zuozhuan 左傳* (the twelfth year of Duke Xuan 宣) says, "The viscount of Chu 楚 sent Tang Jiao 唐狡 and Cai Jiuju 蔡鳩居 with a message to Marquis Hui 惠 of Tang 唐". Du Yu's 杜預 commentary says, "Tang 唐 was a small state which was subject to Chu 楚. There is Upper Tang 唐 Township to the southeast of Anchang 安昌 County of Yiyang 義陽". The *Zuozhuan 左傳* (the third year of Duke Ding 定) states, "Duke Cheng 成 of Tang 唐 went to Chu 楚". Du Yu's 杜預 commentary says, "Duke Chang 成 was a descendant of Marquis Hui 惠 of Tang 唐". The *Shiji 史記*, ch. 40, states, "King Zhao 昭 of Chu 楚 destroyed Tang 唐". The *Kuodizhi 括地志*, cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi 史記正義*, ch. 40, states, "The former town of Upper Tang 唐 Township is a distance of one hundred and fifty *li* 里 to the southeast of Zaoyang 棗陽 County of Sui 隨 Prefecture. It was the ancient state of Tang 唐. The *Shiben 世本* says, 'Tang 唐 was a state which had the surname Ji 姬'. This shows that there was a Tang 唐 of the surname Ji 姬, besides a Tang 唐 of the surname Qi 祁. The latter was a small state which was subject to Chu 楚". The *Shiji Suoyin 史記索隱*, ch. 39, says, "Jin 晉 was granted Tang 唐 at first, thus Jin 晉 was known as Tang Shuyu 唐叔虞. And Tang 唐 was originally made up of the descendants of Yao 堯, was granted the ruins of Xia 夏, and founded its capital at E 鄂. E 鄂 is the present Daxia 大夏. When King Cheng 成 destroyed Tang 唐, the Tang 唐 people were separately removed to the regions between Xu 許 and Ying 郢. Therefore Duke Cheng 成 of Tang 唐 occurs in the *Chunqiu 春秋*, whose state is in the present prefecture of Tang 唐". This explanation seems to be inadequate because the Tang 唐 of the surname Qi 祁 and the Tang 唐 of the surname Ji 姬 were lumped together. Also, the *Xintangshu 新唐書*, ch. 74B, states, "The Tang 唐 came from the surname Qi 祁", but also said, "King Cheng 成 destroyed Tang 唐, then it was granted to Shuyu 叔虞, his younger brother. The descendants of Liu Lei 劉累 who dwelt in Lu 魯 County were made Marquis of Tang 唐 afterwards to consecrate sacrifices to Yao 堯. The land was in Fangcheng 方城 of Tang 唐 Prefecture. In the fifth year of Duke Ding 定 of Lu 魯, Chu 楚 destroyed Tang 唐, and their descendants were surnamed after their state, and were officials in Jin 晉 and Chu 楚 separately". In my opinion, the Tang 唐 near Chu 楚, whose surname was Ji 姬, may be a branch of the Yutang 有唐 which moved southwards after it had been destroyed by Yao 堯.



- [144] See Yang (1937).
- [145] The *Shangshu Guwen Shuzheng*, vol. 5 B (73), considers that this refers to Taikang 太康. Yang (1941) suggests that it is a reference to Taotang's 陶唐 being destroyed by the Xia 夏 Dynasty. Liu, Q. (1991-2) suggests that it is a reference to King Cheng 成 of Zhou's 周 destroying Tang 唐. In my opinion, Yang's theory may be correct.
- [146] The *Shiji* 史記, ch. 45, states that, in the second year of Marquis Ai 哀 of Han 韓, "[Han 韓] destroyed Zheng 鄭, and thus removed its capital to Zheng 鄭". The *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 45, says, "Han 韓 removed its capital thus changed the title of its state into Zheng 鄭. Therefore, King Hui 惠 of Han 韓 was called King Hui 惠 of Zheng 鄭 in the *Zhanguoce* 戰國策. It is just like Wei's 魏 being called King of Liang 梁 after the transfer of its capital to Daliang 大梁". This is an example of how title may be changed owing to the transfer of a capital. Cf. Gong.
- [147] In the "Yuandaoxun 原道訓" chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 it is recorded that "Anciently, Gonggong 共工 bucked hard against Mount Buzhou 不周 and made the earth slope to the southeast. He contested with Gaoxin 高辛 for the throne, so that he slipped into a deep pool. His clansmen were killed and destroyed, his line was cut off, and sacrifices to his ancestors were also stopped". Furthermore, in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 40, it is recorded that "Zhongli 重黎 occupied the position of the Director of Fire for Emperor Ku 嚳, i.e., Gaoxin 高辛, he had rendered great service, and could brighten the land under heaven. Emperor Ku 嚳 called him Zhurong 祝融. When [the lord of] the Gonggong 共工 revolted, Emperor Ku 嚳 made Zhongli 重黎 kill him and his relatives but not totally. Thereupon Emperor Ku 嚳 killed Zhongli 重黎 on the day of *gengyin* 庚寅 and ordered Wuhui 吳回, his younger brother, to be the successor of Zhongli 重黎. Wuhui 吳回 also occupied the position of the Director of Fire and was known as Zhurong 祝融". Combined with the reference in the "Shijijie 史記解" chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書 cited in this chapter, it can be seen that [the lord of] the Gonggong 共工 was killed during the reign-period of Emperor Ku 嚳, i.e., Gaoxin 高辛. Emperor Ku 嚳 did not order Yao 堯 to attack him until he made Zhongli 重黎 kill him and his relatives but not totally. Yao 堯 had been made the Marquis of Tang 唐 at that time and thus was known as Tang 唐. This view is in the light of Chen Hanzhang 陳漢章, see *Yi Zhoushu Huijiao Jizhu*, p. 1025.
- [148] Cf. *Yi Zhoushu Huijiao Jizhu*, pp. 1034-1035.
- [149] In the "Fu 阜" radical of extant *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字, vol. 14B, the reference is noted as "*tao* 陶 means a two-fold mound. [Taoqiu 陶丘] is at Jiyin 濟陰.... And the *Xiashu* 夏書 says, 'to reach Taoqiu 陶丘 in the east.' There is the town of Yao 堯 at Taoqiu 陶丘, where Yao 堯 had dwelt, thus he was known as [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐".
- [150] In the "Shiqiu 釋丘" chapter of the *Erya* 爾雅 it is said that "A two-fold mound is called *tao* 陶 mound". Guo's 郭 commentary says, "Now there is the Taoqiu 陶丘 in the town of Jiyin 濟陰". In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28A, it is recorded that "Taoqiu 陶丘 (Pavilion Taoqiu 陶丘) as seen in the "Yugong 禹貢" [chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書] is to the southwest" of County Dingtao 定陶 in Prefecture Jiyin 濟陰.
- [151] The *Diwangji* 帝王紀, cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 1, says, "Yao 堯 founded his capital at Pingyang 平陽, which was the state of Tang 唐 as seen in the *Shi* 詩". The *Kuodizhi* 括地志, cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 39, says, "The former town of

Tang 唐 is a distance of twenty *li* 里 to the west of Yicheng 翼城 County in Jiang 絳 Prefecture. It was the feudality of the descendants of Yao 堯".

- [52] We cannot know precisely what the relations between "the Western Xia 夏" as seen in the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書 and "the Western Xia 夏" as seen in the *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳 were, but the geographical situations of both were probably not the same. The latter should be in the Hexi 河西 region.
- [53] It may be suggested that "the Western Xia 夏" as seen in the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書 was none other than Daxia 大夏 to which Shichen 實沉 moved. It was called "Western Xia 夏" because it was located to the west of the Middle State at that time. Thus the Tang 唐 people's destroying the Western Xia 夏 in fact meant that the Tang 唐 people replaced Shichen 實沉 to occupy Daxia 大夏. But there is no evidence to prove that the state founded by Shichen 實沉 was Daxia 大夏. Given that Shichen 實沉 and his tribe "daily carried their shields and spears", it would seem that they cannot be said to have been "benevolent in nature, criticizing war".
- [54] The "Wanghuijie 王會解" of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書 refers still to "Tang Shu 唐叔", "Duke of Tang 唐" and "Daxia 大夏", besides "Rong 戎 of Northern Tang 唐". "Tang Shu 唐叔" refers to the younger brother of King Cheng 成 (It has been suggested he was the younger brother of King Wu 武 [cf. Chen, P. (1988), pp. 71-75], who were granted the land of Daxia 大夏 at Yicheng 翼城. "Duke of Tang" refers to descendants of the Taotang 陶唐 who were granted the feudality. When King Cheng 成 destroyed Tang 唐 they were removed to Du 杜, and their leader was thenceforth known as the Earl of Du 杜. Therefore Duke of Tang 唐 must have been the ruler of another feudality. It was possibly at Pingyang 平陽 or Yuxiang 虞鄉. Wang Yinglin 王應麟 considers that the Duke of Tang 唐 was a descendant of Emperor Yao 堯 who was granted a feudality at Zhu 祝, cf. the *Yi Zhoushu Huijiao Jizhu*, p. 858. The "Daxia 大夏", Kong 孔 says "were the northwest Rong 戎". This possibly refers to a branch of Tang 唐 people who moved westwards to the Hexi 河西 region after Tang 唐 had been destroyed.
- [55] On the basis of the "Fenshui 汾水" chapter of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, there was the town of Tang 唐 near Zhi 彘 County in Western Han 漢 times, namely, Yong'an 永安 County in Eastern Han 漢 times (the present county of Huo 霍). It is possible that the county was the settlement of the Rong 戎 of Northern Tang 唐. Chen Zan's 臣瓚 commentary, cited by Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentary on the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28A, says, "The so-called Tang 唐 is the present county of Yong'an 永安 in Hedong 河東, which is a distance of four hundred *li* 里 from Jin 晉".
- [56] The *Xintangshu* 新唐書, ch. 74B, holds the same theory: "Emperor Yao 堯 was made the Marquis of Tang 唐 at first. The location is Tang 唐 County in Zhongshan 中山".
- [57] The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28A, states that Jinyang 晉陽 County in Taiyuan 太原 was "originally the state of Tang 唐 as seen in the *Shi* 詩. King Cheng 成 of Zhou 周 granted it to Shuyu 叔虞, his younger brother after he had destroyed Tang 唐". In my opinion, the theory is inadequate. Tang Shuyu's 唐叔虞 feudality must have been at Yicheng 翼城.
- [58] The *Jizhong Zhushu* 汲冢竹書, cited by Falin's 法琳 "Dui Fuyi Feisheng Foseng Zhen 對傅奕廢省佛僧箴" states, "Shun 舜 imprisoned Yao 堯 at Pingyang 平陽 and captured his

- throne". See the *Guang Hongmingji* 廣弘明集, vol. 11 (the *Dazhengzang*, vol. 52, p. 164). It is also evidence to prove that Yao 堯 founded his capital at Pingyang 平陽.
- [59] On the basis of the *Jinben Zhushu Jinian* 今本竹書紀年, the time was the seventh year of the reign-period of Kongjia 孔甲.
- [60] The *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 42, says that "The sovereign of Xia 夏 granted the ruins of Xia 夏 to the descendants of Liu Lei 劉累, who was made the Marquis of Tang 唐". In my opinion, there is a error in the theory. He to whom the sovereign of Xia 夏 granted the feudality was Liu Lei 劉累 but not his descendants.
- [61] Cf. the *Maoshi Zhuanjian Tongshi*, vol. 32 (pp. 1181-1182). Also, in the "Shixing Pian 氏姓篇" of the *Shiben* 世本 (1) it is said that "The character *fang* 防 could be interchangeable with *fang* 房 [*biuang*] in ancient times. The *Guoyu* 國語, the *Guangyun* 廣韻, Shen Yue's 沈約 commentary on the *Zhushu Jinian* 竹書紀年, and the "Shixibiao 世系表" chapter of the *Tangshu* 唐書 all state that Shun 舜 enfeoffed Danzhu 丹朱 at Fang 房, which was located in Fangzhu 防渚 as seen in the *Chunqiu* 春秋, and that this was also Fang 防, i.e., Fangling 房陵, as seen in the *Shisanzhouzhi* 十三州志. At the time of Kongjia 孔甲 of the Xia 夏 Dynasty, the Shiwei 豕韋 whose surname was Peng 彭 were deposed and Liu Lei 劉累, a descendant of Danzhu 丹朱 replaced there. The birthplace of Lei 累 must have been Fang 房 and he was thus surnamed after his birthplace and his state was named Yulong 御龍. This is not the Shiwei 豕韋 from the Zhurong 祝融 whose surname was Peng 彭". In my opinion, the statement "The birthplace of Lei 累 must have been Fang 房" is a conjecture. Even if Liu Lei 劉累 was born at Fang 房, it would not be possible that he was thus known as the Shiwei 豕韋.
- [62] Jia Kui 賈逵 says the descendants of Liu Lei 劉累 replaced the descendants of Zhurong 祝融 and were granted Shiwei 豕韋. This seems to disagree with the statement that "The descendants of the Tang 唐 people followed him and served the dynasties of Xia 夏 and Shang 商". Those who served the Xia 夏 Dynasty were the descendants of Liu Lei 劉累 (i.e., the Yulong 御龍), and those who served the Shang 商 Dynasty were the descendants of Liu Lei 劉累 (i.e., the Shiwei 豕韋). Both were granted the land of Tang 唐.
- [63] The *Kuodizhi* cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 1 states that "The former town of Yao 堯 is a distance of fifteen *li* 里 to the northeast of Juancheng 鄆城 County of Pu 濮 Prefecture. The *Zhushu Jinian* 竹書紀年 says, 'Anciently, Yao 堯 was put in jail by Shun 舜 when his virtue declined'".
- [64] Barthold, p. 65.
- [65] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 29-32.
- [66] In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-ninth year of Duke Xiang 襄) it is recorded that "Prince Zha 札 of Wu 吳, having come to Lu 魯 on a complimentary mission. ...He then begged that he might hear the music of Zhou 周. ...They sang to him the [odes of] Tang 唐. He said, 'How expressive of thought and deep [anxiety]! Did not Tang 唐 possess the people that came down from [the lord of] the Taotang 陶唐. But for that, how should there have been here an anxiety so far-reaching? Were it not for the remaining influence of his excellent virtue, who could have produced anything like this'? ...When he saw the dancers of the Daxia 大夏, he said, 'Admirable! Zealous labor without any assumption of merit! – Who but Yu 禹 could have accomplished this?'" It can be expected that Zhang Qian 張騫 must have heard

music, seen dances, and observed the customs and habits of Daxia 大夏 when he was in that state. In addition, the state of Dayuan 大宛 was also founded by the Tochari. However, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, Zhang Qian 張騫 was not able to make a thorough investigation there owing to the fact that he only *via* Dayuan 大宛 and did not stop. His impression of Dayuan 大宛 was thus, of course, different from Daxia 大夏 in which he stayed for more than one year.

- [67] Nonetheless, Sima Qian 司馬遷 broke precedent and set aside a special biography on the state of Daxia 大夏, which had already been destroyed in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123. This gives a hint that he paid particular attention to Daxia 大夏, albeit in his own cautious way. In contrast, the special biography on the state of Daxia 大夏 was omitted in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96 and the related information was attached to the biography on the state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏.
- [68] Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentary says, "In the thirteenth year of Duke Wen 文, the Jin 晉 people got Wei Shouyu 魏壽餘, commander of the Wei 魏 district, to feign an uprising in his territory as a means of luring Shi Hui 士會 into a trap and thereupon accepted him (Shi Hui 士會). The Qin 秦 people then sent Shi Hui's 士會 wife and children. His separated tribe which remained behind him in Qin 秦 resumed the surname of Liu Lei 劉累 because they had no posfeudality".
- [69] On the basis of Gu (1996), all records of the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 which one used to prove that the Han 漢 were the descendants of Yao 堯 are unacceptable, because they had been rewritten by Liu Xin 劉歆. In my opinion, no evidence has been found that Liu Xin's 劉歆 altered the original text of the *Zuozhuan* 左傳. The theory that the Han 漢 was the descendants of Yao 堯 does not occur in the *Shiji* 史記, thus it is highly suspicious. But this theory had been popular during the reign period of Emperor Zhao 昭 at the latest, and thus was not forged by Liu Xin 劉歆. See Qian (1996) and the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhu*, pp. 596-597. This fact that Zhang Qian 張騫 and even Emperor Wu 武 showed special solicitude for Daxia 大夏 seems to show that the legend had been popular during the reign period of Emperor Wu 武 at the earliest. It is not recorded by Sima Qian 司馬遷 probably because the theory was considered to be completely unacceptable. In any case, the objective possibility cannot be ruled out that Liu Bang 劉邦 was a descendant of Liu Lei 劉累 since his surname was Liu 劉.

## CHAPTER 2 ON THE MIGRATION OF THE YOUYU

### A

The Youyu 有虞 was possibly a branch of the tribe of Zhuanxu 顓頊 which moved to Lu 魯 from Shu 蜀.

1. In the "Luyu 魯語 1" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語, it is recorded that "The Youyu 有虞 performed the sacrifice called *di* 禘 to the Yellow Emperor and the sacrifice called *zu* 祖 to Zhuanxu 顓頊". It seems to show that the source of the Youyu 有虞 can be traced back at least to Zhuanxu 顓頊.

2. In the "Dixi 帝繫" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記, it is recorded that "The Yellow Emperor dwelt in Xuanyuan 軒轅 Hill, and took a wife from the Xiling 西陵. The daughter of [the lord of] the Xiling 西陵, who was called Leizu 嫫祖, begot Qingyang 青陽 and Changyi 昌意. Qingyang 青陽 came down and dwelt in the valley of the Di 氾 River, while Changyi 昌意 came down and dwelt in the valley of the Ruo 若 River. Changyi 昌意 took a wife from the Shushan 蜀山. The daughter of [the lord of] the Shushan 蜀山, who was called Changpu 昌濮, begot Zhuanxu 顓頊". Thus, the former land of Zhuanxu 顓頊 was located in the valley of the Ruo 若 River, the present river of Yalong 雅礮 in Sichuan 四川.<sup>[1]</sup>

3. In the "Chuyu 楚語 2" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語, it is recorded that "When Shaohao 少皞 was in decline, the tribes of Jiuli 九黎 disturbed the government by virtue, people and gods became intermingled, and the name and reality were beyond description. Everybody performed his sacrifice, and every household proclaimed itself a sorcerer or sorceress. Indeed, there was no restraint and sincerity. As a result of too many sacrifices people became poor, and were unable to gain good fortune. These sacrifices had no standard, as people and gods were established on an equal plain. People showed disrespect to a treaty of alliance, and had no sense of reverence. The gods became accustomed to the people's ways, and no longer displayed their graces. The gods did not shower blessings on grain, thus there was no food to offer sacrifices. Disaster and calamity were frequently sent down, nobody could give full play to his spirit. Zhuanxu 顓頊 succeeded, and ordered his Southern Director, Zhong 重, to take care of heaven for the purpose of linking up gods, the Fire Director, Li 黎, to take care of earth for the purpose of linking up people, and made the original order recover, so that gods and people would no longer impinge upon and slight each other.

This means that the connection between heaven and earth was cut off". It can thus be deduced that Zhuanxu was the successor of Shaohao 少皞. "Shaohao 少皞" also is written as "Shaohao 少昊". And if we believe the following record in *Diwang Shiji* 帝王世紀 (cited in the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 79),

Emperor Zhuanxu 顓頊, [the lord of] the Gaoyang 高陽, was the grandson of the Yellow Emperor, and the son of Changyi 昌意, whose surname was Ji 姬. His mother, Jingpu 景僕, was a daughter of [the lord of] the Shushan 蜀山. She was Changyi's 昌意 legal wife and was known as Nüshu 女樞. By the end of the Jintian's 金天 reign period, Nüshu 女樞 begot Zhuanxu 顓頊 in the valley of the Ruo 若 River, who, wearing a weapon on the top of his head, had divine character. His father, Changyi 昌意, was the son of the Yellow Emperor's legal wife. However, he was downgraded and sent to the valley of the Ruo 若 River as a prince because of his inferior character. At the age of ten, Zhuanxu 顓頊 assisted Shaohao 少昊 in governing the country. At the age of twelve, the ceremony called *guan* 冠 (marking a man's coming of age) was held, and at the age of twenty, he ascended the throne. After quelling the rebellion of the tribes of Jiuli 九黎, he named the official titles according to terms of fire. He ordered his Southern Director, Zhong 重, to take care of heaven for the purpose of linking up gods, and the Northern Director, Li 黎, to take care of earth for the purpose of linking up people. Thereupon gods and people were not intermixed, and the ten thousand things of creation had their order. At first he established his capital at Qionsang 窮桑, but later moved it to Shangqiu 商丘....

There is no harm in considering that some members of Zhuanxu's 顓頊 tribe moved from the valley of the Ruo 若 River to Qionsang 窮桑 to assist Shaohao 少皞.<sup>[2]</sup> Qionsang 窮桑 was originally the settlement of Shaohao 少皞. According to the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the twenty-ninth year of Duke Zhao 昭):

Shaohao 少皞 had four uncles, called Zhong 重, Gai 該, Xiu 脩, and Xi 熙, who were able to regulate metal, wood, and water. Zhong 重 was made [director of] Goumang 句芒; Gai 該 was made [director of] Rushou 蓐收; and Xiu 脩 and Xi 熙 were made [directors of] Xuanming 玄冥. For ages, those families did not fail in their duties, but completed the merit of Qionsang 窮桑. These shared in three of the sacrifices.

Du's 杜 commentary says, "Qionsang 窮桑 was the title of Shaohao 少皞. The four men were able to manage their officials, they did not fail in their duties, and they helped bring the merit of Shaohao 少皞 to success. They shared all the sacrifices after their death. Qionsang 窮桑 was located in the north of Lu 魯".<sup>[3]</sup>

In the "Dahuang Dongjing 大荒東經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經, it is recorded that "On the far side of the East Sea is a great abyss. This is the state of Shaohao 少昊. Here Shaohao 少昊 reared Emperor Zhuanxu 顓頊, who threw away his zither and lute". It is suggested that "It is shown that here Shaohao 少昊 reared Emperor Zhuanxu 顓頊, who left behind his playthings, zither and lute, here".<sup>[4]</sup> Thus it can be seen that the statement of the *Diwang Shiji* 帝王世紀 was not based on rumour and speculation.

4. The *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1, refers to "Emperor Zhuanxu 顓頊, [the lord of] the Gaoyang 高陽".<sup>[5]</sup> Song Zhong's 宋衷 commentary, cited by the *Shiji Suoying* 史記索隱, says, "Zhuanxu 顓頊 was his name. Gaoyang 高陽 was the title of his state". Zhang Yan's 張晏 commentary, cited by the same book, says, "Gaoyang 高陽 was the place name in which Zhuanxu 顓頊 was raised". In my opinion, since Zhuanxu 顓頊 took "Gaoyang 高陽" as the title of his state; since "Gaoyang 高陽" was also the name of the place in which he had been raised; and since according to the "Guyue 古樂" chapter of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, "Emperor Zhuanxu 顓頊 was born in the valley of the Ruo 若 River, and in fact dwelt in Kongsang 空桑" it can be deduced that "Gaoyang 高陽" [*ko-jiang*] is a different transcription of "Kongsang 空桑" [*khong-sang*]. Since "Kongsang 空桑" was the name of a mount, which was in the north of Lu 魯;<sup>[6]</sup> and since both "Qionsang 窮桑" [*giuəm-sang*] and "Kongsang 空桑" can be regarded as different transcriptions of one and the same name, located in the north of Lu 魯, "Kongsang 空桑" can be identified with "Qionsang 窮桑". Thus the time when Zhuanxu 顓頊 took "Gaoyang 高陽" as the title of his state was after Shaohao's 少昊 death. Since "Gaoyang 高陽" is a different transcriptions of "Qionsang 窮桑" The Gaoyang 高陽 can be taken as the Qionsang 窮桑. Zhuanxu 顓頊 in fact followed the former title of Shaohao 少昊.

5. In the "Zhengshuo 正說" chapter of the *Lunheng* 論衡, it is said that "Tang 唐, Yu 虞, Xia 夏, Yin 殷 and Zhou 周 were all the names of the lands. Yao 堯 succeeded to the throne in the capacity of the Marquis of Tang 唐. Shun 舜 began to flourish in the land of Yu 虞. Yu 禹 rose from the land of Xia 夏. Tang 湯 sprang up in the land of Yin 殷. King Wu 武 made his attack relying on the land of Zhou 周. These were originally the lands in which they arose, and they were used to refer to their states, because, just as people are surnamed, they attached importance to their foundation and did not forget their beginning. It is suggested that Tang 唐, Yu 虞, Xia 夏, Yin 殷 and Zhou 周 as seen in the *Shangshu* 尚書, the code names of ruling the land under heaven, were all the indications of merit and virtue, and epitomized abundance. Therefore, *tang* 唐 was interpreted as vast, *yu* 虞 as happy, *xia* 夏 as great, *yin* 殷 as middle, and *zhou* 周 as reaching. Yao 堯 was so vast that people were not able to describe him. In the time of Shun 舜 the people under heaven were very happy. Yu 禹 carried on the two emperors' cause to make the way vast, so that people were not able to describe him. Yin 殷 followed the middle course.

King Wu 武 of Zhou's 周 merits and virtues reached practically everywhere. Their approaches were good and they praised the five Emperors to the utmost, but their uprightness was disobeyed and the original meaning was lost". In my opinion, this view is correct. "Yu 虞" [*ngiua*] of "Youyu 有虞" can be understood as a shortened form of "Gaoyang 高陽" or "Kongsang 空桑" ([*k*] and [*ng*], [*kh*] and [*ng*] can be exchanged for each other respectively, which is called *pangniu* 旁紐 in ancient Chinese phonology). The state of Youyu 有虞 was the descendants of the Gaoyang 高陽, namely, the members of the tribe of Zhuanxu 顓頊 who moved eastwards to Kongsang 空桑. Of course, it is also possible to regard "Yushi 虞氏" [*ngiua-tjie*] as a different transcription of "Gaoyang 高陽" or "Kongsang 空桑". The character *shi* 氏 here serves a dual capacity. On the one hand, combined with *yu* 虞, it forms the transcription of the state name. On the other hand, it expresses *shi* 氏 of *xingshi* 姓氏. The "Feigong 非攻 C" chapter of the *Mozi* 墨子 says that "Anciently, the Sanmiao 三苗 were in great disorder, ...Gaoyang 高陽 gave [Yu 禹] the command in the Dark Palace...". The fact that "Gaoyang 高陽" here refers to Shun 舜 can be taken as evidence.<sup>[7]</sup> In other words, "Youyu 有虞" and "Gaoyang 高陽" are in fact different transcriptions of one and the same name, i.e., referring to the tribe of Zhuanxu 顓頊 that moved eastwards.

6. The "Yaodian 堯典" chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書 says that "He (Yao 堯) separately commanded Xizhong 羲仲 to reside at Yuyi 嵎夷, in what was called Yanggu 暘谷 (Bright Valley)". In the *Pseudo-Kong's* 孔 *Commentaries*, it is said that "The lands of the eastern border are called Yuyi 嵎夷. Yang 暘 means bright. The sunrises from the valley making the land under heaven bright, thus it is called Bright Valley. The Bright Valley and Yuyi 嵎夷 refer to the same place. Xizhong 羲仲 was the director of the East". From this, it can be understood that "Yuyi 嵎夷" is none other than Bright Valley. The former is a transcription, and the latter is a semantic translation.

Also, "Yuyi 嵎夷" is noted as "Yuyi 嵎夷" in the *Yupian* 玉篇, ch. 2 (under the "Tu 土" radical), according to the commentary, "is the place where the sun rises". And the *Shizi* 尸子, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 3, says, "Shaohao 少昊, [the lord of] the Jintian 金天, resided at Qionsang 窮桑. The sunlight of five colors shone upon Qionsang 窮桑 in turn". From this, it can be seen that the original meaning of "Kongsang 空桑" or "Qionsang 窮桑", and even "Gaoyang 高陽" or "Yushi 虞氏" all refer to sunrise.<sup>[8]</sup> "Kongsang 空桑", "Qionsang 窮桑", "Gaoyang 高陽", "Yushi 虞氏", and "Yuyi 嵎夷" [*ngio-jiei*] can thus be regarded as different transcriptions of one and the same name.

7. In the "Zhengyu 鄭語" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語, it is recorded that "Of the descendants of those who helped heaven and earth to succeed in their great exploit there were none who were not illustrious. The situation of Yu 虞, Xia 夏, Shang 商 and Zhou 周 were all like this. Mu 幕 of Yu 虞 was able to hear soft breeze, and reared the ten thousand things of creation and made them happy to grow. Yu 禹 of



Xia 夏 was able to bring floods and fires under permanent control, and he put the various elements of life in their proper places. Qi 契 of Shang 商 was able to coordinate the five moral human relations, and to teach and appease the common people. Qi 棄 of Zhou 周 was able to sow cereals and vegetables in order to supply people with food and clothing. Their descendants were all kings, dukes, marquises and earls". Of them, Mu 幕 of Yu 虞, who is juxtaposed with Yu 禹 of Xia 夏, Qi 契 of Shang 商 and Qi 棄 of Zhou 周, was possibly the *de facto* primogenitor of the tribe of Zhuanxu 顓頊 that moved eastwards. Therefore, the "Luyu 魯語 1" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 says that "Mu 幕 was a person who was able to follow Zhuanxu 顓頊, therefore the Youyu 有虞 performed the sacrifice called *bao* 報 to him". Combining the statement of the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the eighth year of Duke Zhao 昭), "From Mu 幕 to Gusou 瞽叟 there was not [a chief of the family] who acted contrary to the laws [of Heaven]" with that of the "Dixi 帝繫" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記, "The Yellow Emperor begot Changyi 昌意, Changyi 昌意 begot Gaoyang 高陽, who was Emperor Zhuanxu 顓頊; Zhuanxu 顓頊 begot Qiongchan 窮蟬, who begot Jingkang 敬康; Jingkang 敬康 begot Goumang 句芒, Goumang 句芒 begot Jiaoniu 蟠牛, who begot Gusou 瞽叟; Gusou 瞽叟 begot Chonghua 重華, who was Emperor Shun 舜", it seems that "Qiongchan 窮蟬" whom "Zhuanxu 顓頊" begot must have been "Mu 幕" or "Mu 幕 of Yu 虞".<sup>[9]</sup> This is because "Qiongchan 窮蟬" [*giuəm-zjian*] can be taken as a different transcription of "Qionsang 窮桑". Zhuanxu 顓頊 named his state "Gaoyang 高陽" and his son had another name "Qiongchan 窮蟬", because the tribe of Zhuanxu 顓頊 dwelt in Qionsang 窮桑 after Shaohao 少昊.

In sum, members of the tribe of Zhuanxu 顓頊 moved eastwards to Qionsang 窮桑 from the valley of the Ruo 若 River. At first they assisted Shaohao 少昊, then after they took the latter's place it was called "Gaoyang 高陽" (i.e., "Youyu 有虞").

## B

A branch of the Youyu 有虞 again moved to Jin 晉 from Lu 魯.

1. The "Shangxian 尚賢 B" chapter of the *Mozi* 墨子 says, "In ancient times Shun 舜 farmed at Mount Li 歷, made pottery on the banks of the river, and fished at Lake Lei 雷. Yao 堯 discovered him on the sunny side of Lake Fu 服". Parallel records can also be seen in the "Shangxian 尚賢 C" chapter of the same book, but herein the statement "trafficked at Changyang 常陽" follows "fished at Lake Lei 雷". The geographical locations of the places are referred to as follows:

"Mount Li 歷", according to Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 commentary, cited by *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 1, "was in Hedong 河東". In the *Kuodizhi* 括地志, cited by *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 1, it is recorded that "Mount Leishou 雷首 in Hedong 河東 County in Pu 蒲, Prefecture was also called Mount Zhongtiao 中條, Li 歷, ....There

are eleven names in all, which were distinguished according to the prefectures or counties. There is Shun 舜 Well to the south of Mount Li 歷". This shows that Mount Li 歷 is located in Jin 晉. But Gao's 高 commentary on the "Yuandaoxun 原道訓" chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 says, "Mount Li 歷 is in Chengyang 成陽 south of the Ji 洹 River. One may suggest that it is precisely Mount Licheng 歷城 south of the Ji 洹 River". If this is true, Mount Li 歷 is in Lu 魯 or Qi 齊.

"The banks of the river", according to Huangfu Mi's 皇甫謐 commentary cited by the *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 1, "refer to the Taoqiu 陶丘 Pavilion to the southwest of Dingtao 定陶, Jiyin 濟陰". Following this, *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 1, also says, "This is to say that Shun 舜 made pottery on banks of the river in Cao 曹 Prefecture". This shows that Shun 舜 made pottery in Lu 魯. But in the "Heshui 河水 4" chapter of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, it is recorded that "The [Yellow] River flows south again, west of Taocheng 陶城. Shun 舜 made pottery on the banks of the river. Huangfu Shian 皇甫士安 believed the locale was Dingtao 定陶, not Taocheng 陶城. But Taocheng 陶城 is located to the north of the town of Puban 蒲坂, in which Shun 舜 established his capital, and is not distant to the south from Mount Li 歷. Because one is able to farm or make pottery in many places, there is no need to regard Dingtao 定陶 as the only place where Shun 舜 made pottery. Indeed, Taocheng 陶城 may be one of the places where Shun 舜 made pottery. Since Mengjin 孟津 was also called the Tao 陶 River, it is possible that Shun's 舜 pottery-making started here". If so, Shun 舜 made pottery in Jin 晉".<sup>[10]</sup>

"Lake Lei 雷", it is suggested, should be referred to as "Lake Huo 濩" on the basis of the parallel passages in the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 163, etc. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28A, there is a Lake Huo 濩 in Hedong 河東 Prefecture. In the "Qinshui 沁水" chapter of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, it is recorded that "The water [of Lake Huo 濩] comes from the foot of Baijian 白澗 Ridge, which is to the west of the town of Lake Huo 濩, and flows east via Lake Huo 濩. In the *Mozi* 墨子, it is recorded that Shun 舜 fished in Lake Huo 濩. ...It flows east and passes south of the former town of Lake Huo 濩 County, which is named after the lake".<sup>[11]</sup> If Lake Lei 雷 can be identified with Lake Huo 濩; it will prove that Shun 舜 fished in Jin 晉. But Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 commentary, cited by *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 1, says "Leixia 雷夏 is Lake Yanzhou 兗州, which belongs to Jiyin 濟陰 at present". In the *Kuodizhi*, 括地志, cited by *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 1, it is recorded that "Lake Leixia 雷夏 is to the northwest of the outer wall of Leize 雷澤 County in Pu 濮 Prefecture. The *Shanhaijing* 山海經 says that there is a thunder god in Lake Lei 雷, who has a dragonlike body and human head. It thunders the very moment his belly is drummed". If it were true that Lake Lei 雷 was Lake Leixia 雷夏, then Shun 舜 would have fished in Lu 魯.

It is suggested that "Changyang 常陽 probably refers to the sunny side of Mount Heng 恒 (Chang 常)", and the statement 灰於常陽 refers to "trafficked on the sunny side of Mount Heng 恒" because it has been suggested that *hui* 灰 should

be a textual error for *fan* 反, which is a phonetic loan character of *fan* 販. The phonetic element of "販" is "反", and was written simply as "反" because the classical prose gave prominence to the phonetic element. <sup>[12]</sup>

It is suggested that "Lake Fu 服" is possibly "Lake Pu 蒲" of Pu 蒲 Prefecture, because the old pronunciations of *fu* 服 and *pu* 蒲 were approximate, the only distinction between them being whether they were pronounced slowly or quickly. <sup>[13]</sup>

This shows that concerning the geographical location of Mount Li 歷, the banks of the river and Lake Lei 雷, there is a divergence of viewpoints among the commentators from past dynasties. The main theories can be roughly divided into two groups. One group believes that they are located in Jin 晉, and the other group in Lu 魯. It is possible that these names, such as Mount Li 歷, etc., appear in both Jin 晉 and Lu 魯. <sup>[14]</sup> A possible explanation is that "Mount Li 歷", etc., were originally the settlements of the Youyu in Qi 齊 or Lu 魯, and because the Youyu 有虞 moved westwards to Jin 晉 from Qi 齊 or Lu 魯 similar place names appeared there.

As to "the sunny side of Lake Fu 服" and "Changyang 常陽", the latter was a place where the Youyu 有虞 trafficked, so we may disregard it. The former can be regarded as the first locale where the Youyu 有虞 people who moved westwards came into contact with the Taotang 陶唐, namely, the tribal association which esteemed Yao's 堯 tribe as its suzerain (see the following).

2. A legend similar to that in the *Mozi* 墨子 can also be found in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1. According to the latter, "Shun 舜 was a native of Jizhou 冀州. Shun 舜 farmed at Mount Li 歷, fished at Lake Lei 雷, made pottery on the banks of the river, produced miscellaneous utensils at Shouqiu 壽丘, and followed the fashion at Fuxia 負夏".

Huangfu Mi's 皇甫謐 commentary cited by the *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 1, states that "Shouqiu 壽丘" was north of the eastern gate of Lu 魯. And the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 1, considers it as the birthplace of the Yellow Emperor. According to the Huangfu Mi's 皇甫謐 *Diwang Shiji* 帝王世紀 cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 79, Shaodian 少典 had married Fubao 附寶 and begot the Yellow Emperor at Shouqiu 壽丘. From this, we can see that the views of the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱 and the *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解 are the same.

Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 commentary cited by the *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 1, states that "Fuxia 負夏 was in the land of Wei 衛". And the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱 says, "The statement 'followed the fashion' means 'took the opportunity to seek profits'. The *Shangshu Dazhuan* 尚書大傳 states: '[Shun 舜] trafficked at Dunqiu 頓丘, and followed the fashion at Fuxia 負夏'. The *Mengzi* 孟子 states: '[Shun 舜] moved to Fuxia 負夏'. This shows that Fuxia 負夏, Changyang 常陽 and even Dunqiu 頓丘 were all locales where [the lord of] the Youyu 有虞 followed the fashion and sought profit.

It is suggested that the original land of "Jizhou 冀州" was in the south of Jin 晉. <sup>[15]</sup> Since the *Shiji* 史記 says that "Shun 舜 was a native of Jizhou 冀州", it

seems to show that in the eyes of Sima Qian 司馬遷, Mount Li 歷, Lake Lei 雷, the banks of the river, and even Shouqiu 壽丘 were all located in Jin 晉.<sup>[16]</sup> Of course, the objective possibility cannot be ruled out that Shun's 舜 farming at Mount Li 歷, fishing on Lake Lei 雷 and pottery-making on the banks of river, and so on, had taken place before the Youyu were led by Shun 舜 to the south of Jin 晉. In other words, the aforementioned affairs took place in Lu, because Sima Qian 司馬遷 states the merits and virtues of Shun 舜 without considering their order. In any case, the records of the *Shiji* 史記 and the above inference are not contradictory.

3. In the "Lilou 離婁 B" chapter of the *Mengzi*, 孟子 it is said that "Shun 舜 was born at Zhufeng 諸馮, moved to Fuxia 負夏, and died at Mingtiao 鳴條 – he was a native of the Eastern Yi 夷".

It is generally believed that "Zhufeng 諸馮" was a distance of fifty *li* 里 to the south of Heze 荷澤 County.<sup>[17]</sup>

"Fuxia 負夏", as mentioned above, was in the land of Wei 衛.

As for "Mingtiao 鳴條", the place where Shun 舜 died, it is suggested that it is "the wilderness of Mingtiao 鳴條", as seen in the "Shuxu 書序" of the *Shangshu* 尚書:

Yiyin 伊尹 assisted Tang 湯 in attacking Jie 桀. They travelled from Er 陬, and fought with him in the wilderness of Mingtiao 鳴條. Then the *Speech of Tang* 湯 was made. ...The army of Xia 夏 being entirely defeated, Tang 湯 followed it and smote Sanzong 三閼, where he captured precious relics and gems. Then Yibo 誼伯 and Zhongbo 仲伯 made the "Dianbao" 典寶.

According to the "Junguo 郡國 3" of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, "Sanzong 三閼 Pavilion" is in the Dingtao 定陶 County, Jiyin 濟陰 Prefecture. Since "三閼" was just "三閼", and Sanzong 三閼 was attacked *via* Mingtiao 鳴條, Mingtiao 鳴條 must have not been far from Sanzong 三閼 Pavilion.<sup>[18]</sup> Xu's 許 commentary on the "Zhushuxun 主術訓" chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, cited by *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 82, says, "Mingtiao 鳴條 is located in the present land of Pingqiu 平丘 in Chen 陳 [*liu* 留] (*zhou* 州)". If this is true, Mingtiao 鳴條 would be in the land of Wei 衛.

Also, Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 commentary says that Mingtiao 鳴條 is "a place name of the Southern Yi 夷". This may be because the "Jianxuan 簡選" chapter of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 says that Tang 湯 of Yin 殷 "embarked from Mingtiao 鳴條 and entered Chaomen 巢門", and the "Lunwei 論威" chapter of the same book refers to Jie 桀 of Xia's dying in Nanchao 南巢. And "Chaomen 巢門" refers to "Nanchao 南巢", which is at Chao 巢 County south of the Yangtze River.<sup>[19]</sup> In my opinion, the "Jianxuan 簡選" chapter of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 says that Tang 湯 embarked from Mingtiao 鳴條, entered Chaomen 巢門, and "then possessed Xia 夏". On the basis of Gao's 高 commentary, "possessed Xia

夏" suggests that "Tang 湯 of Yin 殷 occupied Xia's 夏 land under heaven". If this is true, Mingtiao 鳴條 and Chaomen 巢門 must be located in the central region dominated by Jie 桀 of Xia 夏 at that time, though they are not nearby the capital of Xia 夏. Since "Chaomen 巢門" was possibly "the door of Nanchao 南巢", it is impossible that Nanchao 南巢, and even Mingtiao 鳴條, are in the area to the south of the Yangtze River. <sup>[20]</sup>

Also, in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 2, it is recorded that "Tang 湯 then led his army to attack Jie 桀 of Xia 夏. Jie 桀 was forced to flee to Mingtiao 鳴條, and then was banished there until his death". Kong Anguo's 孔安國 commentary, cited by *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 2, says, Mingtiao 鳴條 "was located to the west of Anyi 安邑". Kong's 孔 theory seems to coincide with that of those scholars who maintain that Jie's 桀 capital was at Anyi 安邑. The theory is questionable, <sup>[21]</sup> but it is possible that there was also a Mingtiao 鳴條 in the south of Jin 晉, because Shun's 舜 capital had been established there.

It is worth noting that Mencius called Shun 舜 "a native of the Eastern Yi 夷". Thus it is very possible that, in his eyes Zhufeng 諸馮 and Mingtiao 鳴條 all were located in Lu 魯 or Wei 衛. Since "the native place of a people is dependent on their birthplace -- the places moved or died are secondary", Mencius may only have "referred to Shun 舜 as a native of the Eastern Yi 夷 on the basis of his birthplace". <sup>[22]</sup> However, Mencius may have mistakenly considered his place of death to be in Lu 魯 or Wei 衛, owing to the fact that there was also a Mingtiao 鳴條 in Wei 衛 and in Lu 魯, even though Shun 舜 probably died at Mingtiao 鳴條 in Jin 晉. Since both his places of birth and of death were in the east, Shun 舜 was taken as "a native of the Eastern Yi 夷".

Therefore, combining the related records in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1, with the "Lilou 離婁 B" chapter of the *Mengzi* 孟子, it can be seen that Shun 舜 became "a native of Jizhou 冀州" from "a native of the Eastern Yi 夷", because of leading his people to move to Jin 晉, via Wei 衛, from Lu 魯.

4. In the "Yaodian 堯典" chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書 it is recorded that "The Emperor said, 'I will try him! I will marry him off, and then observe his behaviour with my two daughters'. Upon saying this, he gave orders, and sent down his two daughters to the bend of the Gui 媯 River, to be wives in the family of Yu 虞". According to Kong's 孔 subcommentary,

Yu 虞 and the bend of the Gui 媯 River were one and the same place. ...The Gui 媯 River being west of Mount Li 歷 of Yuxiang 虞鄉 County, Hedong 河東, it flows west and reaches Puban 蒲坂 County, then flows south and pours into the [Yellow] River. King Wu 武 of Zhou 周 granted Duke Hu 胡 of Chen 陳 the surname Gui 媯 because Shun 舜 had dwelt in the valley of the Gui 媯 River.

This shows that the bend of the Gui 媯 River where Shun 舜 dwelt after moving westwards from Lu 魯 was the land of Yu 虞. But according to Huangfu Mi's 皇甫謐 commentary cited by this chapter,

Yao 堯 married his two daughters to Shun 舜 and granted him Yu 虞 -- which was the land of Yu 虞 west of Mount Taiyang 太陽 in Hedong 河東. Then Shun 舜 dwelt in the land of Yu 虞 and took Yu 虞 as the name of his state. Yao 堯 granted him Yu 虞 and made him a prince. Yu 虞 turned into the title of the Son of Heaven until his ruling the land under heaven. Therefore, Shun 舜 was continuously known as [the lord of the state of] Yu 虞 from the humble time he was up to when he was illustrious.

This seems to indicate that Shun 舜 was known as [the lord of the state of] Yu 虞 or Youyu 有虞, because of his settlement in the land of Yu 虞, i.e., the bend of the Gui 媯 River. But, as mentioned, it should be noted that the bend of the Gui 媯 River was known as the land of Yu 虞 because it had become the settlement of the Youyu 有虞 led by Shun 舜. As for the bend of the Gui 媯 River's being in the south of Jin 晉, the following records can be taken as evidence:

1. In the "Heshui 河水, 4" chapter of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, it is recorded that "[The Yellow River] flows south and passes west of Puban 蒲坂 County. Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 says, 'Some suggest that Shun's 舜 capital was at Puban 蒲坂, some at Pingyang 平陽, and others, at Pan 潘'. At present there is a temple of Shun 舜 in the town. It was the seat of the government of Qin 秦 Province in Wei 魏 times. During the reign-period *Taihe* 太和 (A.D. 477-499), Hedong 河東 Prefecture was established owing to the removal of the capital and the cancellation of the organizational system of province. ...There is Mount Li 歷 south of the prefecture. The locale where Shun 舜 had farmed is known as Li 歷 Temple. There is a Shun 舜 Well. Both the Gui 媯 and Rui 洹 rivers rise there. The Gui 媯 River is in the south, and the Rui 洹 is in the north. Both flow west and pass the foot of Mount Li 歷. Shun 舜 Temple is on the mountain. Zhou Chu's 周處 *Fengtuji* 風土記 says, 'According to an old theory, Shun 舜 was buried at Upper Yu 虞'. This book also says, 'Shun 舜 farmed on Mount Li 歷. And the farmland ploughed by Shun 舜 lay at the boundaries of both Shining 始寧 and Yan 剡 Counties. There are many *zuo* 柞 (*Quercus*) trees at the foot of the mountain. In fact it is known as Mount Li 歷 because the *zuo* 柞 tree is called a *li* 櫪 tree in the area between Wu 吳 and Yue 越'. In my opinion, Zhou Chu's 周處 record is unreasonable. It is only a legend that cannot be confirmed. How could one use the different names of a tree to make a farfetched assumption that it is the another name of the mountain? As to reluctantly dragging in the Great Shun 舜 to get in touch with the land of Ning 甯, it abandons the reality of local history and drifts off the normal course of factual records. ...As to the reference that 釐降二女于媯洹 ([he] sent down his two daughters to the bend of

the Gui 媯 River) in the *Shangshu* 尚書, Kong Anguo 孔安國 says, 'It refers to two daughters dwelling in the valley of the Gui 媯 River'. Wang Su 王肅 says, 'Guirui 媯汭 is a place name in the land of Yu 虞'. Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 says, 'It refers to taking two daughters to the bend of the Gui 媯 River'. Ma Jichang 馬季長 says, '*Rui* 汭 means a place that a river rises'. Therefore, *rui* 汭 is not the name of a river. However, at present, there are two rivers that reach the same site from different sources. They then combine into one and flow west to pour into the [Yellow] River".

2. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 5, it is recorded that in the thirty-fifth year of King Zhaoxiang 昭襄 of Qin 秦, [Qin 秦] attacked Wei 魏, and "captured the town of Wu 吳". Xu Guang's 徐廣 commentary, cited by *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 5, says, the town of Wu 吳 "was located at Taiyang 大陽". The *Kuodizhi* 括地志, cited by *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 5, says, "The former town of Yu 虞 is located on Mount Yu 虞, which is a distance of fifty *li* 里 to the northeast of Hebei 河北 County in Shan 陝 Prefecture. It is also called Mount Wu 吳. It is the town of Wu 吳 in the former ruins of Xia 夏 north of Zhou 周, which had been granted by King Wu 武 of Zhou 周 to his younger brother Yuzhong 虞仲. In the "Junguo zhi 郡國志, 1" of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, it is recorded that "Mount Wu 吳 is at Taiyang 大陽 County, and the town of Yu 虞 is on the mountain". Liu Zhao's 劉昭 commentary reads, "Du Yu 杜預 says, 'It is the state of Yu 虞'. In the *Dihuang Shiji* 帝王世紀, it is said that Shun 舜 married at Yu 虞, which is the town of Yu 虞, and which is also called the town of Wu 吳. This is the same town of Wu 吳 captured by King Zhao 昭 of Qin 秦 when he attacked Wei 魏, as found in the *Shiji* 史記".

3. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 31, it is recorded that "When Taibo 太伯 died without an heir, his younger brother, Zhongyong 仲雍 ascended the throne, who was known as Zhongyong 仲雍 of Wu 吳. When Zhongyong 仲雍 died his son, Jijian 季簡, ascended the throne. When Jijian 季簡 died his son, Shuda 叔達, ascended the throne. When Shuda 叔達 died, his son, Zhouzhang 周章, ascended the throne. At this time, King Wu 武 of Zhou 周 conquered Yin 殷, sought the descendants of Taibo 太伯 and Zhongyong 仲雍, and acquired Zhouzhang 周章. Zhouzhang 周章 had dwelt in the land of Wu 吳. Thereupon, Wu 吳 was granted to him. Then Zhouzhang's 周章 younger brother, Yuzhong 虞仲, was granted the ruins of Xia 夏 to the north of Zhou 周". The *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱 says, "Yuzhong 虞仲 established his capital at the town of Yu 虞 in Taiyang 大陽, which is to the south of Anyi 安邑. Therefore it is known as the ruins of Xia 夏". Taiyang 大陽 County in Hedong 河東 is Pinglu 平陸 County in Shanxi 山西.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28A, it is recorded that "Mount Wu 吳, on which is the town of Wu 吳, is to the west of [Taiyang 大陽 County in Hedong 河東]. King Wu 武 of Zhou 周 granted the town to the descendants of Taibo 太伯. Taibo 太伯 was Duke of Yu 虞, who was destroyed by Jin 晉.

In the "Heshui 河水 4" chapter of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, it is recorded that "The [Yellow] River flows east and passes south of the former town which was to the south of Taiyang 大陽 County. ...The Shajian 沙澗 River rises in Mount Yu 虞 in the north, flows southeast and passes Fuyan 傅巖, and then empties into the River. The Yu 虞 plain is northeast of the [Ling 軫] Bridge. The town of Yu 虞 is east of a road on the plain. There, Yao 堯 found wives for Shun 舜 and thus his daughters became wives in the family of Yu 虞. Yuzhong 虞仲, the descendant of Taibo 太伯, was granted this land by King Wu 武 of Zhou 周, who is Duke of Yu 虞. It is the Northern Yu 虞, as recorded in the *Jin Taikang Diji* 晉太康地記. There is a mountain to the east of the town, called the Tumulus of the Five Families, on which is the Temple of Duke of Yu 虞.

It can thus be deduced that the "Wu 吳" where Taibo 太伯 and Yuzhong 虞仲 dwelt in the south was originally "Yu 虞". Therefore the feudality of Yuzhong 虞仲 was in fact his former land, which was named after Shun's 舜 remnant. This is because "Yu 虞 was often noted as "Wu 吳", and "Wu 吳" of "Wu 吳 and Yue 越" was noted as "Gouyu 攻虜" or "Gouwu 攻吳" in the bronze inscriptions.<sup>[23]</sup>

4. In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the second year of Duke Xi 僖) it is recorded that "Xun Xi 荀息 of Jin 晉 requested leave from the marquis to take his horses from Quchan 屈產 and his jade discs from Chuiji 垂棘 jade, and with them borrow a way from Yu 虞 to march through it and attack Guo 虢". Du's 杜 commentary says, "The land of Qu 屈 produces good horses, and the land of Chuiji 垂棘, fine jade; thus, produces the horses and jade are named after these places". But He's 何 commentary on the *Chunqiu Gongyangzhuàn* 春秋公羊傳 (the second year of Duke Xi 僖) considers that "Quchan 屈產 is a place that produces good horses". And Xu's 徐 subcommentary states, "To refer to Quchan 屈產 as a place name is not as good as Fu's 服 view, which refers to *chan* 產 as 'to produce'".

In my opinion, since "Quchan 屈產" and "Chuiji 垂棘" are mentioned in the same breath, it would be better that the former is also regarded as a place name. "Quchan 屈產" may be a different transcription of "Yushi 虞氏". In the *Taiping Huanyuji* 太平寰宇記, vol. 48, it is recorded that Quchan 屈產 Spring is a distance of four *li* 里 southeast of Shilou 石樓 County in Xi 隰 Prefecture. According to the natives' legend, a white mare produced a dragon colt after drinking from the spring. The *Chunqiu* 春秋 states, Duke Xian 獻 of Jin 晉 took his horses from Quchan 屈產, and with them made his way from Yu 虞 to attack Guo 虢 because the locale produced good horses". This can be regarded as evidence.

5. It is suggested that Taibo 太伯 and Yuzhong 虞仲 in fact founded their state in Hedong 河東. Mount Heng 衡, where Taibo 太伯 and Yuzhong 仲虞 collected medicinal herbs (as seen in the "Wutaibo Zhuan 吳太伯傳" chapter of the *Wuyue Chunqiu* 吳越春秋), does not refer to the Southern Sacred Mountain, but to Mount Yu 虞 and the Slope of Yu 虞 of Taiyang 大陽 County in Hedong 河東. Kuiji 會稽, at the beginning of the Zhou 周 Dynasty, was located in Taiyang 大陽, Hedong



河東. The *Kuodizhi* 括地志 says that another name for Kuiji 會稽 is Mount Heng 衡; thus, it can be taken as evidence. <sup>[24]</sup> In my opinion, this theory may be correct. There is also the following additional evidence.

According to the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the third year of Duke Xiang 襄), "This spring, Zizhong 子重 of Chu 楚 invaded Wu 吳 with an army selected for this purpose. He subdued Jiuzi 鳩茲, and proceeded as far as Mount Heng 衡". Du's 杜 commentary says, "Jiuzi 鳩茲 was a town in Wu 吳, and was located east of Wuhu 蕪湖 County, Danyang 丹陽. ...Mount Heng 衡 is south of Wucheng 烏程 County, Wuxing 吳興". (A similar passage in the "Wuwang Shoumeng Zhuan 吳王壽夢傳" of the *Wuyue Chunqiu* 吳越春秋 notes that in the sixteenth year, King Gong 恭 of Chu 楚 "called out the troops to attack Wu 吳, advanced as far as Mount Heng 衡, and then returned".) It can be deduced that the place where Taibo 太伯 and Yuzhong 虞仲 first established their state was Hedong 河東. The appellation "Youyu 有虞" moved south as its people moved south of the Yangtze River. It seems not to be an accident that "Jiuzi 鳩茲" [*kiəu-tziə*] and "Yushi 虞氏" can also be regarded as different transcriptions of one and the same name.

In conclusion, "Youyu 有虞" was none other than "Gaoyang 高陽", which was probably named after Mount Kongsang 空桑 in the north of Lu 魯. But as soon as "Kongsang 空桑" turned into the name of a geopolitical group, it would be transferred to all places following the people's migrations. As Shun 舜 led his tribe westwards to the bend of the Gui 媯 River in the south of Jin 晉, the place name "Kongsang 空桑" was carried to the land of Jin 晉. Thereupon the bend of the Gui 媯 River was known as "the land of Yu 虞". Thus the descendant of Taibo 太伯 who was granted "the land of Yu 虞" came to be named "Duke of Yu 虞".

## C

The people of the state of Youyu 有虞 slowly began to move away from the land of Jin 晉 after Shun 舜 died.

According to the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the first year of Duke Ai 哀), Shaokang 少康 "fled to Yu 虞 and became the chief cook for its ruler, in order to escape the dangers that threatened him. Yu Si 虞思 gave him his two daughters in marriage and the city of Lun 綸". Du's 杜 commentary says, "Yu 虞, Shun's 舜 descendant, was a prince. Yu 虞 County is in the state of Liang 梁". Huangfu Mi's 皇甫謐 commentary, cited by Kong's 孔 subcommentary, says, "Yu 虞 is the town of Yu 虞 in the western mountain of Taiyang 大陽 County, Hedong 河東. ...After Shun 舜 abdicated and gave his crown to Yu 禹, Yu 禹 conferred the title of 'prince' upon the descendants of Shun 舜. The latter feudality must not be in the land of Yu 虞 in Hedong, though it was named Yu 虞. There was also Yu 虞 County in the state of Liang 梁. The land was named Yu 虞, which may be the state of Yu 虞 in Xia 夏

times". Also, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 36, "After Shun 舜 had died, all under heaven was transferred to Yu 虞, and Shangjun 商均, the son of Shun 舜, was a prince". The *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 36, says, "Yu 虞, which was granted Shangjun 商均, is the present the town of Yu 虞 in the state of Liang 梁". This proves that the descendants of Shun 舜 were first granted the town of Yu 虞 in the state of Liang 梁, i.e., the present Yucheng 虞城 (the town of Yu 虞) County in Shangqiu 商丘, Henan 河南. The city of Lun 綸 in the feudality of Shaokang 少康 was close to Yucheng 虞城 County. <sup>[25]</sup>

In the "Shijie 史記解" chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書 it is recorded that "The lord enjoyed music. The subjects scrambled for power. The people were all punished. The state of Youyu 有虞 thus collapsed". Kong's 孔 commentary says, "The state of Youyu 有虞 refers to the descendants of Shangjun 商均". That the time when "the state of Youyu 有虞 thus collapsed" was in Xia 夏 times as generally accepted. <sup>[26]</sup>

After this, according to the *Xiben* 系本 cited by the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 36, "[The people of the state of] Chen 陳 were the descendants of Shun 舜". Song Zhong 宋衷 says, "Qibo 箕伯 and Zhibing 直柄, the descendants of Yu Si 虞思, declined halfway. Tang 湯 of Yin 殷 granted Chen 陳 to Sui 遂 to offer sacrifices to Shun 舜". This shows that the descendants of Yu Si 虞思 were granted Chen 陳 by Tang 湯 of Shang 商. However, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 36, "After he had defeated Yin 殷, King Wu 武 of Zhou 周 sought the descendants of Shun 舜 and acquired Gui Man 媯滿, who was enfeoffed at Chen 陳". <sup>[27]</sup> It seems that the descendants of Shun 舜 were not made prince of Chen 陳 until Zhou 周 times. Also, according to the statement of Qiao Zhou 譙周 cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 36, "Shangjun 商均 was made Duke of Yu 虞, and Yu Si 虞思, his son, being awarded the post of chief minister, served Shaokang 少康. ...Then it came to Duke of Sui 遂, Huai 淮, the duke, being awarded the post of Minister of Education, served Cheng Tang 成湯. He was made Duke of Sui 遂 and was known as Yu Sui 虞遂 at the time when Tang 湯 overthrew the Xia 夏". <sup>[28]</sup> If this were true, Song Zhong's 宋衷 statement would not be precise. On the basis of the record in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the third year of Duke Zhao 昭), "Qibo 箕伯, Zhibing 直柄, Yu Sui 虞遂, and Boxi 伯戲, helped to Duke Hu 胡 and Da Ji 大姬, and [now, in their spiritual influence], they are all in Qi 齊". And Du's 杜 commentary says of Qibo 箕伯, Zhibing 直柄, Yu Sui 虞遂, and Boxi 伯戲: "these four men were all descendants of Shun 舜; they were ancestors of the state of Chen 陳". Also, in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the eighth year of Duke Zhao 昭), it is recorded that "Shun 舜 then revitalized the family through his brilliant virtue, which secured the establishment [of his descendants] in Sui 遂". Du's 杜 commentary says, "[The people of] Sui 遂 were the descendants of Shun 舜, who were probably enfeoffed in Sui 遂 in order to preserve the descendants of Shun 舜 at the time when Yin 殷 had risen. This is to say that Shun's 舜 virtue continued until Sui 遂". It shows that

the Yu Sui 虞遂 was named after his feudality. In Shang 商 times, Shun's 舜 descendants were made princes of Sui 遂 before they became princes of Chen 陳.

Confucius spoke the following to Duke Ai 哀, as recorded in the "Shaoxian 少閒" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記, "When Shun 舜 died, Yu 禹 rose to replace him. After he had received the Mandate of Heaven, he removed the [people of the] surname of Yao 姚 to the settlement at Chen 陳". It seems that Yu 禹 granted Chen 陳 to the descendants of Shun 舜, and not Yu 虞. However, this can be taken as a form of hearsay, and can here be disregarded.<sup>[29]</sup>

Thus it can be seen that, after Shun 舜 died, people from the state of Youyu 有虞 started to move from the land of Jin 晉. A branch of them moved to Henan 河南. Their descendants were made princes in Chen 陳.

It is possible that at the same time that Shangjun 商均 was made prince, another branch of them (perhaps those who were reluctant to acknowledge their allegiance to Yu 禹 of Xia 夏) moved north to Yanmen 雁門. By the latter half of the third century B.C. at the latest, the branch had expanded their power westwards as far as the eastern end of the Altai Mountains. If we believe that "Yu 禹 forced Shun 舜" as recorded in the "Shuoyi 說疑" chapter of the *Hanfeizi* 韓非子, we can consider that the Youyu 有虞 people started to move from the land of Jin 晉 even earlier.

1. In the *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳, ch. 1, it is recorded: "On the day *jiawu* 甲午, the Son of Heaven crossed the steep slope of [Mount] Yu 隃; on the day *jihai* 己亥, he arrived on the vast plain of the Yanju 焉居 and the Yuzhi 禺知". According to Guo's 郭 commentary, "Yu 隃 originally meant slope. Here it seems to refer to Western Mount Yu 隃 of Noerthern Ling 陵. Western Mount Yu 隃 is Mount Yanmen 雁門". If this is true, "the vast plain of the Yanju 焉居 and the Yuzhi 禺知" that the Son of Heaven reached five days later would lie to the north of Hetao 河套 (Ordos). "Yuzhi 禺知" [*ngio-tie*] can be regarded as a different transcription of "Yuyi 嵎夷", "Kongsang 空桑", "Gaoyang 高陽" or "Yushi 虞氏", etc. The "Dahuang Beijing 大荒北經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 says, "...and catch it in Yu 禺 Valley", Guo's 郭 commentary says, "Yu 禺 Pool ...is now called Yu 虞 Pool". This further proves that "禺" and "虞" are interchangeable. In my opinion, this shows that a branch of the Youyu 有虞 people moved as far north as the Yanmen 雁門 area.

2. In the "Wanghuijie 王會解" chapter of the *Yizhoushu* 逸周書, it is recorded that "The Yuzhi 禺氏 [pay tribute of] *taotu* 駒駘 (a kind of horse)". And the "Yiyin Chaoxian 伊尹朝獻" (Yiyin's "Discourse on Paying Tribute") section attached to the "Wanghuijie 王會解" chapter says, "Due north there are Kongtong 空同, Daxia 大夏, Suoju 莎車, Guta 姑他, Danlue 旦略, Maohu 貌胡, Rongdi 戎翟, Xiongnu 匈奴, Loufan 樓煩, Yuezhi 月氏, Xianli 犛犁, Qilong 其龍, and Eastern Hu 胡 that requested to pay tribute in camels, white jade, wild horses, *taotu* 駒駘, *jueti* 馱駘 (a kind of stock borne of a male horse and a female donkey) and good bows". The latter does not refer to "Yuzhi 禺氏", but only to "Yuezhi 月氏". However, it does

refer to the *taotu* 駒駟 that the Yuzhi 禺氏 paid in. Since *yu* 禺 and *yue* 月, whose old pronunciations were approximate, were interchangeable, there is no harm in considering that "Yuezhi 月氏" was equal to "Yuzhi 禺氏" and that they are different transcriptions of the same name.<sup>[30]</sup> In other words, the "Yuezhi 月氏" [*njiuk-tjie*] listed among the tribes "due north" by the "Yiyin Chaoxian 伊尹朝獻" section are the "Yuzhi" [*ngio-tjie*] in the Yanmen 雁門 area mentioned in the *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳. It also refers to the Youyu 有虞 people who moved north.

It has been suggested that the Yuezhi 月氏 of the "Yiyin Chaoxian 伊尹朝獻" section must have lived to the east of Hetao 河套 and to the west of Yanmen 雁門, since this section was completed during the Warring States period (475-221 B.C.).<sup>[31]</sup> In my opinion, if the Yuzhi 禺氏 recorded in the "Yiyin Chaoxian 伊尹朝獻" section were indeed the Yuzhi 禺知 who lived during the Warring States period namely, the Youyu 有虞 people, their territory should be located to the west of Hetao 河套. The region from east of Hetao 河套 to northwest of Yanmen 雁門 belonged to the Xiongnu 匈奴 at that time. This can be understood from the early relationship between the Yuezhi 月氏 and the Xiongnu 匈奴 as recorded in the *Shiji* 史記 and other sources. The nomadic tribes such as the Yuezhi 月氏 and Xiongnu 匈奴, who are "due north" as listed in the "Yiyin Chaoxian 伊尹朝獻" section, numbered thirteen. It is impossible that all of them lived in the region from east of Hetao 河套 to northwest of Yanmen 雁門. In other words, the locations of their territories cannot be determined solely from the reference "due north", which only refers generally to the north of China. Moreover, there is a possibility that the data upon which the "Yiyin Chaoxian 伊尹朝獻" section was based could come from the Spring and Autumn period or earlier, even if this section had really been completed during the Warring States period. In other words, the aforementioned Yuezhi 月氏 were probably those who lived during the Spring and Autumn period or earlier, and the location of their territory must have been the same as that which is recorded by the *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳.

3. In the "Qingzhong Yi 輕重乙" chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子 it is recorded: "Jade originates from the mountains nearby the Yuzhi 禺氏, which are a distance of seven thousand *li* 里 from Zhou 周. The way is distant; the arrival is difficult". Identical records occur in the "Guoxu 國蓄" chapter, the "Dishu 地數" chapter and the "Kuiduo 揆度" chapter of the same book. ("Yuzhi 禺氏" is noted as "Niushi 牛氏" in the "Dishu 地數" chapter.) In the "Qingzhong Jia 輕重甲" chapter 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 禺氏, who are at a distance of eight thousand *li* 里, to present tribute. If clasps and earrings worth at least than one thousand pieces of gold are made from *qiulin* 瓊琳 (a kind of beautiful jade) or *langgan* 琅玕 (a kind of white carnelian), then we should be able to

persuade [people of the] Wastes of Kunlun 崑崙 who are at a distance of eight thousand *li* 里, to present tribute.

"Yuzhi 禺氏" or "Niuzhi 牛氏" [*ngiu-tjie*] can be identified as "Yuzhi 禺知", "Yuezhi 月氏" or "Yushi 虞氏". Thus it can be seen that the mountains nearby the Yuzhi 禺氏 (i.e., the Yuezhi 月氏) produced jade. These mountains were the so-called Wastes of Kunlun 崑崙. The Kunlun 崑崙 Wastes and the Yuezhi 禺氏 were approximately equidistant from the capital of Zhou 周. Both the *qiulin* 璆琳 and *langgan* 琅玕 produced there were beautiful jade. Probably because the Yuezhi 禺氏 once monopolized the jade trade, jade from there was named "jade of the Yuzhi 禺氏" (see the "Kuiduo 揆度" chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子). The Kunlun 崑崙 Wastes here may have referred to the Altai Mountains.<sup>[32]</sup> Therefore, the Yuzhi 禺氏 (the Youyu 有虞 people who moved north) had already expanded their power west as far as the eastern end of the Altai Mountains at the time described in the "Qingzhong 輕重" chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子, etc. It is difficult to confirm the time of the data on which the "Qingzhong 輕重" chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子 is based. But according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110, it can be seen that when "Qin 秦 overthrew the other six states", "the Eastern Hu 胡 were very powerful and the Yuezhi 月氏 were likewise flourishing". The Xiongnu 匈奴 did not dominate the Western Regions until the *Chanyu* Modu 冒頓 ordered the Wise King of the Right to attack and destroy the Yuezhi 月氏. Therefore, the Yuezhi 月氏 expanded their power west as far as the eastern end of the Altai Mountains by the twenties of the third century B.C., at the latest.

4. The Yuezhi 月氏, namely, the Youyu 有虞 people who expanded their power west as far as the eastern end of the Altai Mountains, dominated both sides of the Tian 天 Mountains, and monopolized the trade of the East and West for a time. A great part of them were not forced to move west to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, displacing the Sai 塞 tribes who dwelt there, until they were defeated by the Xiongnu 匈奴, a burgeoning nomadic tribe in northern Asia, in 177/176 B.C. This part of the Yuezhi 月氏, namely, the Youyu 有虞 people, was known as "the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 (the Great Yuezhi)". The others who left the former land were known as the "the Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏 (the Little Yuezhi 月氏)". Around 130 B.C., the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 who occupied the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers were defeated by the Wusun 烏孫 who supported by the Xiongnu 匈奴. They abandoned the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, and moved west to the valley of the Amu Daria. They overthrew the state of Daxia 大夏 and settled there. Thereupon, the state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 as described in *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, and the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, was established.<sup>[33]</sup>

5. According to the *Shiji*, ch. 123, after Zhang Qian 張騫 had visited the state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 and had returned home, he reported to Emperor Wu 武. He said that the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 "were defeated by the Xiongnu 匈奴. Thereupon they fled afar, passing Yuan 宛, and proceeding west to attack and subjugate the Daxia 大

夏. The principal city was established north of the Gui 媯 River". In my opinion, "Yuan 宛" is "Dayuan 大宛" seen in the same chapter which is in the present Ferghāna Basin. And the Gui 媯 River is the present Amu Darya. It is obviously a faithful record that Zhang Qian 張騫 called the Amu Daria "River Gui 媯". As mentioned above, the place of origin of the Youyu people led by Shun 舜 was the bend of the Gui 媯 River in Jin 晉. If we believe the view presented in the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 1, that the father, "Gusou 瞽叟, was surnamed Gui 媯", then "the bend of the Gui 媯 River" where Shun 舜 dwelt after moving west from Lu 魯 would have been named after the surname of his father. Therefore, it must not be coincidental that the river, to which the principal town of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 (i.e., the Youyu 有虞 people) was close, was called the "Gui 媯 River" by Zhang Qian 張騫.<sup>[34]</sup> It can thus be seen that, besides the relationship between Daxia and the Gui 媯 River a more important factor for Zhang Qian 張騫 when naming it was the relationship between the Youyu 有虞 people and the Gui 媯 River.

It is possible that another branch of the Youyu 有虞 people, *via* Beidi 北地, Anding 安定, and so on, entered into the Hexi 河西 region (Gansu 甘肅 Corridor) at the same time that this branch of the Youyu 有虞 people moved north.

1. There is the Rui 芮 River northeast of Long 隴 County, which was the former land of Rui 芮 State. In the "Mian 緜" poem in the "Daya 大雅" section of the *Shijing* 詩經 it is said that "[The lords of] Yu 虞 and Rui 芮 were brought to an agreement". This shows that at the beginning of Zhou 周 times, a branch of the Youyu 有虞 people founded their state in the present county of Long 隴, which neighbors the state of Rui 芮. And, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28B, "Mount Wu 吳 is to the west" of Qian 汧 County in Youfufeng 右扶風. Mount Wu 吳, is referred to as Mount Qian 汧, Mount Yue 岳 and Wu 吳 Hill in the "Yugong 禹貢" chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書, the "Zhifang 職方" chapter of the *Zhouli* 周禮 and the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 28, respectively. This Mount Wu 吳 must have been the settlement of the Youyu 有虞 people who moved west from Mount Wu 吳 in Hedong 河東. The relationship between the Mount Wu 吳 of the east and the Mount Wu 吳 of the west is very obvious.

2. In the "Xiaokuang 小匡" chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子, it is recorded that Duke Huan 桓 of Qi 齊 "went west on an expedition and trespassed the land of the White Di 狄, ...and arrested the Taixia 泰夏 people and conquered the Flowing Sands and the Western Yu 虞". In the "Qiyu 齊語" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 it is recorded that "Tightening the reins of my horses so that my carriage was suspended behind them, I crossed the gulches of Taihang 太行 and Bier 辟耳, arrested the [Da]xia [大]夏 people, and went west to conquer the Flowing Sands and the Western Wu 吳". Wei's 韋 commentary says, "The Flowing Sands and Western Wu 吳 are in the land of Yongzhou 雍州".<sup>[35]</sup> In my opinion, "the Flowing Sands" crossed by Duke Huan 桓 can be identified with the present desert of Tynger, and the Mount Beier 卑耳 which he reached as Mount Helan 賀蘭. Since Duke Huan 桓 attacked the Mountain

Rong in the twenty-third year of his reign (663 B.C.),<sup>[36]</sup> his attack on the Western Yu 虞 can be placed between the late sixties and fifties of the seventh century B.C.

3. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110, it is recorded that "Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦, having obtained the services of Youyu 由余, succeeded in forcing the eight barbarian tribes of the west to submit to his authority. Thus, at this time there lived in the region west of Long 隴 the Mianzhu 緜諸, the Rong 戎 of Gun 緄, the Di 翟 and the Rong 戎 of Yuan 獯. North of the Qi 岐 and Liang 梁 mountains, and the Jing 涇 and Qi 漆 rivers lived the Rong of Yiqu 義渠, Dali 大荔, Wushi 烏氏 and Quyan 胸衍. In the north of Jin 晉 were the Lin Hu 林胡 and the Rong 戎 of Loufan 樓煩, while to the north of Yan 燕 lived the Eastern Hu 胡 and the Rong 戎 of Shan 山. All of them were scattered about in their own little valleys, each with their own chieftains. From time to time they would have gatherings of a hundred or more men; however no one tribe was capable of unifying the others under a single ruler". According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28B, there was "a Yuezhi 月氏 Circuit" in Anding 安定 Prefecture, and there was "Xuyan 胸衍 County" in Beidi 北地 Prefecture. "Quyan 胸衍" [gio-jian], "Xuyan 胸衍" and "Yuezhi 月氏" [njiuk-tjie] can be read as different transcriptions of "Yushi 虞氏".<sup>[37]</sup> In my opinion, this seems to indicate that this branch of the Youyu 有虞 people entered into the Hexi 河西 region via Beidi 北地 and Anding 安定.

4. The Youyu 有虞 people living in the Hexi 河西 region ("the Western Yu 虞" as seen in the "Xiaokuang 小匡" chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子) again moved west to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers by the end of the twenties of the seventh century B.C. Some of the Daxia 大夏 people and the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 also moved there -- either with the Youyu 有虞 people, or in subsequent migrations. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 5, it is recorded that, in the thirty-seventh year of Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦 (623 B.C.), "Qin attacked the king(s) of the Rong 戎 by using the stratagem of the Youyu 由余. Thus the Qin 秦 increased their lands of the twelve states, opened up territories that extended for one thousand *li* 里, and came to dominate the Western Rong 戎". This may be the time when the Youyu 有虞 people and others gave up the Hexi 河西 region and moved west to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers.<sup>[38]</sup> In my opinion, "the Western Yu 虞" as seen in the "Xiaokuang 小匡" chapter of the *Guanzi* 管子 and "Yuzhi 禺氏", "Niuzhi 牛氏", etc., were all the tribes of the Youyu 有虞 people. However, the former possibly moved first to the Hexi 河西 region from the south of Jin 晉 and then reached the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, while the latter expanded west from north of Hetao 河套.

5. The tribal association composed of the aforementioned Youyu 有虞 people and the others who moved west to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers was called the Issedones by Herodotus' *History*<sup>[39]</sup> (I, 201; IV, 13, 16). Of them, the Youyu 有虞 people could be the Gasiani of Strabo's *Geography*<sup>[40]</sup> (XI, 8), and the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Daxia 大夏 could be the Asii and the Tochari, respectively. By the end of the twenties of the sixth century B.C, the Issedones had

expanded westwards as far as the northern bank of the Sir Darya, and had driven out the Massagetae who lived there. At this time the tribal association connected with the Persians, and was called the Sakā in the Behistum inscription of Darius I of Achaemenian Persia.<sup>[41]</sup> These Sakā must have been the Sai 塞 tribes in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96.

6. After this point, the Sai 塞 tribes (the tribal association composed of the four tribes, including the Youyu 有虞 people) gave up the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers because the Da Yuezhi moved westwards. Some fell back to the north bank of the Syr Darya. Others moved south, split and separated in the Pamir Region. In around 140 B.C., various tribes of the Sai 塞 moved away from the northern bank of the Sry Darya in succession. A branch of them crossed the Amu Darya and destroyed the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria. They founded the state of Daxia 大夏 as seen in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123 and the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96. About ten years later, the state of Daxia that had been founded by the four tribes of the Sai 塞 was destroyed by the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 who came from the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers.

7. In addition, the Yuzhi 禺氏 (the Youyu 有虞 people) who split and separated in the Pamir Rigion then moved east and entered the oases in the Tarim Basin. Here they established some small states of walled towns. This will not be difficult to discover if we study more carefully the names of the states and places in the Western Regions recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96. Of the names of the states, Gaochang 高昌 [*ko-thjiang*], Gushi 姑師 [*ka(kia)-shei*], Jushi 車師 [*kia-shei*], Qixu 危(岐)須 [*khiai-sio*], Qiuci 龜茲 [*khieu-tziə*] and Xiuxun 休循 [*xiu-ziuən*], etc.; of the names of places, Juyan 車延 [*kia-jian*], Juyan 居延 [*kia-jian*] and Guishan 貴山 [*giuə-shean*], etc., and "Kongsang 空桑", "Qionsang 窮桑", "Gaoyang 高陽", "Yushi 虞氏" and "Jiuzi 鳩茲", etc. can all be taken as different transcriptions of the same name.<sup>[42]</sup> "Gaochang 高昌" and "Gaoyang 高陽", "Qiuci 龜茲" and "Jiuzi 鳩茲" form a pleasing contrast from east to west and from early to late. Of course, some of the aforementioned names of states and places are possible remnants the Youyu 有虞 people left behind when they moved west by the end of the seventh century B.C.

8. In addition, after they occupied the territory of the Daxia 大夏, the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 ruled Bactra and its surrounding area directly. They controlled the eastern mountain regions by means of the so-called five Xihou 翺侯. The five Xihou 翺侯 were originally these people of the state of Daxia 大夏 who were used as puppets by the Da Yuezhi 大月氏. Qiujiuque 丘就卻, the Guishuang 貴霜 Xihou 翺侯, who overthrew the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 and established the Kushān kingdom (as some have suggested), must have been a descendant of the Gasiani people, one of the Sakā tribes that invaded Bactria in ca. 140 B.C. As mentioned above, the Gasiani must have been the Youyu 有虞 people who moved west before the seventh century B.C. And "Guishuang 貴霜" can be taken as a defferent transcription of "Kongsang 空桑" [*giuə-shiang*] etc. Therefore, the Kushān Empire, which had been very powerful



in ancient Central Asia, can be assumed to have been founded by the Youyu 有虞 people who moved west.<sup>[43]</sup>

The following are two additional remarks:

1. On the basis of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, the Yuezhi 月氏 or Da Yuezhi 大月氏 were a nomadic tribe. But there is no reference that declares the Youyu 有虞 to have been nomadic. Thus it seems impossible to identify the Youyu 有虞 with the Yuezhi 月氏 or Da Yuezhi 大月氏. However, this is not the case. If circumstances permit, ways of life and modes of production can be changed. Even though the Youyu 有虞 people may have been settlers in their former location, it is not impossible for them to have become nomadic once they began to move west especially after they arrived in the steppes in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers. After reaching the valley of the Amu Darya, i.e., the Gui 媯 River, and entering the agricultural regions in Bactria, they began to give up nomadism. They settled down again, owing to relatively stable surroundings. On the basis of historical records, Shun 舜 led the Youyu 有虞 people first to farm, fish and make pottery, and finally to form villages, towns, and cities. This seems to indicate that the Youyu 有虞 people before Shun 舜 who had no villages, towns and cities had once led a nomadic way of life.<sup>[44]</sup> In addition, it is not reasonable to assume that there was no possibility of the Youyu 有虞 people after Shun 舜 having been nomadic. In other words, the possibility can not be ruled out that tribes of the Youyu 有虞 people who moved north or west were those who had made a nomadic living all along.

2. The description of the Youyu 有虞 above refers to only a possibility. In addition, there are many other possibilities. For example, it is possible that those who moved north or west were in fact only one branch. Of them, those who went to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers may have become part of the Sai 塞 tribes, and the others may have developed into the Yuezhi 月氏.

## D

The migration of the people of the Youyu 有虞 is closely related to the Taotang 陶唐.

In the "Luyu 魯語 1" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 it is recorded that the Youyu 有虞 "performed the sacrifice called *jiao* 郊 to Yao 堯 and the sacrifice called *zong* 宗 to Shun 舜". In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the eighteenth year of Duke Wen 文) it is recorded that,

Shun 舜 became Yao's 堯 minister, ...when Yao 堯 died, all under heaven, as if they had been one man, with common consent bore Shun 舜 to be the Son of Heaven, because he had raised to office those sixteen helpers and he

had put away the four wicked ones.... Shun's 舜 services were shown in the case of those twenty men, and he became the Son of Heaven....

This shows that Shun 舜, the lord of the Youyu 有虞, succeeded Yao 堯 and ascended the throne. Both Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 came down in one continuous line of succession.

It has been suggested that Yao 堯 was also an emperor of the Yu 虞 Dynasty. The theory states roughly that the reference to "Yu 虞, Xia 夏, Shang 商 and Zhou 周" appears first in the *Mozi* 墨子, but Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 were attributed "the three dynasties". It may be because the title of the dynasty to which Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 were attributed to was called "Xia 夏" in ancient times, and the title of their state was "Yu 虞".<sup>[45]</sup> In my opinion, in the "Zhouyu 周語 3" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 it is recorded that, "In Yu 虞 times, Gun 鯀, the Earl of Chong 崇, wantonly committed all kinds of outrages. He made the fault of Gongong 共工 have its way. Yao 堯 thus killed him on Mount Yu 羽". Both from "in Yu 虞 times" and "Yao 堯 thus killed him on Mount Yu 羽", it can be affirmed that Yao 堯 was an emperor of the Yu 虞 Dynasty. However, despite this affirmation, the theory is somewhat inadequate.

Firstly, in the "Shangxian 尚賢 B" chapter of the *Mozi* 墨子 it is recorded that "The sage kings of the three dynasties of old -- Yao 堯, Shun 舜, Yu 虞, Tang 湯, Wen 文, and Wu 武 -- were such". Similar references appear also in "Jiezang 節葬 C", "Tianzhi 天志 B", "Tianzhi 天志 C", "Minggui 明鬼 C" and "Guiyi 貴義" chapters of the same book. On the basis of these references, it can be considered that the *Mozi* 墨子 merges Yao 堯, Shun 舜 and Yu 虞 into one dynasty. However, there are references to "Yu 虞, Xia 夏, Shang 商 and Zhou 周" in the "Minggui 明鬼 C" and "Feiming 非命 C" chapters of the same book, thus the possibility cannot be ruled out that "three dynasties" is in fact textual error for "four dynasties". The "三" (three), especially in the reference "the sage kings of the three dynasties of old -- Yao 堯, Shun 舜, Yu 禹, Tang 湯, Wen 文, and Wu 武 -- were such" in the "Minggui 明鬼 C" chapter, must have been noted as "四" (four). The "四" was noted in the documents written in *zhouzhuàn* 籀篆 (a style of script) as "𠄎", which was often damaged and turned into "三". Furthermore, there is not only the reference "the records of Shang 商, Zhou 周, Yu 虞 and Xia 夏", but also the formulation "the sage kings of the three dynasties of old -- Yu 禹, Tang 湯, Wen 文 and Wu 武" in the "Feiming 非命 C". This shows that the *Mozi* 墨子 really regarded "Xia 夏, Shang 商 and Zhou 周" as "three dynasties", in other words, if "Yu 虞" were added, it must have been four dynasties.

Secondly, the *Guoyu* 國語 ("Luyu 魯語 1", "Luyu 魯語 2", "Jinyu 晉語 8" and "Zhengyu 鄭語" chapters), the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the thirty-second year of Duke Zhuang 莊, the thirteenth year of Duke Cheng 成, the twenty-fourth year of Duke Xiang 襄 and the first year of Duke Zhao 昭), the "Xianxue 顯學" chapter of the

*Hanfeizi* 韓非子, the "Shenyng 審應" chapter of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, the "Kaisai 開塞" chapter of the *Shangjunshu* 商君書, the *Liji* 禮記 ("Tan'gong 檀弓 A", "Wangzhi 王制", "Neize 內則", "Mingtangwei 明堂位", "Jifa 祭法", "Jiyi 祭義", and "Biaoji 表記") and the "Shaoxian 少閒" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記, etc., all make mention of the four dynasties of Yu 虞, Xia 夏, Shang 商 (Yin 殷) and Zhou 周. Of them Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 are attributed to Yu 虞. Thereupon, Yao 堯, Shun 舜, Yu 禹, Tang 湯, and Wen 文 were known as "the five kings in the four dynasties".

Since Yao 堯, Shun 舜, Yu 禹, Tang 湯, Wen 文 and Wu 武 can be called "the sage kings of the four dynasties", and Yu 禹, Tang 湯, Wen 文 and Wu 武 undoubtedly belonged to the three dynasties of Xia 夏, Shang 商 and Zhou 周, both Yao 堯 and Shun 舜 must belong to the dynasty of Yu 虞.

The problem is how to prove that Yao also belongs to the Yu 虞 times. It seems that no reasonable explanations have been put forward. According to the "Dixi 帝繫" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記,

The Yellow Emperor begot Xuanxiao 玄囂. Xuanxiao 玄囂 begot Jiaoji 蛟極. Jiaoji 蛟極 begot Gaoxin 高辛, who was Emperor Ku 嚳. Emperor Ku 嚳 begot Fangxun 放勳, who was Emperor Yao 堯.

Xuanxiao 玄囂 was Qingyang 青陽. According to the above-cited "Dixi 帝繫" chapter, his former land was in the valley of the Di 泝 River, namely, the present river of Sha 沙. The river rises west of Mount Lu 魯, Henan 河南, *via* Ye 葉 County, then pours into the Ru 汝 River.<sup>[46]</sup> That is to say that the system of Qingyang 青陽 from which Yao 堯 originated, and the system of Changyi 昌意 from which Zhunxu 顓頊 originated developed independently for a time, but became connected later. According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1,

Emperor Zhuanxu's 顓頊 son was named Qiongchan 窮蟬. After Zhunxu 顓頊 died, Xuanxiao's 玄囂 son, Gaoxin 高辛 ascended the throne. Gaoxin 高辛 was Emperor Ku 嚳.

It is only possible that "Zhunxu 顓頊" here, who was succeeded by Emperor Ku 嚳, was the aforesaid branch that moved east to Qionsang 窮桑. Xuanxiao's 玄囂 grandson took the place of Changyi's 昌意 descendants, but did not change the "title of his state", namely, the symbol of the geopolitical group which had developed around a certain consanguineous nucleus.<sup>[47]</sup> Furthermore, "Gaoxin 高辛" [*ko-sien*], like "Gaoyang 高陽", can also be regarded as a different transcription of "Kongsang 空桑", "Qionsang 窮桑" or "Yuyi 嵎夷".<sup>[48]</sup>

Since "Qionsang 窮桑", "Gaoyang 高陽" and "Gaoxin 高辛" were in fact different transcriptions of one and the same name, it is not without reason to consider

that Yao 堯, Emperor Ku's 嚳 successor, also succeeded the same title of state. The ancient pronunciations of "yao 堯" [ngyø] and "yu 虞" [ngiua] were approximately the same, and there is no harm in taking "Yao 堯" as a different transcription of "Gaoyang 高陽" and "Gaoxin 高辛", etc. Thus it is very possible that "Yao 堯" was also the title of his state for a time.<sup>[49]</sup> Since what Yao 堯 had succeeded to was the land under heaven of Shaohao 少昊 and Zhuanxu 顓頊, rather than referring to Yao 堯 as the emperor of Yu 虞, it is better to consider that Shun 舜 was known as "lord of the Youyu 有虞" because he adopted the state title that Yao 堯 had adopted.<sup>[50]</sup>

Also, in the *Diwangji* 帝王紀 cited by *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 1, it is recorded that "The mother of Emperor Zhi 摯 was in the lowest position among the four concubines, and Zhi 摯 was the eldest of the brothers, thus he was able to ascend the throne. Zhi 摯 made Fangxun 放勳, his brother born of a different mother, the Marquis of Tang 唐. Zhi 摯 was on the throne for nine years, during which time government affairs were feeble. While the virtue of the Marquis of Tang 唐 was flourishing, the princes all converged to him. Zhi 摯 was convinced by his justice, and led his officials to go to Tang 唐, then abdicated and handed over the crown to Fangxun 放勳. The Marquis of Tang 唐 himself knew that it was the Mandate of Heaven and thereupon conferred transfer of government from Zhi 摯 to him. Zhi 摯 was made prince of Gaoxin 高辛, which is the present county of Tang 唐 in Ding 定 Prefecture". Yao 堯 was known as the successor of Shaohao 少昊 (the lord of the Qionsang 窮桑), Zhunxu 顓頊 (the lord of the Gaoyang 高陽), and Emperor Ku 嚳 (the lord of the Gaoxin 高辛), and was thus naturally an emperor of Yu 虞. Combining this with the above-cited reference in the "Yaodian 堯典" chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書 i.e., "sent down his two daughters to the bend of the Gui 媯 River to be wives in the family of Yu 虞" and so on, it can be known that Shun 舜 led his tribe and moved to Jin 晉 from Lu 魯 after Yao's 堯 tribe had moved west. Shun 舜 was thus possibly one of the officials who went "to Tang 唐".

[1] Cf. Li, X. (1994-1). Also, "Ruo 若 River" is noted as "Ruo 弱 River" in the parallel passage of the *Yuhai* 玉海, vol. 103. I write it down for reference here.

[2] "The zither and lute from Kongsang 空桑" occurs in the "Dasiyue 大司樂" section of the "Chunguan 春官" chapter of the *Zhouli* 周禮. Zheng's 鄭 commentary says that Kongsang 空桑 "is a mountain name". In the "Dongshanjing 東山經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 it is recorded that "The head of the second mountain group in the east is Mount Kongsang 空桑. To the north is the Shi 食 River, on the east it overlooks Juwu 沮吳, Shaling 沙陵 (Sand Mound) is to the south, and Lake Min 潛 is to the west. There is an animal like the cow here, with tiger stripes. It makes a sound like humming and is called *lingling* 鈴鈴 after its call. It appears at times of great floods in the land under heaven". Guo's 高 commentary says, this mountain produces materials for making zithers and lutes;

see the *Zhouli* 周禮". Also, in the "Beishanjing 北山經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 it is recorded that "Two hundred *li* 里 farther north is Mount Kongsang 空桑. There is no vegetation there and it is snow capped all year. The Kongsang 空桑 River flows east from here to Hutuo 葷沓". The "Qianji 前紀" chapter of the *Lushi* 路史 (vol. 3) considers that Mount Kongsang 空桑 must have been "between Shen 莘 and Shan 陝". The commentary on the "Beishanjing 北山經" chapter in the *Shanhaijing Guangzhu* 山海經廣注 (vol. 3) says, "There is also Kongsang 空桑 in the land of Yan 兗. The place is extremely vast, and it is where the people of the Gaoyang 高陽 had dwelt. It is the wilderness of Guangsang 廣桑 that Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 has referred to. In the ancient times the Kongsang 空桑 was located here". In my opinion, the statement "there is also Kongsang 空桑 in the land of Yan 兗" in Wu's 吳 commentary refers to Kongsang 空桑 as seen in the "Dongshanjing 東山經" chapter. Also, in the "Benjingxun 本經訓" chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 it is recorded that "In the reign period of Shun 舜, Gonggong 共工 made the flood run wild to approach Kongsang 空桑". Gao's 高 commentary says, "Kongsang 空桑 is a place name, which is in Lu 魯". Shen Zhumian 沈祖緜 considers that Gao's 高 commentary is incorrect. The Kongsang 空桑 which Gonggong 共工 made the flood run wild to approach is possibly Mount Kongsang 空桑 as seen in the "Beishanjing 北山經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經. See *Lushi Chunqiu Jiaoshi* (vol. 14), p. 743.

- [3] In the *Diwang Shiji* 帝王世紀 cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 79 it is recorded that "Emperor Shaohao's 少昊 name was Zhi 摯, and he styled himself Qingyang 青陽. His surname was Ji 姬. His mother was Nüjie 女節. During the reign period of the Yellow Emperor, there was a great star, like a rainbow, which descended on the islet of Hua 華. Nüjie 女節 received it in her dream, and became enamoured and then begot Shaohao 少昊, who was Xuanxiao 玄囂. Xuanxiao 玄囂 came down and dwelt in the valley of the Jiang 江 River. He had a divine character and settled at Qionsang 窮桑. After ascending the throne, he founded his capital in Qufu 曲阜, and thus was called Emperor Qionsang 窮桑". In my opinion, "Jiang 江 River" must have been a textual error for "Di 氾 River". There were two the rivers of Di 氾 in ancient times. One is the present river of Sha 沙, another is the Huai 槐. Li, X. (1994-2), esp. 217, considers that the river where Xuanxiao 玄囂 came down and dwelt must have been the former. Also, Shaohao 少昊, whose surname was Ji 己, and Xuanxiao 玄囂 were not one and the same person. See the appendix 1 of this book.
- [4] *Shanhaijing Jianshu*, vol. 14.
- [5] In the "Wudide 五帝德" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記 it is recorded that "Zhuanxu 顓頊, who was the grandson of the Yellow Emperor and the son of Changyi 昌意, was known as Gaoyang 高陽". Its basis is possibly the same as the record in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1. Also, in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the eighth year of Duke Wen 文) it is both recorded that "[The lord of] the Gaoyang 高陽 had eight descendants of ability" and that "Zhuanxu 顓頊 had a descendant who was devoid of ability". Liu, Q. (1991-1), esp. 16, takes it as evidence to infer that Zhuanxu 顓頊 cannot be identified with Gaoyang 高陽. In my opinion, the theory may be inadequate. It is possible that [the lord of] the Gaoyang 高陽, i.e., Zhuanxu 顓頊, had both "descendants of ability" and "descendants devoid of ability".
- [6] In *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the seventeenth year of Duke Zhao 昭) it is recorded that "Wei 衛 was the ruins of Zhuanxu 顓頊, hence there is a Diqiu 帝丘 (Emperor Hill) in it". Huangfu

Mi's 皇甫謐 commentary, cited by the *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 1, says, "Zhuangxi 顓頊 founded his capital at Diqiu 帝丘, which is the present county of Puyang 濮陽 in Dong 東 Prefecture". If this is correct, it would mean that Gaoyang 高陽 had risen at Kongsang 空桑 and founded its capital in Diqiu 帝丘 later.

- [7] Bi Yuan's 畢沅 commentary says, "This is because Shun 舜 was the descendant in the sixth generation of Gaoyang 高陽". Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 considers that possibly there were errors in the text, and suggests that on the basis of the reference from the *Suichaozi* 隨巢子, cited by the "Fuming 符命" chapter of the *Yiwen Leiju* 藝文類聚, "Heaven gave Yu 禹 of Xia 夏 the command in the Dark Palace. There was a Great God with a human face and birdlike body", it can be seen that the man who gave command was not Gaoyang 高陽. See *Mozi Jiangu*, vol. 2, pp. 134-135. In my opinion, that Gaoyang 高陽 was called Heaven in the *Suichaozi* 隨巢子 is a result of his being deified and the text is not in error. Also, in the "Dazongshi 大宗師" chapter of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 it is said that "Zhuangxi 顓頊 got it (the Way) and dwelt in the Dark Palace". This shows that Zhuangxi 顓頊, i.e., Gaoyang 高陽 and his descendants, all had a legend of their dwelling in the Dark Palace.
- [8] Ma Rong's 馬融 commentary, cited by the *Jingdian Shiwen* 經典釋文, vol. 3, says, "Yu 嶠 means cape. Yi 夷 means the Yi 夷 of Lai 萊". It is also said that "Yanggu 陽谷 is a place name among the Yi 夷 people of the cape". In my opinion, these explanations are inadequate. "Yuyi 嶠夷" refers to the lands of the eastern border where the sun rises, and not the cape, still less the Yi 夷 of Lai 萊 in the cape. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 85, it is recorded that "Anciently, Yao 堯 commanded Xizhong 羲仲 to reside at Yuyi 嶠夷, which was called Yanggu 陽谷 (Bright Valley). Yanggu 陽谷 is the place where the sun rises". This explanation can be regarded as the correct one. The statement "Yuyi 嶠夷 had been defined" in the "Yugong 禹貢" chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書 refers to the eastern lands being defined. The "Tian 田" radical of the *Shuowen* 說文, vol. 13 B, states "Lue 略 means to define territory". Also, "Yuyi 嶠夷" is noted as "Yuyi 郁夷" in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1. The *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 1, says "The pronunciation of Yu 郁 was the same as yu 隅". In my opinion, the old pronunciations of 隅 and 嶠 are the same. "郁夷" and "嶠夷" are different transcriptions of one and the same name.
- [9] In the "Lüliang Bei" 呂梁碑 (the Inscription on the Lüliang 呂梁 Tablet) of Liu Dan 劉耽 of Han 漢 it is recorded that "Zhuangxi 顓頊 begot Mu 幕. Mu 幕 begot Qiongchan 窮蟬. Qiongchan 窮蟬 begot Jingkang 敬康. Jingkang 敬康 begot Qiaoniu 喬牛. Qiaoniu 喬牛 begot Gusou 瞽瞍". In my opinion, this is a compromising theory.
- [10] In the "Kaogongji 考工記" chapter of the *Zhouli* 周禮 it is said "the Youyu 有虞 placed pottery in high regard". In the "Tangong 檀弓 A" of the *Liji* 禮記 it is recorded that "[The Youyu 有虞 people used earthen-ware coffins". Zheng's 鄭 commentary says, "Shun 舜 invented the earthen-ware coffin". Qiao Zhou's 譙周 *Gushikao* 古史考, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 551, also says, "Shun 舜 invented the earthen-ware coffin". Also, in the "Nan 難 1" chapter of the *Hanfeizi* 韓非子 it is said that "The Eastern Yi 夷 people who made pottery suffered from the inferiority of their ware. Shun 舜 thereupon reached there to make pottery. A year later, the ware became solid". These can all be regarded as evidence to prove that the Youyu 有虞 people or Shun 舜 were adept in making pottery.
- [11] This is Wang Niansun's 王念孫 theory. See *Mozi Jiangu*, p. 52-53.

- [12] This is Yu Yue's 俞樾 theory. See *Mozi Jiangu*, p. 61.
- [13] This is the Bi Yuan's 畢沅 theory. See *Mozi Jiangu*, p. 42.
- [14] There are also other theories on the geographical situations of Mount Li 歷, etc. For example, in the *Kuodizhi* 括地志 cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 1, it is recorded that "Mount Li 歷 and Shun 舜 Well are in Yuyao 餘姚 County of Yue 越 Prefecture. Mount Li 歷 and Shun 舜 Well are in Leize 雷澤 County of Pu 濮 Prefecture. The ruins of Yao 姚 are also in the above-named two places, where Shun 舜 was allegedly born. As to Mount Li 歷 and Shun 舜 Well in Gui 媯 Prefecture, all are considered to be Shun's 舜 birthplace, but the details are not clear". These may be regarded as later theories.
- [15] See Liu, Q. (1991-2).
- [16] In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1 it is recorded that "Shun 舜 dwelt in the bend of the Gui 媯 River, and his behavior was more prudent at home.... Shun 舜 farmed at Mount Li 歷; all the people at Mount Li 歷 did not fight for borders of fields. Shun 舜 fished at Lake Lei 雷; all the people at Lake Lei 雷 did not fight over dwelling places. Shun 舜 made pottery on the banks of the river; all the people on the banks of the river did not suffer from the inferiority of their ware. In the place he had lived for one year, a village formed; and for two years, a town; three, a city. Yao 堯 thereupon conferred upon Shun 舜 clothes made from fine ko-hemp cloth, gave him a zither, built storehouses and granaries for him, and offered him oxen and sheep".
- [17] Zhao You 趙佑 considers that it is possibly Zhucheng 諸城 County in Qing 青 Prefecture, as a Mount Feng 馮 and a Feng 馮 Village are there. See *Mengzi Zhengyi*, vol. 16, p. 538.
- [18] This is Zhai Hao's 翟灝 theory, See *Mengzi Zhengyi*, pp. 537-538.
- [19] Cf. Zhai Hao's 翟灝 theory, see *Mengzi Zhengyi*, p. 538.
- [20] Cf. Lüshi Chunqiu Jiaoshi, p. 439.
- [21] On the geography of Jie's 桀 capital, cf. Lei Xueqi 雷學淇 "Xiadu Kao" 夏都考 (On the Capital of the Xia 夏 Dynasty), in *Jiean Jingshuo* (2); Jin E 金鶚 "Jie Du Anyi Bian" 桀都安邑辨 (Discussion about the Theory that Jie's 桀 capital was at Anyi 安邑), in *Qiugulu Lishuo* (8); Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 "Shangshuxu Shu" 商書序疏 (Subcommentaries on "the Preface to the Books of Shang 商"), in *Shangshu Jinguwen Zhushu*.
- [22] This is Zhao You's 趙佑 theory; for the source see note 17. Also, in the "Nan 難 1" chapter of the *Hanfeizi* 韓非子 it is recorded that "The farmers at Mount Li 歷 invaded the borders of each other's fields. A year after Shun 舜 went and farmed there the borders of the fields were put in order. The fishers on the banks of the river fought with each other. A year after Shun 舜 went and fished there the fishers modestly deferred to each other. The Eastern Yi 夷 people who made pottery suffered from the inferiority of their ware. Shun 舜 thereupon reached there to make pottery. A year later, the ware became solid". It also considers that Shun 舜 farmed, fished and make pottery in the land of the Eastern Yi 夷".
- [23] The theory is on the basis of Liu, Q. (1991-2).
- [24] Qian (1931) and Qian (1982). Tong (1983), pp. 32, 356, also holds the similar theory. Their comments are worth consulting.
- [25] Cf. *Zhushu Jinian Yizheng*, p. 48.
- [26] *Yizhoushu Huijiao Huizhu*, pp. 1013-1014.

- [27] The *Shiji* 史記, ch. 4, records that King Wu 武 "made the descendants of Emperor Shun 舜 prince of Chen 陳". The *Kuodizhi* 括地志, cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 4 states, that "Yuanqiu 宛丘 County of Chen 陳 Prefecture is in the town of Chen 陳, which is the ancient state of Chen 陳. Efu 遏父, the descendant of Emperor Shun 舜, was the Pottery Director for King Wu 武 of Zhou 周. King Wu 武 relied on the use of his ware. His son, Gui Man 媯滿 was made prince of Chen 陳, whose capital was nearby Yuanqiu 宛丘".
- [28] This is a missing passage of the *Shiji Zhengyi*, see Tekigawa & Mizusawa, p. 927.
- [29] On the above-mentioned views, cf. Chen, P. (1988), pp. 1364-1367.
- [30] The theory is on the basis of *Wanghuipian Jianshi* vol. B.
- [31] Cf. Wang, G. (1984-4). In this paper, Wang 王 considers also that the Yuezhi 月氏 gave up the former lands between Qilian 祁連 and Dunhuang 敦煌 and moved west *via* the Southern Route in the Western Regions because they suffered attacks from the Xiongnu 匈奴. They had dwelt between Yutian 于闐 and Qiemo 且末 before conquering the state of Daxia 大夏, and did not go to the valley of the Ili River. In my opinion, his theory is inadequate.
- [32] Cf. Ma & Wang.
- [33] For details, see Yu, T. (1992), pp. 26-28.
- [34] In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the eighth year of Duke Zhao 昭) it is recorded that "Zhou 周 conferred his surname on Duke Hu 胡 because of his freedom from all excess, and made him sacrifice to the emperor of Yu 虞". Du's commentary says, "Duke Hu 胡, Man 滿, was the descendant of Sui 遂, who had served the King Wu 武 of Zhou 周 and was conferred the surname of Gui 媯 and made prince of Chen 陳 to succeeded to the descendants of Shun 舜". This can also be regarded as evidence.
- [35] In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the fifth year of Duke Xi 僖) it is recorded that "Taibo 太伯 and Yuzhong 虞仲 were sons of King Tai 大; but because Taibo 太伯 would not follow him [against Shang 商], he did not inherit his state". Du's 杜 commentary says, "The son of Zhongyong's 仲雍 concubine was separately made prince of the Western Wu 吳; his descendant was the Duke of Yu 虞". On the basis of this, Chen, P. (1988), pp. 459-460 suggests that "the Western Wu 吳" was not in Yongzhou 雍州, but must refer to the feudality of Yuzhong's 虞仲 descendants. In my opinion, this theory is inadequate.
- [36] Cf. Ogawa (1939), pp. 102-107; Huang (1989-1).
- [37] The theory that the predecessor of the Yuezhi 月氏 were the Youyu 有虞 was originated by Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒; see Xu, Zh. (1985), and Xu, Zh. & Zheng (1933), Xu, Zh. (1979).
- [38] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 52-61,
- [39] Grene.
- [40] Jones.
- [41] Kent.
- [42] For details, see Yu, T. (1992), pp. 24-61, 210-215.
- [43] Cf. Yu, T. (1994).
- [44] On basis of the "Wanzhang 萬章 A" chapter of the *Mengzi* 孟子, the younger brother of Shun 舜, Xiang 象, said that "...Let my parents have his oxen and sheep. Let them have his storehouses and granaries. His shield and spear shall be mine. His lute shall be mine...". Yang, X.-2 considers that there were not only oxen and sheep, but also storehouses and granaries in



Shun's 舜 family. This shows their mode of production combined farming and animal husbandry. The statement in the "Shundian 舜典" chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書 that "When [Yao 堯] sent [Shun 舜] to the great plains at the foot of the mountains amid violent wind, thunder, and rain, he did not go astray" also shows this because "the great plains at the foot of the mountains" were fine grazing lands.

[45] Tong (1941); Tong (1983), pp. 7-8; and Yang (1937).

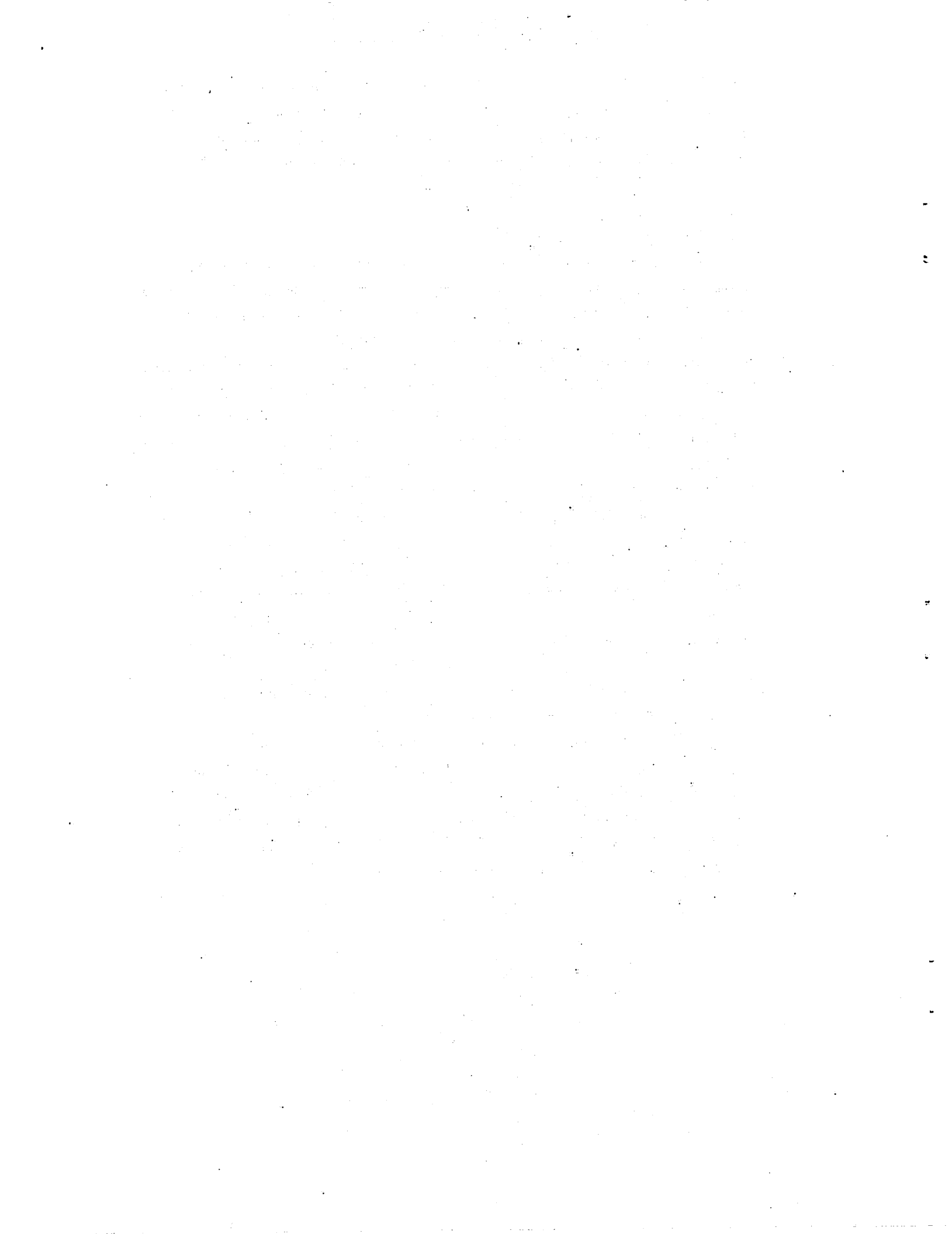
[46] Cf. Li, X. (1994-2).

[47] Zhang Yan's 張晏 commentary cited, by the *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 1, says, "Gaoyang 高陽 and Gaoxin 高辛 are both the names of places where these states had risen". Song Zhong's 宋衷 commentary, cited by the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 1, says also, "Gaoxin 高辛 is a place name, after which the title of state was named".

[48] In the "Yuandaoxun 原道訓" of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 it is said that "Anciently, Gonggong 共工... fought for the throne with Gaoxin 高辛". But in the "Tianwenxun 天文訓" of the same book it is said, "Anciently, Gonggong 共工 fought for the throne with Zhuanxu 顓頊". This can be regarded as evidence the identity of Gaoxin 高辛 and Gaoyang 高陽. Also, in the "Zhengyu 鄭語" of the *Guoyu* 國語 it is said that "Li 黎 was the Fire Director for the lord of the state of Gaoxin 高辛". However, in the "Chuyu B" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 it is said that "When Shaohao 少皞 was in decline.... Zhuanxu 顓頊 succeeded, and ordered his Southern Director, Zhong 重, to take care of heaven for the purpose of linking up gods, the Fire Director, Li 黎, to take care of earth for the purpose of linking up people". And in the "Shuzhi 蜀志" chapter of the *Huayangguozhi* 華陽國志 it is recorded that "Changyi 昌意... begot the son, Gaoyang 高陽, who was Emperor Ku 嚳". This is also evidence to prove that "Gaoyang 高陽" and "Gaoxin 高辛" are different transcriptions of one and the same name.

[49] In the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 1, it is said that "Yao 堯 is a posthumous title". In my opinion, this does not seem to be the truth of the matter.

[50] In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1, it is recorded that "From the Yellow Emperor to Shun 舜 and Yu 禹, every lord had the same surname, but changed the title of his state to show his brilliant virtue. Hence the Yellow Emperor's state title was Youxiong 有熊; Emperor Zhuanxu 顓頊, Gaoyang 高陽; Emperor Ku 嚳, Gaoxin 高辛; Emperor Yao 堯, Taotang 陶唐; Emperor Shun 舜, Youyu 有虞". In my opinion, Sima Qian's 司馬遷 theory is inadequate. There is no need to change the state title in order to show one's brilliant virtue.



## CHAPTER 3

### On the Rong of the Surname Yun

#### A

The Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 first appears in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳. Whatever the relationship between the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰, the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾, the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜, even the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州 respectively, up to now, there has been no conclusion among scholars concerning how they relate to each other. Thus I state my views simply as follows.

1. In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the ninth year of Duke Zhao 昭) it is recorded that "The commandant of Gan 甘 in Zhou 周 had a quarrel with Jia 嘉, the commandant of Yan 閭 in Jin 晉, about the lands of Yan 閭; upon which Liang Bing 梁丙 and Zhang Ti 張趯 of Jin 晉 led the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰 to attack Ying 穎. The king then sent Hengbo 恒伯 of Zhan 詹 to address the following remonstrance to Jin 晉: '...The ancient kings located Taowu 橐杻 in [one of] the four distant regions, to encounter the sprites and other evil things, and so it was that the villains of the surname Yun 允 dwelt in Guazhou 瓜州. When [our] uncle, [your] Duke Hui 惠, returned from Qin 秦, he induced them to come in this direction, so that they have since pressed on all our states of Ji 姬, and entered our suburbs and the districts beyond them; -- these the Rong 戎 have taken to themselves. The Rong 戎 thus have [a footing in] the Middle State, and who is to blame?'" Du Yu's 杜預 commentary says, "The Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were the ancestor of the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰, who were in turn those who were deported to Sanwei 三危 together with the Sanmiao 三苗. Guazhou 瓜州 can be identified with the present Dunhuang 敦煌". In my opinion, on the basis of the above-cited reference, the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 originally dwelt at Guazhou 瓜州. They moved inward (i.e., to the Central Plains) at the time of Duke Hui 惠 of Jin 晉, and were settled in the suburbs of Zhou 周. On the basis of Du Yu's 杜預 commentary, the descendants of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who moved inward were the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰. This explains why the officials of Zhou 周 referred to the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 when the generals of Jin 晉 led the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰 to attack Ying 穎.

It is generally suggested that the descendants of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were known as "the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰" because those who moved inward dwelt in the land of Yin 陰. And the so-called "land of Yin 陰", on the basis of Du Yu's 杜預 commentary to the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the second year of Duke Xuan 宣), was "to the south of the River, to the north of the mountain in Jin 晉, and from Upper Luo 洛 as far as Luhun 陸渾". The River and mountain referred respectively to the Yellow River and Mount Qin 秦. Since both the land to the south of a river and to the north of a mountain are called "yin 陰", those who dwelt to the south of the Yellow River and the north of Mount Qin 秦, were therefore known as "the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰".<sup>[1]</sup>

It should be pointed out that since the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were known as "the ancestors of the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰", the so-called "Rong 戎 of Yin 陰" possibly referred only to the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 in the land of Yin 陰, and did not include the other barbarians in the land of Yin 陰. In fact, there had been other barbarians, for example, "the Rong 戎 of Yiluo 伊洛" as seen in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the eleventh year of Duke Xi 僖), in the land of Yin 陰 before the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 entered. This shows that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 could not have been the ancestors of various barbarians in the land of Yin 陰. And there were no other barbarians known as "the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰" there after the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 had arrived. From this, it can be seen that "the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰" was simply a special term for the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who moved inward, and not a general term for the various barbarians in the land of Yin 陰. It is probable that only the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were known as "the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰", not only because they dwelt in the land to the south of river and to the north of the mountain, but also because the old pronunciations of "Yin 陰" and "Yun 允" were close.

2. In Du Yu's commentary on the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the ninth year of Duke Zhao 昭) it is recorded that "The Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were the ancestors of the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰", and that "The Rong 戎 of Yin 陰 were the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾".

"The Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾" first appear in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-second year of Duke Xi 僖) which says, "This Autumn, Qin 秦 and Jin 晉 removed the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 to Yichuan 伊川 (the valley of the Yi 伊 River)". Du Yu's 杜預 commentary says, "The Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 dwelt at Luhun 陸渾, to the northwest of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉. Both states lured and removed them to Yichuan 伊川, which thereupon was named after the Rong 戎, and is now called the Luhun 陸渾 County". On these grounds, the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 were a branch of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允. They moved to Yichuan 伊川 (i.e., the valley of Yi 伊 River), from the northwest of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉 in the twenty-second year of Duke Xi 僖 of Lu 魯 (i.e., the twenty-second year of Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦 or the thirteenth year of Duke Hui 惠 of Jin 晉), and hence forth there

was a land known as Luhun 陸渾 in Yichuan 伊川. The reference which states that "[Yichuan 伊川] thereupon was named after the Rong 戎, and is now called Luhun 陸渾 County" may not be correct. All of the places that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who moved inward reached might have been possibly known as Luhun 陸渾. Luhun 陸渾 County at Du Yu's 杜預 time was only one of them. From this, it can be seen that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 originally dwelt in Luhun 陸渾, and were therefore originally known as "the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾". They were also called "the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰" because their new settlement was in the land of Yin 陰.

The *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the ninth year of Duke Zhao 昭) states that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 dwelt originally in Guazhou 瓜州, and moved then to the suburbs of Zhou 周 from Guazhou 瓜州 at the time of Duke Hui 惠 of Jin 晉. The *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-second year of Duke Xi 僖) states that the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 moved to Yichuan 伊川 in the autumn of the thirteenth year of Duke Hui 惠 of Jin 晉. On the basis of Du Yu's 杜預 commentary, the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 (which is a different name for the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允) moved from Luhun 陸渾, northwest of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉. Yichuan 伊川 can be identified with the suburbs of Zhou 周. Thus the related records in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the ninth year of Duke Zhao 昭 and, the twenty-second year of Duke Xi 僖) refer to the identical event, and Luhun 陸渾 must have been an area in Guazhou 瓜州 (if Luhun 陸渾 was not another term for Guazhou 瓜州).

3. In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the fourteenth year of Duke Xiang 襄) it is recorded that "Fan Xuanzi 范宣子 [further] wished to seize Juzhi 駒支, the viscount of the Rong 戎, and accused him in court, saying, 'Come, you chief of the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜! Formerly, the people of Qin 秦 drove Wuli 吾離, one of your ancestors, to Guazhou 瓜州, when he came, clothed with rushes and forcing his way through briars and thorns, and threw himself on our ruler, Duke Hui 惠, who was only possessed of poor lands and gave the equal shares to you to provide you with a means of subsistence...'. The viscount replied, 'Formerly, the people of Qin 秦, relying on their multitudes, and covetous of territory, drove out us Rong 戎. Then Duke Hui 惠 displayed his great kindness; and, considering that we Rong 戎 were the descendants of the [chief of the] Four Yue 嶽, and were thus not to be entirely cut off and abandoned, he gave us the lands on his southern border. The territory was one where jackals dwelt and wolves howled, but we Rong 戎 extirpated the briars and thorns from it, drove away the jackals and wolves, and considered ourselves his subjects, who should not make inroads on his state, nor rebel...'. This shows that the former land of the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 was also in Guanzhou 瓜州, that they moved inward together with the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 at the time of Duke Hui 惠 of Jin 晉. Based on this, it is suggested that the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 can be identified with the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允.<sup>[2]</sup> However, in my opinion, this theory is inadequate.

Firstly, their names are not the same. One was the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜, and the other was the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允. The latter was also known as the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰 or the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾, and the former were known by such similar terms.

Secondly, both moved inward at the time of Duke Hui 惠 of Jin 晉, but the locale where each was settled after moving inward was different. The Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 were settled along the southern borders of Jin 晉, and the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were settled in Yichuan 伊川, the suburbs of Zhou 周.

Thirdly, the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 referred to themselves as "the descendants of the [chief of the] Four Yue 嶽". Du Yu's 杜預 commentary states, "The descendants of the [chief of the] Four Yue 嶽 were all surnamed Jiang 姜, and there was separately the tribe of the surname Yun 允". Since the [chief of the] Four Yue 嶽 were surnamed Jiang 姜, the origins of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 were different. The Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were the descendants of Shaohao 少昊, whose surname was Ji 己.<sup>[3]</sup> Du Yu's 杜預 commentary that "There was also the separate tribe of the surname Yun 允" only shows that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were a separate tribe within the tribes of the surname Jiang 姜 for a time, it does not show that the races of both were the same.<sup>[4]</sup>

4. In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-second year of Duke Zhao 昭) it is recorded that "In the winter, in the tenth month, on the day of *dingsi* 丁巳, Ji Tan 籍談 and Xun Li 荀躒 of Jin, led the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州, with the troops of Jiao 焦, Xia 瑕, Wen 溫, and Yuan 原, to replace the king in the royal city. On the day of *gengshen* 庚申, the viscounts of Shan 單 and Fen 盆 of Liu 劉, with the king's army, were shamefully defeated at Jiao 郊, and the men of Qiancheng 前城 defeated the [Rong 戎] of Luhun 陸渾 at She 社". Du Yu's 杜預 commentary states, "The Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州 were the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾, who were overcome in the seventeenth year, and then subjugated to Jin 晉". On these grounds, the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 were also known as "the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州". It is suggested that when Jin 晉 led the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州 to replace King Dao 悼 and was defeated by Zichao 子朝, those barbarians who were defeated were the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾; this shows that Du Yu's 杜預 commentary is correct.<sup>[5]</sup> As for the reason why the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 were also known as "the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州", the theory is as follows:

In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the fourth year of Duke Zhao 昭) it is recorded that "The Four Yue 嶽, Santu 三塗, Yangcheng 陽城, Taishi 大室, Mount Jin 荆山, and Zhongnan 中南 are the most difficult mountains of Jiuzhou 九州, which do not all belong to the same surname". Of them, "the Four Yue 嶽" was in the present Long 隴 County in Shanxi 陝西. Since the records in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the fourteenth year of Duke of Xiang 襄) state that the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 were the descendants of "the Four Yue 嶽" and that they dwelt in Guazhou 瓜州, the Four Yue 嶽 were

must have been located in Guazhou 瓜州. Though these tribes might have moved, the sphere in which one can seek the settlement of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 must have been in the Guanzhong 關中-Mount Qin 秦 area. Since "the Four Yue" were in Guazhou 瓜州, and were also the most difficult mountains of Jiuzhou 九州, and furthermore the old pronunciations of "gua 瓜" and "jiu 九" were similar, "Jiuzhou 九州" can be identified with "Guazhou 瓜州". Thus it can be seen that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, namely, the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 can be regarded as "the Rong 戎 of Guazhou 瓜州", or "the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州".<sup>[6]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate.

Firstly, it is suggested that "Santu 三塗" was in Song 嵩 County in Henan 河南, and that "Yangcheng 陽城" and "Taishi 大室" were in Dengfeng 登封 County. These were all within the land of Yin 陰, i.e., the new settlement of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who moved inward (the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾). In other words, "the land of Yin 陰" and Luhun 陸渾, the original land of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, all belonged to Jiuzhou 九州, i.e., Guazhou 瓜州. If this is true, the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who moved inward at the time of Duke of Hui 惠 were only travelling from one place to another in Guazhou 瓜州. But this does in obviously disagreement with the above-cited records of the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 and with Du Yu's 杜預 commentary. The above-cited records of the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 and Du Yu's 杜預 commentary clearly states that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 reached the land of Yin 陰 (Yichuan 伊川) after moving away from Guazhou 瓜州. If the land of Yin 陰 belonged to Jiuzhou 九州, then Guazhou 瓜州 must not have been Jiuzhou 九州.

Secondly, even if the geographical location of the Four Yue 嶽 is as discussed by the scholar who advanced this theory, the settlement of the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 or of the surname Yun 允 before they moved inward must not have been nearby Long 隴 County in Shanxi 陝西. Since the tribes' migration is possible, there is no reason to consider that the descendants of the Four Yue 嶽 were located at the Four Yue 嶽 all along, and that the land of Guazhou 瓜州 in which the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 lived was the Four Yue 嶽. In addition, Du Yu's 杜預 commentary states clearly that the former land of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, i.e., the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾, was to the northwest of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉.

Thirdly, Du Yu's 杜預 commentary that "[The Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾] were overcome in the seventeenth year, then subjugated to Jin 晉", occurs in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the seventeenth year of Duke Zhao 昭), in which it is recorded that "In the ninth month, on the day of *dingmao* 丁卯, Xun Wu 荀吳 of Jin 晉 led a force, crossed [the River] at the ford of Ji 棘, and made an officer of sacrifice first offer victims to the Luo 雒. The people of Luhun 陸渾 knew nothing [of their object, till] the army came after him; and on the day of *gengwu* 庚午 he took the opportunity to extinguish the [tribe of] Luhun 陸渾, denouncing it for its disaffection and adherence to Chu 楚. Its viscount fled to Chu 楚, and the multitudes fled to

Ganlu 甘鹿". In addition, the records in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the fourth year of Duke Ai 哀) state, "Thereupon, Shi Mie 士蔑 called together the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州". Du Yu's 杜預 commentary states, "The Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州 were those who were in Luhun 陸渾, in the land of Yin 陰". This shows that Du Yu's 杜預 commentary to the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-second year of Duke Zhao 昭) that "The Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州 were the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾" in fact regards both the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who moved inward and settled in Luhun 陸渾 in the land of Yin 陰, and also the remnants of the overthrown Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 in the seventeenth year of Duke of Zhao 昭, as the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州. Therefore, on the basis of Du Yu's 杜預 commentary it is impossible to draw the conclusion that the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州 were just the Rong 戎 of Guazhou 瓜州 (even if only referring to the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 or Luhun 陸渾, not including the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜).<sup>[7]</sup>

Lastly, Du Yu's 杜預 commentary is inaccurate in regarding the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who moved inward and settled in Luhun 陸渾 of the land of Yin 陰 as the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州. There were various Rong 戎 who lived together in the land of Jiuzhou 九州. This region must not have belonged to one tribe. That is to say they "do not all belong to the same surname". Since all those barbarians who dwelt in the land of Jiuzhou 九州 can be called the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州, it is unreasonable to give the Rong 戎 of surname Yun 允 this appellation. This shows that those led by Xun Li 荀躒 and called together by Shi Mie 士蔑 did not, in fact, belong to one group; and those who were defeated by the men of Qiancheng 前城 were only one tribe among them.<sup>[8]</sup> Du Yu 杜預 did not study the matter carefully, and thus incorrectly assumed that the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州 was the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾. His error caused much puzzlement in later generations.<sup>[9]</sup>

5. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87, it is recorded that "...At that time, the Rong 戎 of Yiluo 伊洛 were powerful, and they invaded eastwards the states of Cao 曹 and Lu 魯. They eventually entered the royal city in the nineteenth year (of Duke Xi 僖 of Lu 魯, i.e., 649 B.C.). Thereupon, Qin 秦 and Jin 晉 attacked the barbarians to rescue Zhou 周. They invaded the capital again, and Duke Huan 桓 of Qi 齊 called together the princes to defend Zhou 周 two years later. The Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 moved to Yichuan 伊川 from Guazhou 瓜州, and the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 moved to the bend of the Wei 渭 River, and expanded eastwards as far as Huanyuan 輓轅 during the next nine years (by the thirteenth year of Duke Hui 惠 of Jin 晉, i.e., 638 B.C.). Those who dwelt south of the River and north of the mountain were known as the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰. The Rong 戎 of Yin 陰 thereupon propagated and spread". The following are two points that need clarification:

Firstly, the reference "the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 moved to Yichuan 伊川 from Guazhou 瓜州, and the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 moved to the bend of the Wei 渭 River" completely divided the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 from the Rong



戎 of the surname Yun 允, which clearly does not coincide with Du Yu's 杜預 commentary. The only possible reason is that the editor of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87, misunderstood the meaning of Du Yu's 杜預 commentary, and combined the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 with the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜. In fact, those who moved to the bend of the Wei 渭 River, i.e., the southern border of Jin 晉, must have been the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜. Those who moved to Yichuan 伊川, i.e., the suburbs of Zhou 周, must have been the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾, i.e., the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允.<sup>[10]</sup> As for those who "expanded eastward as far as Huanyuan 輶轅", this probably refers to the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾, i.e., the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允.

Secondly, the reference to "those who dwelt south of the River and north of the mount were known as the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰" would be correct, if it only referred to the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾. Otherwise, as mentioned above, this wording would not be exact enough. The Rong 戎 of Yin 陰 must have been the descendants of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who moved inward and dwelt "south of the River and north of the mountain", i.e., the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾.

In sum, the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 originally dwelt in Guazhou 瓜州. Those who moved inward to the land of Yin 陰 were known as the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰. Guazhou 瓜州 was also known as Luhun 陸渾. Probably because the settlement of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 in Guazhou 瓜州 was known as Luhun 陸渾, the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who moved inward were called the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾. And there was a place known as Luhun 陸渾 in the land of Yin 陰. Since Luhun 陸渾 in the land of Yin 陰 belonged to Jiuzhou 九州, the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 were a part of the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州.

## B

The following discussion will deal with the geographical location of Guazhou 瓜州.

The earliest settlement of the villains of the surname Yun 允 to which can be traced was Guazhou 瓜州. On the basis of Du Yu's 杜預 commentary on the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the ninth year of Zhao 昭), Guazhou 瓜州 was the same as Dunhuang 敦煌. "Dunhuang 敦煌" was the name of one of the four prefectures in the Hexi 河西 region (Gansu 甘肅 Corridor) established by Emperor Wu 武 of the Han 漢. This place name did not appear in writings before Han 漢 times. Therefore, Du Yu's 杜預 commentary only shows that Guazhou 瓜州 was located in Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture or in its government seat in Han 漢 times.

It has been suggested that Guazhou 瓜州 as mentioned in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 must not have been Dunhuang 敦煌. This is primarily because Qin 秦 founded its capital in Yong 雍 (the present Fengxiang 鳳翔 in Shanxi 陝西) during the reign

period of Duke Mu 穆. Since it was a distance of over three thousand *li* 里 from Dunhuang 敦煌, there was no need to tire the troops on so long an expedition. There were many barbarians living together in the regions between Yong 雍 and Dunhuang 敦煌, thus it is impossible that Qin 秦 would have crossed through them to attack the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允. If it is true that the Qin 秦 army made an expedition to Dunhuang 敦煌, the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, etc., must have fled to a far-away place Yiwu 伊吾, and would not have escaped to the east and entered the hinterland of the victorious states. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28B, it is recorded that "Du Lin 杜林 regards [Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture] as the land of ancient Guazhou 瓜州, which produces good melons". This must have been the basis for Du Yu's 杜預 commentary on the *Zuozhuan* 左傳. But Dunhuang 敦煌 must not have been the only place that produced good melons. Undoubtedly, Du Lin 杜林 had misinterpreted words through taking them too literally. <sup>[11]</sup> In my opinion, one must agree that there is reasonable evidence to claim that the original settlement of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who moved inward was not Dunhuang 敦煌. But, as mentioned above, it is further suggested that "Guazhou 瓜州" can be identified with "Jiuzhou 九州", and that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 dwelt originally in the Guanzhong 關中-Mount Qin 秦 area, and were not far from Fengxiang 鳳翔. This view is unacceptable.

Where was Guazhou 瓜州 actually located? It is very possible that it was to be found in the upper reaches of the Jing 涇 River, in the Pingliang 平涼-Guyuan 固原 area.

Firstly, Du Lin's 杜林 statement, cited by the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, ch. 40, says, "Dunhuang 燉煌 is the same as the ancient Guazhou 瓜州. Its tribute was the excellent local melons. Therefore the people were named after the melon. The Rong 戎 of Guazhou 瓜州 were those who were swallowed up by the Yuezhi 月氏". Du Lin 杜林 was inaccurate in regarding Guazhou 瓜州 to be Dunhuang 燉煌 because it produced good melons; however, there may be some truth to his theory. The statement "the Rong 戎 of Guazhou 瓜州 were those who were swallowed up by the Yuezhi 月氏" is not just wild speculation. The Yuezhi 月氏 had been very powerful before the Xiongnu 匈奴 rose; for a time their sphere of influence had expanded as far as Hetao 河套 (Ordos) and its surrounding areas. <sup>[12]</sup> It is quite possible that the Yuezhi 月氏 expanded as far as upper reaches of the Jing River in the Pingliang 平涼-Guyuan 固原 area. The record in the *Hanshu*, ch. 28B, there was "Yuezhi Circuit" in Anding 安定 Prefecture can be taken as evidence. The exact time when the Yuezhi 月氏 reached the valley of the Jing 涇 River has not been learned, but there is no harm in considering it to have been before the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 moved inward. Since the Rong 戎 of Guazhou 瓜州, i.e., the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜, had all been swallowed up by the Yuezhi 月氏, Guazhou 瓜州 must have been within the sphere of influence of the Yuezhi 月氏 for a time. In other words, it

is very possible that Guazhou 瓜州 was in the upper reaches of the Jing 涇 River. In fact, "Guazhou 瓜州" [*koa-tjie*] can be taken as a different transcription of "Yuezhi 月氏" [*njuik-tjie*] or "Yuzhi 禺知" [*ngio-tie*]. That is to say, the original settlement of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 were called "Guazhou 瓜州" as a result of their being conquered by the Yuezhi 月氏. And the place name had possibly been "Luhun 陸渾" before it was occupied by the Yuezhi 月氏. The reference in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the ninth year of Duke Zhao 昭), viz., "the villains of the surname Yun 允 dwelt in Guazhou 瓜州", only used a popular place name of the time when referring to past events (just as the moderns say that the Xiongnu 匈奴 roamed the Mongolian Plateau), and thus it does not show that the place where the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 dwelt was originally known as Guazhou 瓜州 from the earliest.

Secondly, the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28B, records that in Anding 安定 Prefecture there was a county called "Wushi" 烏氏 [*a-tjie*] (it is noted as "Yanshi" 焉氏 [*ian-tjie*] in the "Dangshang 當賞" chapter of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, as "Yanshi" 闕氏 [*at-tjie*] in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 16, and as "Wuzhi" 烏枝 [*a-tjie*] in the "Junguo 郡國 5" chapter of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書).<sup>[13]</sup> Since Wushi 烏氏 County was close to Yuzhi 月氏 Circuit and "Wushi 烏氏" can be regarded as a different transcription of "Yunxing 允姓" (for details, see the following), it may be precisely the location of ancient Guazhou 瓜州.

Thirdly, on the basis of Du Yu's 杜預 commentary, the original settlement of the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾, i.e., the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, was to the northwest of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉. And, since the geographical location of Luhun 陸渾 were the same as that of Guazhou 瓜州, Guazhou 瓜州 must have been to the northwest of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉, which does not disagree with the reference to the upper reaches of the Jing 涇 River.<sup>[14]</sup> It may be suggested that Du Yu's 杜預 commentary viz., the original settlement of the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 was "to the northwest of Qin and Jin 晉", might have been influenced by Du Lin's theory that Guazhou 瓜州 was Dunhuang 敦煌. Of course this possibility exists. But there is another possibility that can also not be ruled out, namely, that Du Yu 杜預 accepted Du Lin's 杜林 theory about the identity of Guazhou 瓜州 and Dunhuang 敦煌, because he only knew that Luhun 陸渾 was "to the northwest of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉", but had no way of pointing out more exactly where it was.

The following are some additional pertinent remarks:

1. It is, of course, possible that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜, etc., lived to the northwest of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉 (i.e., the upper reaches of the Jing 涇 River) would move westwards once they were forcibly driven away by Qin 秦. But there must have been some who remained at the original settlement. They can be regarded as those who were lured by Duke Hui 惠 of Jin 晉 to move inward.

2. The places reached by the Yuezhi 月氏 frequently left traces, such as "Guazhou 瓜州", etc. In the Spring and Autumn Period there was the place name of Guayan 瓜衍 [*koa-jian*], as seen in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the fifteenth year of Duke Xuan 襄), which is to the north of the present Xiaoyi 孝義 of Shanxi 山西. And there was the name of Quyan 胸衍 [*gio-jian*] County in Beidi 北地 Prefecture in Western Han 漢 times as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28B. Both names can be regarded as different transcriptions of "Yuezhi 月氏" or "Guazhou 瓜州".<sup>[15]</sup> But Quyan 胸衍 was too far from the political center of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉 at that time. The power of both states could not reach there; therefore, it is impossible to look there for the Guazhou 瓜州 where the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Jiang 姜 Rong 戎 dwelt before they moved inward. As to Guayan 瓜衍, its location disagrees with Du Yu's 杜預 commentary, "northwest of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉" owing to being northeast of Qin 秦. A parallel passage of Du Yu's 杜預 commentary, cited by the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 110, is noted as "[The Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允] dwelt at Luhun 陸渾, which was between Qin 秦 and Jin 晉". It seems that the latter is Du Yu's 杜預 commentary that Sima Zhen 司馬貞 had seen. According to this commentary we can seek Luhun 陸渾 or Guazhou 瓜州 in the land of Guayan 瓜州. But since Du Yu 杜預 regards Guazhou 瓜州 as Dunhuang 敦煌, even if the original text of his commentary was "between Qin 秦 and Jin 晉", to his mind, it would not disagree with the statement "northwest of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉". Therefore we should not yet seek Guazhou 瓜州 in the land of Guayan 瓜州.

3. In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-eighth year of Duke Zhuang 莊) it is recorded that "Subsequently [Duke Xian 獻 of Jin 晉] married two ladies from among the Rong 戎, the one of whom, called Hu Ji 狐姬 of the great Rong 戎, bore Zhong'er 重耳, and the other, who was of the little Rong 戎, bore Yiwu 夷吾". Du Yu's 杜預 commentary says, "The little Rong 戎 was the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允". If we are to believe Du Yu's 杜預 commentary, would it not be too distant that their kin were in the upper reaches of the Jing 涇 River? In fact, the possibility cannot be completely ruled out that Duke Xian 獻 would marry one of the distant barbarians, keeping in mind the tactic of befriending distant states while attacking those nearby. Besides, the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 in Guazhou 瓜州 were only a part of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允. They were the so-called villains of the surname Yun 允. It may be possible that mother of Yiwu 夷吾 did not come from Guazhou 瓜州, and Duke Hui's 惠 luring the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 may have something to do with his mother.<sup>[16]</sup>

4. The "Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾" are noted as the "Rong 戎 of Benhun 賁渾" in the *Chunqiu Gongyangzhuan* 春秋公羊傳 (the seventeenth year of Duke Zhao 昭). "Ben 賁", according to the "Chunqiu Gongyang Yinyi 春秋公羊音義" chapter of the *Jingdian Shiwen* 經典釋文, "was pronounced the same as 'liu 六'". Based on this, some suggest that "Luhun 陸渾" must have been "Benhun 賁渾" in the *Shanhaijing* 山海經.<sup>[17]</sup> In my opinion, "賁" was a copying error for "陸", whose

old pronunciation was as the same as "陸". Therefore, "Benhun 賁渾" must have been "Luhun 陸渾".<sup>[18]</sup> However, there is no "Benhun 賁渾" in the present copy of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經, while there is mention of "Mount Benwen 賁聞" only in the "Beishanjing 北山經" chapter of the same book. Even if the old pronunciations of "hun 渾" and "wen 聞" were close, how could one be sure that "ben 賁" of "Benwen 賁聞" was also an error for "mu 睦" due to recopying? In fact, since from Mount Benwen 賁聞 "one hundred *li* 里 farther north is Mount Wangwu 王屋", it is impossible the Mount Benwen 賁聞 was the original settlement of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who moved inward at the time of Duke Hui 惠 of Jin 晉.

## C

Some suggest that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were the Xianyun 獫狁. Here I shall investigate the names and settlements of both, since this is the only way for comparison to proceed, owing to a lack of sources.

In fact, the sole evidence to identify the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 with the Xianyun 獫狁 is that "Yun[xing] 允[姓]" can be regarded as a shortened transcription of "Xianyun 獫狁".<sup>[19]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is difficult to confirm.

Firstly, it is quite possible that "Yunxing 允姓" (the surname Yun 允) was entirely a transcription. Since "Yuezhi 月氏" is also noted as "Yuzhi 禺知" and "Yuezhi 月支", the "zhi 氏" of the name Yuezhi 月氏 is not the "shi 氏" of "xingshi 姓氏". According to the same reasoning, the "xing 姓" of the name "Yunxing 允姓" may not be the "shi 氏" of "xingshi 姓氏". Of course, it should not be entirely accidental that "shi 氏" or "xing 姓" was picked to construct words, but was probably in order to take account of the custom of "Middle State" at that time.<sup>[20]</sup>

Secondly, as mentioned above, the Guazhou 瓜州 where the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 dwelt was in the upper reaches of the Jing 涇 River, near which there was a place named Wushi 烏氏, and "Yunxing 允姓" can be regarded as a different transcription of "Wushi 烏氏".

Thirdly, in the "Xiaohaoji 小昊紀" section of the "Houji 後紀 7" chapter in the *Lushi* 路史, it is said that "Yunge 允格 was granted Ruo 都. (Note: the *Huanyuji* 寰宇記 and *Shiben* 世本 say, 'the state of Yunxing 允姓'.) His son, whose surname was Ruo 都, was banished by the Emperor of Yu 虞 to Youzhou 幽州. His descendants were the ancestors of the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰. (Note: the *Xingzuan* 姓纂, ch. 6, says, 'The descendants of Yunge 允格 were the posterity of [the lord of] the Jintian 金天. Zhan Hengbo 詹恒伯 said, 'Ancient kings located Taowu 橈杻 in [one of] the four distant regions, and so it was that the Rong 戎 of Yunxing 允姓 dwelt in Guazhou 瓜州'.)" Since the *Shiben* 世本, cited by the subcommentary on

the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the first year of Duke Zhao 昭) says, both that Yunge 允格 was "the lord of the state of Yunxing 允姓" and "the lord of the Jintian 金天 was Emperor Shaohao 少皞", Luo's 羅 book is not completely fabricated, even if it is a heterogeneous mass of information. Objectively, the possibility can not be ruled out that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were the descendants of Yunge 允格.<sup>[21]</sup> And "Youhou 幽州" may be a different transcription of "Guazhou 瓜州" because "gua 瓜" and "you 幽", whose old pronunciations were approximate, were interchangeable. If this is acceptable, then "Yunxing 允姓" and "Yunge 允格" [jiuən-keak] could be regarded as different transcriptions of the same name ([k] can be palatalized to [s]).

Fourthly, as mentioned above, the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were forcibly driven away by Qin 秦. Some of them were subjugated to Qin 秦 and were removed to Yichuan 伊川 by Duke Hui 惠 of Jin 晉. In addition, it is possible that there was a group who moved to the west of Guazhou 瓜州. The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28B, records that there were "Yunwu 允吾" [jiuən-nga] and "Yunjie 允街" [jiuən-ke] counties in Jincheng 金城 Prefecture, and both of these names can be regarded as transcriptions of "Yunge 允格". This also shows that the legend that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were the descendants of Yunge 允格 was not merely fantastic conjecture.

Since "Yunxing 允姓" can be regarded as a different transcription of "Yunge 允格", it can not be a shortented transcription of "Xianyun 獫狁".

There are no clear definite historical records on the original settlement of the Xianyun 獫狁. One can only trace the locations that they moved to and from, owing to their continuous invasions of Zongzhou 宗周.

1. The "Chuche 出車" poem of the "Xiaoya 小雅" section in the *Shijing* 詩經, reads,

The king charged Nan Zhong 南仲,  
To go and build a wall in the Fang 方 region.  
.....  
The Son of Heaven had charged us  
To build a wall in that northern region.  
Awe-inspiring was Nan Zhong 南仲;  
The Xianyun 獫狁 were sure to be swept away!

"Fang 方" must have been "Fangjing" 莽京, as seen repeatedly in the bronze inscriptions, which was located nearby Haojing 鎬京.<sup>[22]</sup> This is to say, that they to built their town at Haojing 鎬京 in order to resist the Xianyun 獫狁.

2. The "Liuyue 六月" poem of the "Xiaoya 小雅" section in the *Shijing* 詩經, reads,

Badly reckoned the Xianyun 獫狁,  
 When they confidently occupied Jiaohuo 焦穫,  
 And overran Hao 鏽 and Fang 方  
 As far as to Jingyang 涇陽.

.....

We fight against the Xianyun 獫狁  
 As far as the vast plain.

Jiaohuo 焦穫 was located nearby the present Chunhua 淳化 in Shanxi 陝西. Hao 鏽 refers to Haojing 鏽京, and "Fang 方" is the "Fang 方" seen in the "Chuche 出車" poem. "Jingyang 涇陽" was the present Jingyang 涇陽 in Shanxi 陝西. The vast plain refers to the area from Pingliang 平涼 in Gansu 甘肅, to Guyuan 固原 in Ningxia 寧夏. <sup>[23]</sup> This is to say that the Xianyun 獫狁 did not have a proper measure of them while they were entrenched at Jiaohuo 焦穫, and wanted to invade Hao 鏽 and Fang 方; thereupon, they reached Jingyang 涇陽. The Zhou 周 army beat them back, and pursued the defeated enemies as far as the vast plain.

3. In the "Buqigui 不耒簋 Inscription" it is recorded:

The Xianyun 厥婁 invaded our western border on a large scale. The king ordered me to pursue and attack them as far as Xi 西. I returned and presented war prisoners. I ordered you to pursue [the Xianyun 厥婁] defensively as far as Luo 罽. You drove my carriage to attack the Xianyun 厥婁 at Gaotao 高陶, and you beheaded and captured many. 【厥婁廣伐西俞，王令我羞追于西。余來歸獻禽，余命女御追於罽，女以我車宕伐厥婁于高陶，女多折首褫喙。】

"Xi 西" here refers to the region southwest of the present Tianshui 天水 in Gansu 甘肅, where Xi 西 County of Longxi 隴西 Prefecture had been located during Qin 秦 and Han 漢 times. There is no research available on "Luo 罽" and "Gaotao 高陶" now. <sup>[24]</sup>

4. In the "Duoyou ding 多友鼎 Inscription", it is recorded:

In the tenth month, because the Xianyun 嚴鯁 had carried out an enormously military operation to attack Jingshi 京自 on a large scale, Jingshi 京自 reported to the king and requested him to send the army after them. The king ordered Duke Wu 武 to send most capable generals to pursue and attack the Xianyun 嚴鯁 as far as Jingshi 京自. Duke Wu 武 ordered Duoyou 多友 to lead official [military] carriages to pursue [the Xianyun 嚴鯁] as far as Jingshi 京自. On the day of *guiwei* 癸未, the barbarians attacked Xun 筍, and captured [our people]. Duoyou 多友 pursued them west, and in the morning of the day of *jiashen* 甲申, battled [the Xianyun 嚴鯁] at Qi 邾. Duoyou 多友 beheaded and captured many. Duoyou 多友 also struggled with [the Xianyun

嚴饅] at Gong 龔, beheaded thirty six men, captured two men alive and ten carriages, which followed him and returned. Duoyou 多友 pursued them as far as Shi 世. Here he struggled with the Xianyun 嚴饅, beheading and capturing many, then made sudden and violent attacks as far as Yangzhong 楊冢.... 【唯十月, 用嚴饅放驪, 竇伐京自, 告追于王, 命武公: 遣乃元士羞追于京師. 武公命多友銜公車追于京自. 癸未, 戎伐筍, 衣孚, 多友西追. 甲申之曆, 搏于郟. 多友有折首鞞. ...或搏於龔, 折首卅又六人, 鞞二人. 孚車十乘, 從至. 追搏于世, 多友或有折首鞞, 乃軾追, 至于楊冢....】

"Jingshi 京自" must have been "Jingshi 京師" as seen in the "Gongliu 公劉" poem of the "Daya 大雅" section in the *Shijing* 詩經, which reads, Gongliu 公劉 dwelt at Bin 邠 (to the northeast of present Bin 彬 County, north of the Wei 渭 River), where the plain of "Jingshi 京師" was located.

"Xun 筍" was Xunyi 旬邑, which was near Jingshi 京師, and was close to the present Xunyi 旬邑 County in Shanxi 陝西. "Qi 郟" refers to the Qi 漆 River, which was also close to Bin 邠. "Gong 龔" was "Gong" 共, which was north of the present Jing 涇 River. There has been no research available on "Shi 世" and "Yangzhong 楊冢".<sup>[25]</sup>

5. In the "Guojizi Baipan 虢季子白盤 Inscription" it is recorded:

...struggled with the Xianyun 嚴鞞 on the northern bank of the Luo 洛 River". 【……搏伐嚴鞞, 于洛之陽.】

"Luo" refers to the North Luo River.<sup>[26]</sup>

6. In the "Xijia Pan 兮甲盤 Inscription" it is recorded:

The king began to attack the Xianyun 嚴鞞 at Piyu 囂慮. 【王初各伐嚴 (獫) 鞞 (狁) 於囂慮.】

"Piyu 囂慮" was located to the northeast of Baishui 白水 in Shanxi 陝西, and was known as Pengya 彭衙 in the Spring and Autumn Period.<sup>[27]</sup>

In my opinion, the locations that the Xianyun 嚴鞞 moved to and from, as seen in both of the two poems from the "Xiaoya 小雅" section of the *Shijing* 詩經 and the inscriptions of Buqigui 不期篋 and Duoyouding 多友鼎, are roughly the same; it is the valley of the Jing 涇 River. But based on the inscriptions of Guojizi Baipan 虢季子白盤 and Xijia Pan 兮甲盤, the locations the Xianyun 嚴鞞 moved to and from should also include a part of the valley of the Luo 洛 River. During the reign periods of kings Li 厲 and Xuan 宣, the Xianyun 嚴鞞 invaded the Zhou 周 frequently. The above-cited poems and inscriptions reflect the invasions of the Xianyun 嚴鞞 and the guarding and beating back of the Zhou 周 at that time.



Luhun 陸渾 (Guazhou 瓜州), the settlement of the Rong of the surname Yun, as mentioned above, must have been in the upper reaches of the Jing 涇 River. It must have included the region which the Xianyun 獫狁 moved to and from during the reign period of kings Li 厲 and Xuan 宣. Also, based on the description in the "Liuyue 六月" poem of the "Xiaoya 小雅" section of the *Shijing* 詩經 that the Zhou 周 army beat them back and pursued the defeated enemies "as far as the vast plain", Luhun 陸渾 must have been an important stronghold from which the Xianyun 獫狁 invaded the Zhou 周. This seems to coincide with the theory that identifies the Xianyun 獫狁 with the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允.<sup>[28]</sup> But there is not simply one possibility to explain the relationship between the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Xianyun 獫狁, even if we are merely considering of the geographical locations. In other words, the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 must not have been the people of the Xianyun 獫狁 who remained in the upper reaches of the Jing 涇 River, but were possibly one of the tribes who were subjugated to the Xianyun 獫狁 for a time. If it is true that the region the Xianyun 獫狁 moved to and from was the upper reaches of the Jing 涇 River, the possibility could not be ruled out that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, as the descendants of Yunge 允格, had been subjugated to the Xianyun 獫狁 before they were subjugated to the Yuezhi 月氏.

## D

The "Xiyuzhuan 西域傳" (Memoir on the Western Regions) of the *Hanshu*, cited by Xun Ji's 荀濟 "Lun Fojiao Biao 論佛教表" (Memorial on Buddhism) in the "Bianhuo 辨惑" chapter of the *Guang Hongmingji* 廣弘明集 states:

The Sai 塞 tribes were originally the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who dwelt in Dunhuang 燉煌 for generations, and then moved to the south of Congling 葱嶺 (the Pamir Regions) because of being forced and driven off by the Yuezhi 月氏.<sup>[29]</sup>

Since this reference does not appear in the extant *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96 (the "Memoir on the Western Regions"), it is reasonable to question its authenticity.<sup>[30]</sup> However, Xun Ji 荀濟 submitted the memorial to Emperor Wu 武 of Liang 梁, which aimed at attacking Buddhism. If he had not possessed irrefutable evidence, he would not only have failed to convince people, but he would also, on the contrary, have given his opponents a subject about which to ridicule him. Besides, it has never been difficult to obtain the *Hanshu* 漢書, so there would be no point in fabricating the sentence in question. Therefore, the twenty-two Chinese characters cited by Xun Ji 荀濟 must be the missing text of the *Hanshu* 漢書.<sup>[31]</sup>

There are extant records on the Sai 塞 tribes in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96 in the following two passages. The first states:

Formerly, when the Xiongnu 匈奴 conquered the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, the latter moved west and established themselves as masters of Daxia 大夏; it was under these circumstances that the king of the Sai 塞 moved south and established himself as master of Jibin 屬賓. The Sai 塞 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 塞 race.

The second states,

[Wusun 烏孫] adjoins the Xiongnu 匈奴 in the east, Kangju 康居 in the north-west, Dayuan 大宛 in the west, and the various states of the walled towns in the south. Originally it was the land of Sai 塞. When the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 turned west and defeated and expelled the king of Sai 塞, the latter moved south and crossed over the Suspended Crossing. The Da Yuezhi 大月氏 took up residence in his lands. Later, when the *Kunmo* 昆莫 of Wusun 烏孫 attacked and defeated the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 migrated to the west and subjugated the Daxia 大夏 and the *Kunmo* 昆莫 of Wusun 烏孫 took up his residence there. It is said: "For this reason, among the people of Wusun 烏孫, there are [elements of] the Sai 塞 race and the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 race".

Combining the related western records, it can be ascertained that the Sai 塞 tribes must have been the Sakās of the Behistun inscription of Darius I (521-486 B.C.) of Achaemenian Persia. Their predecessors were the Issedones, as seen in the *History* of Herodotus (I, 201; IV, 13, 16).<sup>[32]</sup> By the end of the seventh century B.C. the Issedones had already lived in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, i.e., the land of Sai 塞. As late as the twenties of the sixth century B.C. the Issedones had expanded westwards as far as the right bank of the Syr Darya. After that, they were called "Sakās" by the Persians. "Sakā" was actually a general term for the nomadic tribes on the northern bank of the Syr Darya.<sup>[33]</sup>

The Sai 塞 tribes were mainly consisted of four tribes: the Asii, the Gasiani, the Tochari and the Sacarauli. The Isse[dones] were in fact the Asii of the four tribes ("*don*" may be a suffix for place, which also occurs in the Osset language afterwards). At the time, as described by Herodotus, the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers could have been the location of the settlement of the four tribes. Thus "Issedones" was actually a name of a tribal association. That the tribal association was known as "Issedones" may be because the Asii achieved a dominant position within it.<sup>[34]</sup>

Since the "Memoir on the Western Regions" of the *Hanshu* 漢書 cited by Xun Ji 荀濟, records that "The Sai 塞 tribes were originally the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允", "Yunxing" was undoubtedly a different transcription of "Issedones" or "Asii".<sup>[35]</sup>

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, there was a place called "Eshi 惡師" [*a-shei*] in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, which can be regarded as a different transcription of "Issedones" of Herodotus. This is also evidence that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 had occupied the land of Sai 塞.

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 5, it is recorded in the thirty-seventh year of Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦 (623 B.C.), "Qin 秦 attacked the king(s) of the Rong 戎 by using the stratagem of Youyu 由余. Thus it increased the lands of the twelve states, opened up territories that extended for one thousand *li* 里, and came to dominate the Western Rong 戎". And in the same book, ch. 110, it is recorded that "Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦, having obtained the services of Youyu 由余, succeeded in forcing the eight barbarian tribes of the west to submit to his authority. Thus, at this time there lived in the region west of Long 隴 the Mianzhu 緜諸, the Rong of Gun 緄, the Di 翟 and the Rong 戎 of Yuan 獯. In the north of Qi 岐 and Liang 梁 mountains, and the Jing 涇 and Qi 漆 rivers lived the Rong of Yiqu 義渠, Dali 大荔, Wushi 烏氏, and Quyan 胸衍".<sup>[36]</sup> The conquered barbarians are noted as the "twelve states" in the first passage, and as the "eight barbarian tribes" in the other. One cannot determine for certain which is right and which is wrong.<sup>[37]</sup> But Duke Mu's 穆 opening up of territories could have caused the western migration of the various barbarians. Of them, the Wushi 烏氏 (i.e., the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允) had left Guazhou 瓜州 and the area to its west and moved farther west to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers at that time. The time tallies exactly with the time when the Issedones appeared in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, as recorded in the *History* of Herodotus.<sup>[38]</sup>

In the "Memoir on the Western Regions" of the *Hanshu* 漢書 cited by Xun Ji 荀濟, it is recorded that "[The Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允] dwelt in Dunhuang 敦煌 for generations". This seems to disagree with the conclusion that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 dwelt in Guazhou 瓜州, which was located in the upper reaches of the Jing 涇 River. In my opinion, there are the following three possibilities:

First, there is the possibility the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who moved west to "the land of Sai 塞" (the Asii) had originally dwelt in the Dunhuang 敦煌 area in the west of the Hexi 河西 region "for generations", and did not come from Guazhou 瓜州. The Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who dwelt in the Dunhuang 敦煌 area were forced to move west because of the chain reaction caused by Duke Mu 穆 of Qin's 秦 opening up of the affected territories there. There is no evidence to show that Guazhou 瓜州 was the only settlement of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 at that time.

Second, there is the possibility that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who moved west to the land of Sai 塞 (the Asii) were actually those who originally dwelt in Guazhou 瓜州, but they settled for a short while in the Dunhuang 敦煌 area before entering the land of the Sai 塞, thus they were mistakenly regarded as people who had dwelt there "for generations".

Third, it is possible that, like Du Lin 杜林, the editor of the "Memoir on the Western Regions" of the *Hanshu* 漢書 believed that Guazhou 瓜州 was located in the Dunhuang 敦煌 area, and therefore referred to it as the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun's 允 place of dwelling for generations. In fact, the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who entered "the land of Sai 塞" (the Asii) came from the upper reaches of the Jing 涇 River.

Of these possibilities, the third is the most likely. Since the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28B, obviously adopted Du Lin's 杜林 theory that Guazhou 瓜州 was Dunhuang 敦煌. Therefore, the reference "dwelt in Dunhuang 敦煌 for generations" as seen in the "Memoir on the Western Regions" of the *Hanshu* 漢書 cited by Xun Ji 荀濟 is equal to saying "dwelt in Guazhou 瓜州 for generations".

The westwards movement of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 (the Asii) to the land of Sai 塞 from Guazhou 瓜州 can be traced step by step as follows:

1. As mentioned above, in the thirteenth year of Duke Hui 惠 of Jin 晉 (638 B.C.), that is to say, around time when the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 moved inwards, it is possible that a part of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 moved to what later became Jincheng 金城 Prefecture. Place-names such as "Yunwu 允吾" and "Yunjie 允街", etc., were all their remnants. In addition, in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87, it is recorded that the Qiang 羌 "from Shaodang 燒當 to Dianliang 滇良 dwelt in the Great Valley Yun 允 north of the River for generations". "The Great Valley Yun 允" was also within Jincheng 金城 Prefecture; thus it is suggested that it received its name because the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 had dwelt there.<sup>[39]</sup>

2. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 55, there was a Mount Yanzhi 焉支 in Zhangye 張掖 Prefecture ("Yanzhi 焉支" is noted as "Yanqi 焉耆" in the same book, ch. 94). "Yanzhi(qi)" [*ian-tjie(tjiei)*] can be regarded as a different transcription of "Yunxing 允姓" or "Asii". This shows that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who moved west left some of their tribal members behind when they passed over the mountain.

3. It is undoubtedly wrong for Du Lin 杜林 to have identified Guazhou 瓜州 with Dunhuang 敦煌. However, it seems that Du Lin 杜林 would not have hastily conclude that Guazhou 瓜州 was in Dunhuang 敦煌 only because Dunhuang 敦煌 produced good melons. Du Lin 杜林 had reached the Hexi 河西 region in person, it is quite possible that he there discovered the traces of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and thus concluded that the ancient Guazhou 瓜州 must have been there. He did not know that "Guazhou 瓜州" was a different transcription of "Yuezhi 月氏",

and therefore he inferred that "Guazhou 瓜州" was named after the place that produced good melons. As for the statement "the Rong 戎 of Guazhou 瓜州 were those who were swallowed up by the Yuezhi 月氏", it is possible that there is evidence to this effect in both in the literature and from on-the-spot investigation. In fact, "the Rong 戎 of Guazhou 瓜州 were those who were swallowed up by the Yuezhi 月氏" not only in Guazhou 瓜州, but also in the Dunhuang 敦煌 area. In any case, Du Lin's 杜林 identification of Dunhuang 敦煌 with the ancient Guazhou 瓜州 shows that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 had passed through and lingered there when they moved west.

4. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61, it is recorded that the Wusun 烏孫"originally had lived with the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 between the Qilian 祁連 and Dunhuang 焯煌 (i.e., 敦煌) [Mountains], and they had been a small state". In my opinion, "Qilian 祁連" here refers to the present Tian 天 Mountains, and "Dunhuang 敦煌" to the present Qilian 祁連 Mountains. At the time described by the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61, i.e., before 177/176 B.C., the settlement of the Wusun 烏孫 was between the Tian 天 and Qilian 祁連 mountains.<sup>[40]</sup> Since "Wusun 烏孫" [*a-siuən*] can be regarded as a different transcription of "Yunxing 允姓" or "Asii", it seems acceptable to consider that the Wusun 烏孫 were the tribal people whom the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 left between the Tian 天 and Qilian 祁連 mountains when they moved to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers.

There is still the following evidence concerning the Wusun's involvement with the descendants of Shaohao 少昊, i.e., the lord of Jintian 金天:

1. On the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, the seat of the king's government of the state of Wusun was the town of Chigu 赤谷 (Red Valley). The "Shi Caibo 釋采帛" chapter of the *Shiming* 釋名 says, "*Chi* 赤 means red as fire, the colour of the Sun". The "Tianwenxun 天文訓" chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 says, "The Year of Chi Fen Ruo 赤奮若". Gao's 高 commentary says, "*Chi* 赤 is the color of the sun". Also, in the *Dongguan Hanji* 東觀漢記, ch. 2, it is recorded that "In the fourth year of the reign-period *Jianwu* 建武, the fifth month, on the day of *jiashen* 甲申, Yang 陽, the crown prince, was born. His head, with a plump chin, was pointed, and his face, red as fire, was like that of Yao 堯. The Emperor named him Yang 陽, because his face's color was red as fire". Therefore, Chigu 赤谷 is the Valley of the Sun. And the *Shizi* 尸子, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, ch. 3, states, "Shaohao 少昊, i.e., the lord of the Jintian 金天, founded his settlement at Qionsang 窮桑. The sun shone five colors shined upon Qionsang 窮桑". Qionsang 窮桑, where Shaohao 少昊, i.e., the lord of the Jintian, founded his settlement, was Yanggu 暘谷 (Bright Valley),<sup>[41]</sup> i.e., the Valley of the Sun.

2. The *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, recounts the legend on the Wusun's 烏孫 primogenitor, and says, "The king of the Wusun 烏孫 was styled *Kunmo* 昆莫, and that the *Kunmo*'s 昆莫 father was [chief of] a petty state on the western borders of the Xiongnu 匈奴. The Xiongnu 匈奴 attacked and killed his father, and the *Kunmo*

昆莫, at his birth, was cast away in the wilderness, where meat was brought to him by a raven and a she-wolf nursed him with her milk. The *Chanyu* 單于 regarded this as a wonder and, having raised the child to manhood, made him a military leader, in which capacity he distinguished himself on several occasions. The *Chanyu* 單于 restored to him the people of his father and made him governor of the Western Regions. On receiving charge of his people, the *Kunmo* 昆莫 attacked the neighboring small states with tens of thousands of bowmen, gained experience in warfare, and, after the *Chanyu's* 單于 death, withdrew his forces to a distant retreat, declining to appear at the court of the Xiongnu 匈奴. The latter dispatched a force of picked troops to attack him, but, being unable to conquer him, regarded him as a spirit whom they had better keep at a distance and whom they would not seriously attack, though they continued to claim jurisdiction of the *Chanyu* 單于 over the *Kunmo* 昆莫". This shows that the legend of the Wusun's 烏孫 primogenitor has something to do with a raven. It is suggested that the name "Wusun 烏孫" was derived from this legend of their primogenitor. "Wusun 烏孫" means "grandsons (or descendants) of the raven".<sup>[42]</sup> This seems to be not without reason. The statement that "meat was brought to him by a raven" and so on shows that the raven was a bird which procured food.

In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the seventeenth year of Duke Zhao 昭) it is recorded that "This Autumn, when the viscount of Tan 邾 came to our court, the duke feasted with him, and Zhaozi 昭子 asked what was the reason that Shaohao 少皞 named his officers after birds. The viscount replied, '...When my ancestor Shaohao 少皞 Zhi 摯 succeeded to the kingdom, there appeared at that time a phoenix, and therefore he arranged his government under the nomenclature of birds, making bird officers, and naming them after birds. There was so and so Phoenix-bird, minister of the calendar; so and so Dark-bird, master of the equinoxes; so and so Bozhao 伯趙, master of the solstices; so and so Green-bird, Master of the Opening; and so and so Carnation-bird, Master of the Closing. There was also so and so Zhujiu 祝鳩, Minister of Instruction; so and so Jujiu 鷓鴣, Minister of War; so and so Shijiu 鷓鴣, Minister of Works; so and so Shuangjiu 爽鳩, Minister of Crime; and so and so Gujiu 鶡鳩, Minister of Affairs. These five Jiu 鳩 (turtledove) kept the people collected together. The five Zhi 雉 (pheasant) presided over the five classes of mechanics -- they saw to the provision of implements and utensils, and to the correctness of the measures of length and capacity, keeping things equal among the people. The nine He 扈 were the ministers of the nine departments of husbandry, and kept the people from becoming dissolute. After the time of Zhuanxu 顓頊, they were not able to arrange their offices by [such symbols coming] from afar, and did so by what was near at hand. Their officers being over the people, they named them from the business of the people, not being able to do otherwise". From this, it can be seen that the legend of the lord of Jintian 金天 is closely related to birds.

Of them, concerning "Green-bird" the "Master of the Opening", Du Yu's 杜預 commentary says, "It is the Cangyan 鶡鶩 which cries at the Beginning of Spring and stops at the Beginning of Summer". Kong's 孔 subcommentary states, "The Beginning of Spring and the Beginning of Summer are called the opening". Du Yu's 杜預 commentary, cited by Li Shan's 李善 commentary on Zhang Heng's 張衡 "Rhapsody on the Western Capital" included in the *Wenxuan* 文選, ch. 2, says, "The Green-bird is Canggeng 鶡鶩". Cangyan 鶡鶩 may be a textual error for 鶡鶩, which is written as 倉庚 at the present.<sup>[43]</sup> And according to the "Xishanjing 西山經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經, "Two hundred and twenty *li* 里 farther west is Mount Sanwei 三危, where three green-birds live. This mountain has an area of one hundred square *li* 里". Guo's 郭 commentary says, "Three green-birds procured food for Xi Wangmu 西王母 and perched themselves on this mountain separately". Also, the "Hainei Beijing 海內北經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 says, "Xi Wangmu 西王母 leans on a small table and wears a headdress. To the south are three green-birds that procure food for Xi Wangmu 西王母. This is north of Mount Kunlun 崑崙". Guo's 郭 commentary says, "There are also birds with three feet who are in charge of procuring food". "三足鳥 (birds with three feet)" is noted as "三足鳥 (ravens with three feet)" in another copy. Also, the "Dahuang Xijing 大荒西經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 says, "Three green birds are here; they have a red head and black eyes. One is called Great Li 鷲 (oriole), another Little Li 鷲, and the other Green Bird". Guo's 郭 commentary says, "[The three Green birds] are all ordered about by Xi Wangmu 西王母". The "Shi Niao 釋鳥" chapter of the *Erya* 爾雅 says, "The Yellow Li 鷲 is a bird of Chu 楚". Guo's 郭 commentary says, "[Yellow Li 鷲] is Canggeng 倉庚". This shows that Canggeng 倉庚 was also known as the raven with three feet, the supernatural bird that procured food for Xi Wangmu 西王母.<sup>[44]</sup>

The "Shuori 說日" chapter of Wang Chong's 王充 *Lunheng* 論衡 states, "A Confucian scholar says, there is a raven with three feet in the sun". The "Jingshenxun 精神訓" chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 says, "There is a *dun* 踰 raven in the sun". Gao's 高 commentary says, "*Dun* 踰 means to squat. A squatting raven is a raven with three feet". The *Chunqiu Yuanmingbao* 春秋元命包, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 3, says, "The positive numbers start with one, and are accomplished by two, thus there is a raven with three feet". The seat of the king's government of the state of Wusun 烏孫 was named "Chigu 赤谷", which means "Red Valley".<sup>[45]</sup> This shows that the Wusun 烏孫 people adored the sun, and also that the raven with three feet relates to worship of the sun.

From this, it can be seen that the legends of both the primogenitors of the Wusun 烏孫 and the Jintian 金天 are interrelated. The so-called "Wusun 烏孫", in actuality, are the descendants of the Blue-green Bird, i.e., the raven with three feet.

3. The "Dahuang Nanjing 大荒南經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 says, "There is a land of Xihe 羲和". The *Qishi* 啓筮, cited by Guo's 郭

commentary states, "Look up to the high heaven, darkness and light. The son of Xihe 羲和, who had risen from the Bright Valley, was there". Since the Bright Valley, from which the son of Xihe 羲和 had risen, can be identified with Red Valley, "Xihou 翺侯" (the name of an official in the state of Wusun 烏孫) can be regarded as a different transcription of "Xihe 羲和".

Lastly, in the statement "[the Sai 塞 tribes] were then driven away by the Yuezhi 月氏, moved to the south of Congling 葱嶺 (the Pamir regions)" as seen in the "Memoir on the Western Regions" of the *Hanshu* 漢書 cited by Xun Ji 荀濟, "the Yuezhi 月氏" refers to the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 who were defeated by *Chanyu* 單于 Modun 冒頓 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 and, giving up their former land, moved west in 177/176 B.C. The Da Yuezhi's 大月氏 attack forced the Sai 塞 tribes (in fact the tribal association composed of the Asii, Gasiani, and Tochari, etc.) to give up "the land of Sai 塞". A part of the Sai tribes fell back to the northern bank of the Syr Darya. Some Asii among them moved farther west to north of the Aral Sea and the Caspian Sea. They formed the state of Yancai 奄蔡 [*iam-tsat*] as seen in the *Shiji* 史記, ch.123, i.e., the Aorsi of western literature. Another group of Asii, together with the other three tribes, invaded the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria. Still a part of the Sai tribes moved south to the Pamir regions from the land of Sai 塞. Of them, another group entered the northwest of the subcontinent. Another group moved east and entered the Tarim Basin, and founded some small states in the oases along the Southern and Northern Roads in the Western Regions. Of the names of the states of walled towns as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, "Wensu 温宿" [*uen-siuet*], "Wulei 烏壘" [*a-liuei*], "Yanqi 焉耆", "Wucha 烏秣" [*a-deai*] and "Yixun 伊循" [*iei-ziuən*], etc., all can be regarded as different transcriptions of "Yunxing 允姓" or "Asii". This shows that the earlier pioneers of these oases could have been the Rong 戎 of surname Yun 允, i.e., the Asii people. <sup>[46]</sup>

It merits attention that "Yanqi 焉耆" is noted as Argi in the Kharoṣṭhī documents, and as Ark in Medieval Persian documents. <sup>[47]</sup> The phonetic-identification of Argi, Ark, and "Yuanqu 員渠" [*hiuən-gia*], the name of the seat of its king's government, is very clear. If one considers that "Long 龍" [*liong*], the royal surname of the state of Yanqi 焉耆, can be regarded as a shortened transcription of "Luhun 陸渾" [*liuk-huən*], <sup>[48]</sup> its source will become even more clear.

## E

Finally, I shall address the relationship between the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 (Asii) and the Daxia 大夏 (Tochari) in order to tie the foregoing paragraphs together.

1. There are remnants of not only the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, but also the Daxia 大夏 in the Hexi 河西 region. However, there is no evidence to show that



they had come into contact. It is known that as late as the end of the fifties of the seventh century B.C. there were Daxia 大夏 people in the Hexi 河西 region. The Rong 戎 of surname Yun 允 moved away from their former land in Guazhou 瓜州 at the beginning of the thirties of the seventh century B.C. at the earliest, and they probably reached the Hexi 河西 region towards the end of the twenties of the seventh century B.C.

2. The Daxia 大夏 moved away from the Hexi 河西 region, probably because of chain reactions caused by the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun's 允 westward migration. Therefore, the Daxia 大夏 reached the valleys of Rivers Ili and Chu earlier than the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允. In the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, the Daxia could have been conquered by the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who reached there soon afterwards, becoming one part of the tribal association later known as the "Sai 塞 tribes". The reason we believe that the Daxia 大夏 had been conquered by the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers takes into consideration the fact that the Sai 塞 tribes were regarded as the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 in Chinese historical books, while the other groups are not known. Herodotus referred only to Issedones, i.e., the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, when he recorded the tribes that lived in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers (i.e., the land of Sai 塞) at the end of the seven century B.C. And the Daxia 大夏 had undoubtedly lived in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers together with the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 at the same time.

3. In around 140 B.C., the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, together with the Daxia 大夏, crossed the Syr Darya and invaded the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria. The Trogus Prologue calls the Asiani (Asii) "the kings of the Tochari" (XLII).<sup>[49]</sup> This shows that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 had maintained their position of dominance up to that time. But Zhang Qian 張騫, who reached the valley of the Amu Darya in 129 B.C., only knew of the Daxia 大夏, and not of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允. It is very possible that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, as suzerain, were the first to bear the brunt of the attack by the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, were severely wounded, and thus disappeared from the scene. On the contrary, the name of the Daxia 大夏 was more conspicuous, because they had a large population.

4. Of the Asii who left "the land of Sai 塞", moved south through the Pamir region, and then entered the oases around the Tarim Basin, there were also some who maintained contact with the Tochari people. A good example is the state of Yanqi 焉耆. The name of the state was "Yanqi 焉耆", and the seat of the king's government was "Yuanqu 員渠". "Yanqi 焉耆" and "Yuanqu 員渠" were both remnants of the Asii people. However, "Dunhong 敦薨", the name of the mountains and rivers around the state were the remnants of the Tochari. It is possible that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were still the suzerain of the Daxia 大夏 people in the state of Yanqi 焉耆.

5. As mentioned above, the relationship between the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Daxia 大夏 was one of subjugation (the latter were subject to the former). The following seems to be an exception. The Qiang 羌 of Ruo 婁, as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, were found everywhere along the Southern Road of the Western Regions. A group of them, i.e., the state of Ruoqiang 婁羌, was secluded to the southwest of Yang 陽 Barrier. As noted in the same chapter, "its king is entitled Quhulai 去胡來 (abandoner of the nomads who made over to the King)". It has long been suggested that "Quhulai 去胡來" must be a different transcription of "Tochari".<sup>[50]</sup> And the Qiang of Ruo 婁 can be regarded as composed of mixed blood of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and of the Qiang 羌 people. Yunge 允格 was granted Ruo 都; his son was surnamed Ruo 都. Thus the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 can traced back to the son of Yunge 允格. Since 婁 could be identified with 都, the Qiang 羌 of Ruo 婁 were in fact the Qiang 羌 of Ruo 都. As mentioned above, there were remnants of both the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Daxia 大夏 in Linxia 臨夏. The Qiang 羌 people also frequented this area. From Linxia 臨夏 one could go west and reach the Western Regions along the southern foot of the Qilain 祁連 Mountains. It may not be a coincidence that there was a tribe called the Qiang 羌 of Ruo 婁, whose suzerain was the Daxia 大夏, to the southwest of the Yang 陽 Barrier.

6. On the basis of the Western records, both the Tochari and Asii were nomadic tribes. However, the Chinese records tend to show that the Daxia 大夏 were not a nomadic tribe. Not only does the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, state that "the people are settlers", but also the "Shijijie 史記解" chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書 states that the Western Xia 夏 people (probably those who entered the land of E 鄂) dwelt in walled towns. Thus it seems impossible to identify the Daxia 大夏 with the Tochari. Actually, this is not the case. If conditions allow, both ways of life and modes of production can be changed. It is not impossible that the way of life of the Daxia 大夏 people, who were settlers in the south of Jin 晉, became nomadic once they set foot on the road to move west, and especially after arriving in the steppes in the valleys of the Ili and Chu River. It is even more probable that the Daxia 大夏 people who had moved about in search of pasture in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers gradually began to give up their nomadism and settle down after entering the agricultural regions of Bactria.

Furthermore, there is no reason to consider that there had not been nomadic tribes among the Daxia 大夏 in the south of Jin 晉. In other words, the possibility remains that only the group of the Daxia 大夏 who entered the land of E 鄂 began to settle down. And the characteristic behavior of these Daxia 大夏 people, "did not build" and did "not keep guarded" walled towns, shows precisely that they were originally not settlers.

As for the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, there is not enough relevant material to prove or deny that they were a nomadic tribe. If we believe that the Wusun

烏孫, the Yancai 奄蔡 and the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 came from the same source, there will be no harm in considering that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were not only a nomadic tribe, but also that they would have become a horseriding nomadic tribe after moving to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers at the latest. This may explain why, Yun 允 in many cases, the Daxia 大夏 were subjugated to the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允.

- [1] Cf. Gu (1963), pp. 46-53. It is suggested that the land of Yin 陰 refers especially to the town of Yindi 陰地 of Lushi 盧氏 County in Henan 河南. See *Chunqiu Diming Kaolue*, vol. 4. Also, the *Dili Fengsuji* 地理風俗記 cited by *Guancheng Shuoji*, vol. 10, considers that the land of Yin 陰 refers to Pingyin 平陰 County in Henan 河南. In my opinion, the latter theory can be set aside owing to lack of essential evidence. The main evidence in support of the former theory is the statement "Shi Mie 士蔑, the senior officer appointed over the land of Yin 陰" in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the fourth year of Duke Ai 哀). This is because the region guarded by Shi Mie 士蔑 did not necessarily include all lands which were south of the River and north of the mountains. However, it is doubtless that the name of the region guarded by Shi Mie 士蔑 was derived from its location south of the River and north of the mountains. Furthermore, the lands which were south of the River and north of the mountains must have included not only the territory guarded by Shi Mie 士蔑. In other words, "the land of Yin 陰" has both broad and narrow senses. Since the place where the town of Yindi 陰地 was later located was the gateway of Jin's 晉 capital, and Jin 晉 appointed the senior officer to guard it, it would seem to have been impossible to be occupied by the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰 or the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who moved inwards. Therefore, the settlement in which the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰 lived must have been the one noted in Du Yu's 杜預 commentary. Cf. *Chunqiu Dili Kaoshi*, vol. 2 (the second year of Duke Xuan 宣), 3 (the fourth year of Duke Ai), and *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhu*, pp. 654-655, 1627.
- [2] See Zhao, T. Also, Rao (1993) suggests that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were called the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 at the same time. This is because the tribe had mixed with the Jiang 姜 people for a long time and formed a hybrid. This is similar to there having been both the Mafang 馬方 and Duomaqiang 多馬羌 as well as the Little Duomaqiang 多馬羌 in Yin 殷 times (the oracle inscription says, "[The king] will order chancellor from the Little Maqiang 小馬羌". 【乎小馬羌臣。】 , *Heji* 57176). The Duomaqiang 多馬羌 and Little Maqiang 小馬羌 must have been a hybrid group of the Qiang 羌 and Mafang 馬方. In my opinion, this explanation is inadequate. Firstly, there are both the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳, but nowhere have the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 been called "Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜". The Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 had lived in approximately the same place for a time, and moved inwards at the same time. Nonetheless, it is impossible to consider that both had come from the same origin. Secondly, the possibility can not be ruled out that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 mixed with the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 because they had lived in the same place. But there is no evidence to show that the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 who removed to the southern border of Jin 晉 had mixed with the Rong 戎 of the

surname Yun 允. Otherwise, according the Rao's 饒 logic, they should have been called "Yunqiang 允姜". Thirdly, even if the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 who moved inwards had mixed with the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, one should not confuse them with the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, because both were, after all, different.

- [3] See the first chapter of this book.
- [4] With regard to the problem that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 were two separate tribes but not one, cf. Gu (1963), pp. 46-53. Also, Gu (1947) suggests that Du Yu's 杜預 commentary regards the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 as a separate group of the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜, considering both came the same origin. This may only be due to his imagination, and is not necessarily a fact. In my opinion, Du Yu's 杜預 commentary, "there was separately the tribe of the surname Yun 允" and so on, seems to be conjecture on his part and does not necessarily show that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 came from the same origin.
- [5] Cf. Gu (1947).
- [6] See Gu (1963), pp. 46-53.
- [7] *Jingshi Wenda*, vol. 4, suggests that the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 were destroyed in the seventeenth year of Duke Zhao 昭, but the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州 are still mentioned in the fourth year of Duke Ai 哀, which shows that the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州 can not be identified with the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾. In my opinion, it is possible that the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州 who are mentioned in the fourth year of Duke Ai 哀 were not the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾, but the fact that the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 had been a branch of the Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州 for a time is not disputed.
- [8] Chen, P. (1988), pp. 1055-1066.
- [9] Du Yu's 杜預 commentary on the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the twenty-second year of Duke Zhao 昭) says, "Zhou 州 was subsidiary unit of *xiang* 鄉. Every five Zhou 州 constituted a *xiang* 鄉". In my opinion, his theory is incorrect; see Gu (1963), pp. 46-53.
- [10] *Jingshi Wenda*, vol. 4, distinguishes the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 from the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾. This is correct. But it is incorrect that he lumped the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜, Rong 戎 of Yin 陰 and even Rong 戎 of Jiuzhou 九州 together. Chen, P. (1988), pp. 1055-1066, has criticized Quan's 全 theory; his comments are worth consulting. However, Chen 陳 considers that Du Yu's 杜預 explanation on "the land of Yin 陰" is vague and general. The land of Yin 陰 must have referred to the town of Yindi 陰地 of Lushi 盧氏 County in Henan 河南, which is a distance of about two hundred *li* 里 to the former town of Luhun 陸渾 of Song 嵩 County. The territory of Rong 戎 of Yin 陰 bordered on that of the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾; both had their own lords and did not subordinate each other. The Rong 戎 of Yin 陰 submitted to Jin 晉, but the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 were close to Chu. The differences between them resulted from their geographical situations. Hence they had different titles. In my opinion, it is inappropriate for Chen 陳 to attempt to distinguish the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 from the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰. This is because the land of Yin 陰 is not necessarily the town of Yindi 陰地. Since the former town of Luhun 陸渾 belonged to the land of Yin 陰, the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾 were the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰. Even if there was a branch of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 not only in Lushi 盧氏 County, but also separately in Song 嵩 County as claimed by Chen 陳, it would still be so.

As for submitting Jin 晉 or being close to Chu 楚, it was decided on the situations and was not necessarily because of being divided into two branches. The statement that "Chi 赤, Director of Works in Chu 楚, removed the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰 to Lower Yin 陰" in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in nineteenth year of Duke Zhao 昭), is regarded by Chen 陳 as the result of the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰 having served Jin 晉 which was close to Chu 楚 afterwards. This can be taken as precise evidence. Also, Zhao, T. suggests that "Wei 渭" in the statement "the Rong 戎 of surname Yun 允 moved to the bend of the Wei 渭 River" must have been an error for "Luo 洛". In my opinion, this is not necessarily correct.

- [11] For this theory see Gu (1963), pp. 46-53; Gu (1947). Also, Zhao, T. has animadverted upon Du Yu's 杜預 theory about the Guazhou 瓜州-Dunhuang 敦煌 identity. He says that Du Yu 杜預 first followed the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 and maintained that Sanwei 三危 was in Dunhuang 敦煌, then firmly believed that the ancestors of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were deported together with the Sanmiao, and the Sanmiao 三苗 were deported to Sanwei 三危, therefore Sanwei and Guazhou 瓜州 were considered to be one and the same place. In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. There is no statement in the present *Shanhaijing* 山海經 that Sanwei 三危 was in Dunhuang 敦煌. The statement that "The *Shanhaijing* 山海經 notes that Sanwei 三危 is to the south of Dunhuang 敦煌" cited by Zhao 趙 as being in the text of the "Jiangshui 江水 1" chapter of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, in fact, is Guo's 郭 commentary cited Li Daoyuan 酈道元. Yang's 楊 subcommentary points this out, and there is no doubt concerning its veracity. Since Du Yu 杜預 had annotated the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 before Guo Pu 郭璞 annotated the *Shanhaijing* 山海經, there is no possibility that Du's 杜 commentary linked up Sanwei 三危 and Guazhou 瓜州 owing to Guo's 郭 commentary. Also, in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the first year of Duke Zhao 昭) it is said that "There was the Sanmiao 三苗 in Yu 虞 times". Du Yu's 杜預 commentary says only that "The Sanmiao 三苗 and the Taotie 饕餮 were deported to Sanwei 三危". He does not say that "Sanwei 三危 is located in Dunhuang 敦煌". However, there must have been a legend about Sanwei's 三危 being located in Dunhuang 敦煌 at that time, about which Du 杜 was deeply convinced. Du Yu's 杜預 commentary on the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the ninth year of Duke Zhao 昭) states both that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were the ancestors of the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰 ("those who were deported to Sanwei 三危 together with the Sanmiao 三苗") and that "referring to the Taowu 橈杓 is to give one of the four fiends as example, and since 'four distant regions' is mentioned later, the Sanmiao 三苗 was included". In other words, Du 杜 says only that since the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were to the northwest of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉, they would not have been deported together with the Taowu 橈杓 but rather with the Sanmiao 三苗. This can be taken as evidence that both Guazhou 瓜州, the place to which the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were deported, and Sanwei 三危, the place to which the Sanmiao 三苗 were deported, were in Dunhuang 敦煌. In fact, on the basis of the *Zuozhuan* 左傳, it is only possible that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were deported to Guazhou 瓜州 owing to the Taowu 橈杓, but there is no necessary relations between the places to which the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Taowu 橈杓 were deported. Du Yu's 杜預 commentary was unable to see this clearly, and acted inappropriately to link up the Sanmiao 三苗 and Guazhou 瓜州. His theory is incorrect.

- [12] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 53-56.
- [13] In the *Kuodizhi* 括地志 cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, 110, it is recorded that "The former town of Wushi 烏氏 was a distance of thirty *li* 里 from Anding 安定 County in Jing 涇 Prefecture. It is the former land of Zhou 周, and was later merged into the lands of the Rong 戎. King Hui 惠 of Qin 秦 occupied it and established Wushi 烏氏 County there. Cf. *Dushu Zazhi*, vol. 4 (Part 4), pp. 200-201. *Lishi Chunqiu Jishi*, p. 1615, denies Wang's 王 theory and suggests that Yanshi 焉氏 was not at Anding 安定, but nearby the present Guanshan 關山 of Fuping 富平 County in Shanxi 陝西. In my opinion, Chen's 陳 theory is inadequate.
- [14] "To the northwest of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉" refers only to rough direction. One should not interpret it mechanically. Du Yu's 杜預 commentary says both that the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾, i.e., the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, were to the northwest of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉, and that the settlement of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 was Dunhuang 敦煌. Therefore, there is no harm in saying that Dunhuang 敦煌 was to the northwest of Qin 秦 and Jin 晉 in the eyes of Du Yu 杜預.
- [15] "Quyuan 胸衍", and "Juyan 居延" as seen in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110, etc., must have been different transcriptions of one and the same name. In *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, we read that "The seat of the king's government of the state of Qiuci 龜茲 is at the town of Yan 延". "The town of Yan 延" should be noted as "the town of Juyan 居延" as seen in the *Cefuyuangui* 册府元龜, vol. 958. This is because most of names of the seats of the king's government of the states on the Southern and Northern routes in the Western Regions are the same as the names of their states. In fact, "Juyan 居延" [*kia-jian*] and "Qiuci 龜茲" [*khiu-tziə*] were the different transcriptions of one and the same name, while "Qiuci 龜茲" can be regarded as a different transcription of "Yuzhi 禺知" or "Yuezhi 月氏". In the "Jiumoluoshi Zhuan 鳩摩羅什傳" chapter of the *Gaosengzhuan* 高僧傳, "the Northern Mountains of Qiuci 龜茲" is noted as "the Northern Mountains of Yuezhi 月氏". From this, it can be seen that both "Quyuan 胸衍" and "Juyan 居延" were different transcriptions of "Yuezhi 月氏".
- [16] The "Dawen 答問" chapter of *Qianyantang Wenji* suggests that the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 did not enter the Central Plain until Duke Hui 惠 of Jin 晉 lured them. If the mother of Duke Hui 惠 came from the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, they would have moved to Yichuan 伊川 before Duke Hui 惠. *Guancheng Shuoji*, vol. 10 (under the twenty-eighth year Duke Zhuang 莊) adopts a similar point of view. In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. Also, In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 39, it is recorded that "The mother of Zhonger 重耳 was a daughter from the Hu 狐 Family of the Di 翟. The mother of Yiwu 夷吾 was the younger sister of Zhonger's 重耳 mother". If this is correct, the surname of the Little Rong 戎 was the same as that of the Great Rong 戎, that is to say that the Little Rong's 戎 surname was not Yun 允. So far as I know, many scholars hold that the Little Rong's 戎 surname was not Yun 允. Cf. Chen, P. (1988), pp. 995-999.
- [17] See *Tongya*, vol. 16, and Chen, P. (1988), pp. 1055-1066.
- [18] Cf. the "Dawen" chapter in *Qianyantang Wenji*, *Guotinglu*, vol. 4, and *Qingxuezaiji*, vol. 9.
- [19] See Rao (1993).
- [20] The reason why "Yuezhi" was translated into "Guazhou 瓜州" is in order to show consideration for the habit to name place in the "Middle State", just like that "Gaochang 高

昌" was transcribed as "Huozhou 火州", "Hezhou 和州" and "Huozhou 霍州", etc., in Liao 遼 and Jin 金 times.

- [21] Yunge 允格 was made prince of Ruo 都, which must have been to the southwest of Xichuan 淅川 County in Henan 河南. It was the so-called Lower Ruo 都. This seems to be the reason why Duke Hui 惠 of Jin 晉 was able to lure the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 into moving inwards and established them in Yichuan 伊川. Yichuan 伊川 is not far from Lower Ruo 都, which shows that the barbarians were attached to their old homelands. Since there were the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 in Lower Ruo 都, the daughter of the Little Rong 戎 whom Duke Xian 獻 of Jin 晉 married, did not necessarily come from Guazhou 瓜州. For the same reason, Jiang 姜 River is north of the Wei 渭 River, hence Duke Hui 惠 removed the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜 to the southern border of Jin 晉, from which it can be seen that the statement that "The Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 moved to the bend of Wei 渭 River" in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87 is incorrect. Those who were removed to the bend of the Wei 渭 River must have been the Rong 戎 of Jiang 姜. Also, Chen, P. (1988), pp. 1055-1066, considers that the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 regards the Taowu 橈杻 as the descendants of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允. In my opinion, on the basis of the *Zuozhuan* 左傳, the villains of the surname Yun 允 were only the accomplice of the Taowu 橈杻. Chen's 陳 theory is inadequate.
- [22] Liu, Y. (1982)
- [23] Li, Zh.; Xue.
- [24] Li, X. (1980)
- [25] Li, X. (1986). Li, Zh. suggests that "Yangzhong 楊冢" can be identified with Yangyu 楊陴, which is to the west of the present Long 隴 County in Shanxi 陝西 and to the south of Huating 華亭 County in Gansu 甘肅. The so-called Qi 邾 must have been regarded as "Nian 邾", which is nearby Chunhua 淳化 County in Shanxi 陝西, and must have been "Jiaohuo 焦穫" as seen in the "Liuyue 六月" poem of the "Xiaoya 小雅" section in the *Shijing* 詩經.
- [26] Wang, G. (1984-1).
- [27] See Wang, G. (1984-1).
- [28] On the geographical sphere through which the Xianyun 獫狁 moved to and from, there are various theories among scholars working on this issue. It is impossible to analyze these theories one by one here. Indeed, we will only selecting those which are more acceptable in an attempt to bring them into harmony. It should be pointed out that only by affirming that the sphere that the Xianyun 獫狁 moved to and from was in the valley of the Jing 涇 River, the discussion about the identity of the Xianyun 獫狁 and the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 can carry on. Otherwise, for example, as Chen, P. (1988), pp. 81-85, suggested, if the sphere was in the valley of the Fen 汾 River, it is, of course, more difficult to confirm the relationship between the Xianyun 獫狁 and the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允.
- [29] See *Guang Hongmingji*, vol. 7, in *Dazhengzang* vol. 52, p. 129.
- [30] For example, Kuwabara considers that the records cited by Xun Ji 荀濟 can be regarded as evidence.
- [31] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 43-44. Meng, p. 57, considers that the *Hanshu* 漢書 cited by Xun Ji 荀濟 is Hua Qiao 華嶠 or Xueying's 薛瑩 *Hanshu* 漢書. In my opinion, this theory is

possibly incorrect. Both Hua 華 and Xue's 薛 works are the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, which does not necessarily record the westward migration of the Sai tribes.

- [32] D. Grene (tr.), *The History of Herodotus*, Chicago & London: 1987.
- [33] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 1-10.
- [34] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 16-17.
- [35] Rao (1993) holds the theory that the Rong 戎 of surname Yun 允 and the Xianyun 獯豸 were identical, and thus denies that they were the Asii. He states, the Xianyun 獯豸 were the Yi 夷 of Hun 混 as seen in the "Mian 緜" poem of the "Daya 大雅" section of the *Shijing* 詩經. "Hun 混" was a different transcription of "Hu 胡". Therefore, the Sakān documents were called the "Hu 胡 documents". In my opinion, it seems to be difficult to confirm that the Rong 戎 of surname Yun 允 and the Xianyun 獯豸 were identical, as mentioned above, hence there is no need to discuss whether the Yi 夷 of Hun 混 can be identified with the Xianyun 獯豸 or not.
- [36] The Quyan 胸衍 were the Yuezhi 月氏. The Rong 戎 of Gun 緄 and the Wushi 烏氏 were the remains of the Xianyun 獯豸 and the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who lived northwest of Qin at that time. On the theory about identity of the Rong 戎 of Gun 緄 and the Xianyun 獯豸, see Wang, G. (1984-1).
- [37] On the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 68, Baili Xi 百里奚 acted as minister to Qin 秦, and "extended virtue to the feudal lords, thereupon the eight barbarians came to submit to Qin 秦". Because of this, it is possible that Baili Xi's 百里奚 deed had mistakenly been attributed to Youyu 由余 in the reference to "the eight barbarian tribes of the west to submit to Qin's 秦 authority" in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110. It is very possible that the states that were increased were "twelve", after Qin 秦 attacked the king(s) of the Rong 戎 by using the stratagem of Youyu 由余.
- [38] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 6-10, 26-29.
- [39] See Rao (1993). In my opinion, Shaodang 燒當 lived during the reign period of Emperor Yuan 元 in Western Han 漢 times, and the Great Valley Yun's 允 being named must have been before Shaodang 燒當 entered and dwelt there.
- [40] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 131-133.
- [41] Cf. the second chapter of this book.
- [42] Pulleyblank.
- [43] *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhu*, p. 1387, suggests that in Zhang Heng's 張衡 "Rhapsody on the Western Capital" it is stated, "...Let alone Blue Bird and Yellow Que 雀", in which Blue Bird and Yellow Que 雀 are juxtaposed. And on the basis of *Maoshi Caomu Niaoshou Chongyu Shu*, Yellow Que 雀 is the same as Yellow Ying 鶯 (oriole). This shows that Du Yu's 杜預 commentary cited in Li Shan's 李善 commentary cannot be regarded as evidence. In my opinion, the aim of the "Rhapsody on the Western Capital" is to polish its diction; one does not have to go into it seriously.
- [44] Sima Xiangru's 司馬相如 "Rhapsody on a Great Personage" recorded in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 117, states "...With my own eyes I saw Xi Wangmu's 西王母 white hair. A jade hairpin in her hair she dwelt in a cave, and a raven with three feet was ordered about by her". Zhang Ji's 張揖 commentary, cited by *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 117, says, "The Raven with three feet is Blue Bird, which procures food for Xi Wangmu 西王母, and resides to the north of the ruins of Kun[lun] 昆[侖]". The *Kuoditu* 括地圖, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽,



vol. 920, states, the Ruo 弱 River is in the Kunlun 崑崙 Mountains, which one can not reach unless riding a dragon. There is a raven with three feet that procures food for Xi Wangmu".

[45] In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that "[The Wusun's 烏孫] way of life is the same as that of the Xiongnu 匈奴". And in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94A, it is recorded that "At dawn the *Chanyu* 單于 [of the Xiongnu 匈奴] leaves his camp and makes obeisance to the sun as it rises". It is possible that the Wusun 烏孫 had a similar custom.

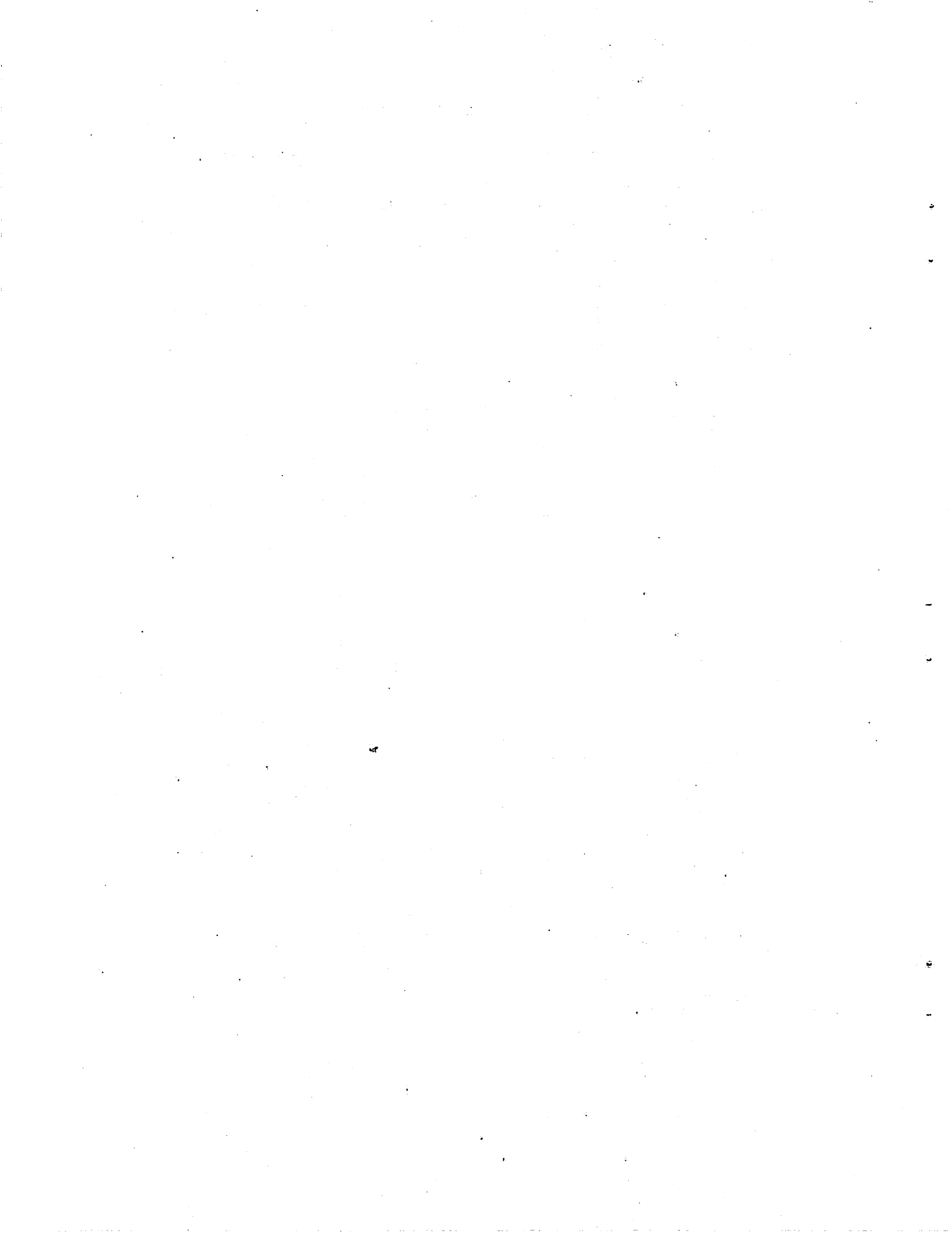
[46] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 120-121, 146-151, 210-215.

[47] Cf. Henning.

[48] The king of the state of Yanqi 焉耆 surnamed "Long 龍" appears in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 97, at the earliest, but the origin of the surname must have been old.

[49] Cited from Tarn, p. 162.

[50] See Huang (1989-2).



## CHAPTER 4

# A Theory about the Quanfang, Guifang, Gongfang, Xianyun and Xiongnu Coming from the Same Origin

### A

The "Quanfang 犬方 (the state of Quan 犬)" (*Heji* 14299) as seen in the oracle inscriptions of the Shang 商 Dynasty and the Yi 夷 of Quan 犬 or the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 as seen in written documents possibly came from the same origin. <sup>[1]</sup>

1. One can gain a hint of the relationship between the Quan 犬 people and Shang 商 from the related oracle inscriptions. First, it should be known that Wuding 武丁 had gone on a punitive expedition against the Quan 犬 people during his early reign period.

Crack-making on *jiyou* 己酉, ...divined: Que 雀 will go to besiege the Quan 犬, and will perhaps not catch 𤝵. In the tenth month. 【己酉卜, 貞雀往 𤝵犬, 弗其罕𤝵. 十月.】 (*Heji* 6979)

The Quan 犬 people were subject to Shang 商 afterwards, thus the records on the "Marquis of Quan 犬" appear repeatedly in the oracle inscriptions:

Crack-making on [*ji*]you [己]酉, ...divined: The Quan[fang] 犬[方] will perhaps assist the King's affairs, and there will be disaster. 【□酉卜, 犬□其叶 王事. 羸.】 (*Heji* 5470)

Crack-making on *jimao* 己卯, 兕 (pronunciation unknown) divined: [The King] will order the clan of the many sons to cooperate with Marquis of Quan 犬, attack Zhou 周, and assist the King's affairs. In the fifth month. 【己卯卜, 兕, 貞令多子族比犬侯璞周, 叶王事. 五月.】 (*Heji* 6812 recto)

...divined: [The King] will order the clan of the many sons to cooperate with [Marquis of] Quan 犬, Qiangshu 商𤝵, and assist the King's affairs. 【貞令多子族比犬 [侯] 眾商𤝵, 叶王事.】 (*Heji* 6813)

...divined: The king will order the clan of the many sons to cooperate with Marquis of Quan 犬, attack Zhou 周, and assist the King's affairs. 【貞令多子 族眾犬侯璞周, 叶王事.】 (*Heji* 6813)

[Crack-making] on *xinsi* 辛巳, ...divined: Marquis of Quan 犬 will perhaps offer the Qiang 羌 to their ancestors from.... 【辛巳, 貞犬侯以羌其用自...】 (*Tunnan* 2293)

"Assist the King's affairs" refers to the fact that Marquis of Quan 犬 obeyed the orders of the king of Shang 商 to work in his service. From the above-mentioned inscriptions, it can be seen that one of the important aspects of "assisting the King's affairs" was to "attack Zhou 周". Thus, the relationship between Zhou 周 and the Quan 犬 was of course followed with interest:

The Zhou 周 will perhaps not catch the Quan 犬. 【周弗其罕犬.】 (*Huai* 303)

Besides, the Quan 犬 people still took part in the war that the Shang 商 people fought against the Genfang 亘方 (the state of Gen 亘).

...divined: The Quan 犬 will catch up with the Gen 亘. 【貞犬追亘有及.】

The Quan 犬 will perhaps not catch up with the Gen 亘. 【犬追亘亡其及.】 (*Heji* 6946 recto)

It is possible that the chief of Quanfang 犬方 led his own army to "attack Zhou 周" and "catch up with the Gen 亘"; thus, "Quan Shi 犬自" (the army of Quan 犬) is found in the oracle inscriptions.

Crack-making on *gengxu* 庚戌. The King's army will perhaps cooperate with the army of Quan 犬, and there will be no disaster on the day of *xin[hai]* 辛[亥]. 【庚戌卜, 王其比犬自, 重辛亡戎.】 (*Heji* 41529)

Crack-making on *dingyou* 丁酉. On the next day, the King's army will cooperate with the army of the Quan 犬, and there will be no regret. There will be no disaster. There will no encountering rain. Greatly auspicious. 【丁酉卜, 翌日王重犬自比, 弗悔, 亡災. 不遘雨. 大吉.】 (*Tunnan* 2618)

Since Quanfang 犬方 was subject to Shang 商 the records that the king of Shang 商 "order the Quan 犬" appears repeatedly in the oracle inscriptions.<sup>[2]</sup>

...divined: [The King] will order the Quan 犬 to scout. 【貞乎犬...見...】 (*Heji* 4645)

Crack-making on *jisi* 己巳. The King will order the Quan 犬 to defend us. 【己巳卜, 王乎犬捍我.】 (*Heji* 5048)

Divined: [The King] will order Xi 兹, the Quan 犬, in Jing 京. 【貞乎犬  
兹于京.】 (Heji 5667)

Of course the harvest in the land of Quan 犬 was on the minds of the Shang 商 people. As a result, the following was divined:

[Crack-making] on *xinyou* 辛酉, divined: Quan[fang] 犬[方] will receive harvest. In the eleventh month. 【辛酉, 貞犬受年. 十一月.】 (Heji 9793, 9794)

In addition, a man whose name was Quan Yan 犬佺 appears repeatedly in the oracle inscriptions. (Heji 4630, etc.) Quan Yan 犬佺 may be one of the Quan 犬 people who provided service to the king of Shang 商. This would be appropriate, since Quanfang 犬方 was subject to Shang 商.<sup>[3]</sup>

2. In the "Hainei Beijing 海内北經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 it is recorded that "There are people called Da Xingbo 大行伯 who wield spears. To the east is the state of Quanfeng 犬封". The "Shi Zhouguo 釋州國" chapter of the *Shiming* 釋名 says, "Feng 封 means state". Quanfeng 犬封 must have been the Quanfang 犬方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions, because "fang 方" [piuang] was equivalent to "bang 邦" [peong] or "feng 封" [piong]. From this, it can be deduced that "Quanfang 犬方" in the oracle inscriptions can be identified with "Quanfeng 犬封" in the written documents. On the basis of the rough geographical situations of various states listed by the "Hainei Beijing 海内北經" chapter, one can seemingly conclude that Quanfeng 犬封 or Quanfang 犬方 was to the west of the capital of Yin 殷.

Since the "Hainei Beijing 海内北經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 also says that "The state of Quanfeng 犬封 is known as the state of the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬", it can be seen that the Quanfang 犬方 and the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 as seen in the written documents come from the same origin.

3. It is suggested that Quanfang 犬方 was located at the place where King Yi 懿 of Zhou 周 founded his capital afterwards, to the southwest of the present Xianyang 咸陽. The *Shiben* 世本, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 155, says, "King Yi 懿 dwelt at Quan 犬 Hill". Song Zhong's 宋衷 commentary, cited by the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 4, says, "King Yi 懿 removed his capital from Hao 鎬 to Quan 犬 Hill, whose other name is Fei 廢 Hill, or the present Huaili 槐里". In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28A, it is recorded that Huaili 槐里 of Youfufeng 右扶風 was known as Quan 犬 Hill in Zhou 周 times, and it was here that King Yi 懿 founded his capital. Qin 秦 changed its name to Fei 廢 Hill". In the *Kuodizhi* 括地志 cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 5, it is recorded that "Another name of the former town of Quan 犬 Hill is Huaili 槐里, which is also called Fei 廢 Hill. It is a distance of ten li 里 to the southeast of Shiping 始平 County, Yong 雍 Province". Because the land of Marquis of Quan 犬 was close to the settlements of

Zhou 周, the king of Shang 商 was able to order the clan of the many sons to cooperate with Marquis of Quan 犬 and attack the settlements.<sup>[4]</sup>

It is suggested that Quanfang 犬方 must have been Quan 犬 Hill as seen in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the eighth year of Duke Yin 隱):

In the spring, the Marquis of Qi 齊 wanted to reconcile Song 宋 and Wei 衛 [with Zheng 鄭], and had fixed a time for a meeting with the princes of the two former states. The Duke of Song 宋, however, sent presents to Wei 衛, and begged that the marquis and himself might have a prior meeting between themselves. The Marquis of Wei 衛 agreed, and they met accordingly at Quan 犬 Hill.

Du Yu's 杜預 commentary says, "Quan 犬 Hill is Chui 垂. The place has two names". Chui 垂 is located to the northeast of the present county of Heze 荷澤 in Shandong 山東.<sup>[5]</sup>

It is suggested that Quanfang 犬方 is "Kundu 昆都" as seen the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the sixteenth year of Duke Xi 僖), and is to the south of the present Linfen 臨汾.<sup>[6]</sup> The "Mian 緜" poem of the "Daya 大雅" section of the *Shijing* 詩經 reads, "混夷駢矣, 維其喙矣" ("The Yi 夷 of Hun 混 run wild, and are tired".) But "Hun 混" is noted as "Kun 昆" in the line, cited in the commentary on the explanation of the character "tui 駢" ("Tui means that a horse runs wild.") under the "ma 馬" radical of the *Shuowen* 說文 (ch. 10A). The same line is noted as "犬夷咽矣 (The Yi 夷 of Quan 犬 disappeared)", cited in the commentary on the explanation of the character "xi 咽" ("Xi 息 [gasp for breath] is called by the Eastern barbarians 咽") under the "kou 口" radical of the *Shuowen* 說文 (ch. 2A). This shows that "the Yi 夷 of Quan 犬" [*hoan*] can be identified with the Yi 夷 of "Hun 混" [*huən*] or "the Yi 夷 of Kun 昆" [*kuən*].<sup>[7]</sup>

In my opinion, if Quanfang 犬封 refers to the Quan 犬 people's former land which can be traced back, the second theory would be more nearly correct.

Firstly, in the *Zhushu Jinian* 竹書紀年 cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 780, it is recorded that "Emperor Fen 芬 ascended the throne. In the third year of his reign, the nine Yi 夷 came to support and wait upon the emperor. They were the Yi 夷 of Quan 畎, Yu 于, Fang 方, Yellow, White, Red, Dark, Wind, and Yang 陽". The term "the nine Yi 夷" appears repeatedly in the ancient records and books. But, on the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 85 (the Memoir on the Eastern Yi 夷), which states that "The Yi 夷 consist of nine tribes, which are Quan 畎, Yu 于, Fang 方, Yellow, White, Red, Dark, Wind and Yang 陽", it can be seen that the nine Yi 夷, including the Yi 夷 of Quan 犬, were all Eastern Yi 夷. In other words, the Quan 犬 people were known as "the Yi 夷 of Quan 犬" because their former land was close to Lu 魯, and those who moved west were also called "the Rong 戎 of Quan

犬" afterwards. "Quanfang 犬方", as seen in the oracle inscriptions, was a part of the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬.<sup>[8]</sup>

Secondly, in the "Yugong 禹貢" chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書 it is recorded that "Silk, hemp, lead, pinetrees, and strange stones, came from the Qian 畎 of Dai 岱. The Yi 夷 of Lai 萊 were taught tillage and pasturage, and brought in their baskets the silk from the mountain mulberry". Since "the Qian 畎 of Dai 岱" and "the Yi 夷 of Lai 萊" here make an antithetical construction, the so-called "the Qian 畎 of Dai 岱" must have been the Yi 夷 of Quan 畎 located on Mount Tai 泰. And since "The Quan 畎 of Yu 羽" as seen in the same chapter and "the Yi 夷 of Huai 淮" in the ensuing passage are antithetical constructions, the so-called "Quan 畎 of Yu 羽" must have been the Yi 夷 of Quan 犬 who dwelt in Mount Yu 羽 (the present county of Tancheng 鄰城, Shangdong 山東).<sup>[9]</sup> From this, the settlements where the Quan 犬 people dwelt in Xia 夏 times can be seen.

Thirdly, in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 86, it is recorded that "Formerly, the Gaoxin 高辛 had been invaded by the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬". Li's 李 commentary says, "Gaoxin 高辛 here refers to Emperor Ku 嚳". Emperor Ku 嚳 was the descendant of Xuanxiao 玄囂 i.e., Qingyang 青陽, who succeeded to the throne after Zhu anxu 顓頊. According to Huangfu Mi's 皇甫謐 commentary cited by the *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 1, Zhu anxu 顓頊 founded his capital at Di 帝 Hill, the present Puyang 濮陽 of Dong 東 Prefecture, and Ku 嚳 "founded his capital at Bo 亳, the present Yanshi 偃師 in Henan 河南". In my opinion, Zhu anxu 顓頊 was the successor of Shaohao 少昊, and Shaohao 少昊 had dwelt in Lu 魯.<sup>[10]</sup> Shaohao 少昊, Zhu anxu 顓頊 and Ku 嚳 came down in one continuous line, and belonged to one and the same geopolitical group. The gradual westward movement of their capital had a bearing on the invasion of the Quan 犬 people.

In addition, in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the first year of Duke Xiang 襄) it is recorded that "Ziran 子然 of Zheng 鄭 made an incursion into Song 宋, and took Quan 犬 Hill". From this, it can be seen that there is also a Quan 犬 Hill to the northwest of Yongcheng 永城, Henan 河南. However, the time of the Quan 犬 Hill that was to the northeast of Heze 菏澤 may be earlier.<sup>[11]</sup>

As for the location of the settlement of the Quan 犬 people as seen in the oracle inscriptions, it is difficult to provide an exact answer owing to a want of sources. In spite of this, there is no harm in considering that the location was to the south of Linfen 臨汾. This is because the base area of the Yin 殷 people was to the east. Until the reign period of Wuding 武丁, they consistently expanded westwards, and their rear area must have been consolidated. Thus most of the targets of Wuding's 武丁 attack were west of Yin 殷. Quan 犬 occurs in the oracle inscription on the same plate together with Gen 亘. This shows that the land of Quan 犬 was close to Gen 亘 (the present Changyuan 長垣, Henan 河南).<sup>[12]</sup> But there was also Yuan 垣 (to the west of the present Yuanqu 垣曲) nearby Kundu 昆都, and we can also consider that the people move from Changyuan 長垣.

Aside from Kundu 昆都, there may have been a settlement of the Quan 犬 people who moved west to the southwest of Xianyang 咸陽. The possibility remains that a part of the Quan 犬 people recorded in the oracle inscriptions lived in this area.

In sum, Quanfang 犬方, as seen in the oracle inscriptions, possibly indicated the Quan 犬 people who were either close to Linfen 臨汾 or Xianyang 咸陽.

4. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87, it is recorded that "The Yi 夷 of Quan 犬 entered between Bin 邠 and Qi 岐" because of the disorder of Emperor Jie's 桀 rule". The *Jinben Zhushu Jinian* 今本竹書紀年 also says that, in the third year of Emperor Gui 癸 i.e., Jie 桀, "The Yi 夷 of Quan 犬 entered Qi 岐, and then rebelled". The basis for both records may be the same. If this is true, then at least by the end of the Xia 夏 Dynasty a part of the Quan 犬 people must have moved west. From this, it can also be seen that the Quanfang 犬方 attacked by Wuding 武丁 were located to the west of the capital of Yin 殷.

5. In the "Yiyin Chaoxian 伊尹朝獻" section attached to the "Wanghuijie 王會解" chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書, it is recorded that "there was the state of Dog" "due west". The state of Dog may be the state of Quanfeng 犬封 as seen in the "Hainei Beijing 海內北經" of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經. It must have been located "between Bin 邠 and Qi 岐" at that time. Tang 湯 of Yin 殷 dwelt at Bo 亳 (the present Shangqiu 商丘, Henan 河南), thus the location of the state of Dog was "due west".

6. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 32, it is recorded that "King Wen 文 attacked Chong 崇, Mixu 密須 and the Yi 夷 of Quan 犬". Mixu 密須, on the basis of Du's 杜 commentary (the *Zuozhuan* 左傳, the fifteenth year of Duke Zhao 昭), "is at Yinmi 陰密 County, Anding 安定)". This shows that the Yi 夷 of Quan 犬 attacked by King Wen 文 were west of the capital of Zhou 周. The "Wanghuijie 王會解" of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書 also states that there was a Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 to the west when recording the presence of various barbarians at Chengzhou 成周.<sup>[13]</sup> The Yi 夷 of Quan 犬 attacked by King Wen 文 may be the so-called "state of Dog" as seen in the "Yiyin Chaoxian 伊尹朝獻" section.

7. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87, it is recorded that "King [Mu 穆] went on an expedition against the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬, captured their five kings, and brought back with him four white deer and four white wolves which he had seized. King Mu 穆 thereupon removed the barbarians to Taiyuan 太原". It is generally suggested that this record stems from the *Zhushu Jinian* 竹書紀年. In my opinion, it is suggested that Taiyuan 太原 was in the upper reaches of the Jing 涇 River, nearby the present Pingliang 平涼.<sup>[14]</sup> If this is true, then the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 who were removed by King Mu 穆 might possibly have been the Xianyun 獫狁 who traversed the valleys of the Jing 涇 and Luo 洛 rivers later during the reign periods of Li 厲 and Xuan 宣.<sup>[15]</sup>

8. In the *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳, ch. 1, it is recorded that "...drank to the Son of Heaven on the top of Mount Juan 緡. On the day of *wuyin* 戊寅, the Son of



Heaven went on a northern journey, and thereupon crossed the Zhang 漳 River. On the day of *gengchen* 庚辰, the son of Heaven reached.... The Son of Heaven drank on the Huge Rock. Then the Son of Heaven played wonderful music. Never stopping to put up for the night, the Son of Heaven reached as far as the foot of Mount Xing 鉞. On the day of *guiwei* 癸未, it snowed; the Son of Heaven hunted on the western spur of Mount Xing 鉞, then crossed the tunnel of Mount Xing 鉞, and went northwards along the northern bank of the Hutuo 虜沱 River. On the day of *yiyou* 乙酉, the Son of Heaven ascended north.... The Son of Heaven went on the northern journey as far as the Rong of Quan 犬. The Rong of Quan 犬, the Hu 胡, drank to the Son of Heaven on the north bank of the Dang 當 river". It is suggested that "the foot of Mount Xing 鉞", reached by the Son of Heaven on the third day, was somewhere near the southeast border of Huolu 獲鹿 County in Hebei 河北 Province. The statement "went northwards along the northern bank of the Hutuo 虜沱 River" on the sixth day refers to going northwards along the northern bank of the Hutuo 虜沱 River from Huolu 獲鹿. Since he reached the boundary of the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 after two days, the southern boundary of the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 was roughly at the boundaries of the modern counties of Quyang 曲陽 and Xingdang 行唐, Hebei 河北. The sphere of entrenchment occupied by the Rong of Quan 犬 could have been to the north of these boundaries, i.e., the Mount Taihang 太行 area.<sup>[16]</sup>

In the *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳, ch. 1, it is recorded that "On the day of *renxu* 壬戌, in the first month of winter, the Son of Heaven reached Mount Leishou 雷首. The Rong 戎 of Quan 犬, the Hu 胡, drank to the Son of Heaven at the spur of Mount Leishou 雷首, and presented him twenty-four fine horses. The Son of Heaven ordered Kong Ya 孔牙 to accept them". It is suggested that Mount Leishou was at Puzhou 蒲州 of Shanxi 山西, which faces Huayin 華陰 County of Shanxi 陝西 across the river (where the Wei 渭 River pours into the Yellow River). This locale is in accord with that described in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the second year of Duke Min 閔). That is to say "The Duke of Guo 虢 defeated the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 at the bend of the Wei 渭 River".<sup>[17]</sup> From this, it can be seen that during the times described in the chapter the *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳, and even in the times of the *Zuozhuan* 左傳, there was a branch of the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 living in the valley of the Wei 渭 River.

It is not necessarily a fact that the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 drank to the Son of Heaven on the northern bank of the Dang 當 River and on the spur of Mount Leishou 雷首, but it should not be denied that the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 were in the above-mentioned places. Indeed the sources for their presence in these areas is known. The former were possibly those whom the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 left behind when they moved west from Lu 魯. The latter were possibly those who expanded east from Bin 邠 and Qi 岐.

9. Of the statement that "犬戎樹惇帥舊德" in the "Zhouyu 周語 A" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語, "樹惇" is noted as "樹敦" in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 4. It is suggested on

the basis of these records that the settlement of the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 that was attacked by King Mu 穆 must have been in the Xining 西寧 area of Qinghai 青海. This is because "Shudun 樹敦" must have been the name of the lord of the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬, thus the settlement of Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 was also named after him. The location belonged to the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 afterwards. Thus in the *Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 28, it is recorded that "Both the towns of Shudun 樹敦 and Hezhen 賀真 are the lair of the Tu[yu]hun 吐[谷]渾". Also, on the basis of the reference in the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. 83, one learns that Shudun 樹敦 was close to Mount Mantou 曼頭: "The traitors sent all of their troops in the country. The cavalymen in armor formed a continuous stream from [Mount] Mantou 曼頭 to Shudun 樹敦".<sup>[18]</sup>

However, in my opinion, this theory is inadequate. It would seem that the authentic understanding should be that "Shu 樹" was the name of the lord of the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬, and "dun 惇" should be understood as linked together with "帥". In the "Shi Gu 釋詁" chapter of the *Erya* 爾雅, it is recorded that "Dun 敦 means to make an effort to". The statement "犬戎樹惇帥舊德" thus signifies that "Shu 樹, the lord of the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 endeavored to follow the former moral integrity". (Cf. the "Jinyu 晉語 G" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語, which says, "惇帥舊職" [to make an effort to be devoted to his duty]).<sup>[19]</sup> Therefore, the above-cited statement in the "Zhouyu 周語 A" chapter has nothing to do with the geographical location of the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬.

## B

It has been suggested that the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 (or Yi 夷 of 畎) must have been the "Guifang 鬼方" in the oracle inscriptions and in the written documents.<sup>[20]</sup> In my opinion, it is acceptable to understand "Quan 犬" or "Quan 畎" and "Gui 鬼" as different transcriptions of the same name. However this can only show that the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 (the Yi 夷 of Quan 畎) and the Guifang 鬼方 people might have come from the same origin. This is to say one cannot equate the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 (the Yi 夷 of Quan 畎) with the Guifang 鬼方, even the Guifang 鬼方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions and the Guifang 鬼方 in the written documents, or the Guifang 鬼方 as seen in one document with the Guifang 鬼方 in another text. The following is a brief study of the Guifang 鬼方 and a description of their relation to the various above-mentioned issues.

1. The name Guifang 鬼方 occurs earliest in the oracle inscriptions. The relevant records are not numerous, but are enough to declare that "Guifang 鬼方" was a frontier state opposed to the Shang 商.

Crack-making on *jiyou* 己酉, Bin 宀 divined: Yang 易 of the Guifang 鬼方 will have no disaster. In the fifth month. 【己酉卜, 宀, 貞鬼方易亡囧. 五月.】 (*Heji* 8591)

Crack-making on *jiyou* 己酉, Nei 内 [divined:] Yang 易 of the Guifang 鬼方 will have no disaster. In the fifth month. 【己酉卜, 内, □鬼方易 [有] 囧. 五月】 (*Heji* 8592)

Crack-making [on *jiyou* 己酉], Que 設 divined: Yang 易 of the Guifang.... 【□□卜, 設, 貞鬼方易....】 (*Heji* 8593)

We may combine these references concerning the Guifang 鬼方 with similar oracle inscriptions relating to the Weifang 危方,

Crack-making on *jiyou* 己酉, Que 設 divined: In the Weifang 危方 there will perhaps no be disaster. In the fifth month. 【己酉卜, 設, 貞危方亡其囧. 五月.】

Crack-making on *jiyou* 己酉, Que 設 divined: In the Weifang 危方 there will perhaps be disaster. 【己酉卜, 設, 貞危方其有囧.】 (*Heji* 8592)

It can be seen that "Guifang 鬼方" and "Weifang 危方" are both the names of frontier states,<sup>[21]</sup> and that the Shang 商 people wished that Yang 易 of Guifang 鬼方 would meet with disaster. The Shang 商 people regarded Yang 易 of Guifang 鬼方 as their enemy, because Weifang 危方 was undoubtedly the enemy of Shang 商 as seen in the above-cited oracle inscriptions.<sup>[22]</sup> "Yang 易 of Guifang 鬼方" is a personal name, perhaps the lord of the Guifang 鬼方.<sup>[23]</sup>

Guifang 鬼方 thereupon became a frontier state which was subject to Shang 商, obviously because of Wuding's 武丁 attack. Since the Guifang 鬼方 assisted the King's affairs, there are the following divinations:

... the Gui 鬼 will also have sickness. 【...鬼亦得疾.】 (*Heji* 137 recto)

Crack-making on *yisi* 乙巳, Bin 宀 divined: The Gui 鬼 will capture the Qiang 羌. In the first month. 【乙巳卜, 宀, 貞鬼獲羌. 一月.】

Crack-making on *yisi* 乙巳, Bin 宀 divined: The Gui 鬼 will perhaps not capture the Qiang 羌. 【乙巳卜, 宀, 貞鬼不其獲羌.】 (*Heji* 203 recto)

Crack-making on *renchen* 壬辰, Zheng 爭 divined: The Gui 鬼 will have disaster. 【壬辰卜, 爭, 貞佳鬼設.】

Crack-making on *renchen* 壬辰, Zheng 爭 divined: The Gui 鬼 will not have disaster. 【壬辰卜, 貞不佳之設.】 (*Heji* 1114 recto)

The Gui 鬼 and Zhou 周 will really have disaster. 【允佳鬼眾周設.】 (*Heji* 1114 verso)

[Crack-making] on *kuiyou* 癸酉, ... divined: In the (next) ten days, *gengchen* 庚辰, the Guifang 鬼方 will receive assistance. 【癸酉, 貞旬庚辰 鬼方受有 [祐].】 (*Yibian* 403)

There is also the expression "the little subject of Gui 鬼" 【小臣鬼】 in the *Heji* 5577. Remembering that Yiyin 伊尹 was addressed as "the little subject" in the "Shuyibo 叔夷罍 inscription", the possibility cannot be ruled out that the "Gui 鬼" was also a higher official. <sup>[24]</sup> Furthermore, since Guifang 鬼方 had been subject to Shang 商, there must have been the records in the oracle inscriptions that the king of Shang 商 "ordered Gui 鬼".

[Crack-making] on *dingmao* 丁卯, ... divined: the King ordered Geng 剛 of Gui 鬼 to perform the sacrifice called *gang* 剛 in *xiang* 享 (the temple for sacrifices). 【丁卯, 貞王令鬼鬲剛于享.】 (*Huai* 1650)

On the basis of the "Jie 卩" radical of the *Shuowen* 說文 (ch. 9A), "*ling* 令" (order) "means to issue orders". The "Daxue 大學" chapter of the *Liji* 禮記 states that "其所令反其所好, 而民不從" ("When the orders of a ruler are contrary to what he himself likes, the people do not follow him"). The *Liji Zhengyi* 禮記正義 says "*ling* 令 refers to the lord's orders". <sup>[25]</sup>

By the time of Emperor Xin 辛, the chiefs of the Guifang 鬼方 had entered the royal government and become vassals. The "Zhaoce 趙策 3" chapter of the *Zhanguoce* 戰國策 states:

Of old Marquis of Gui 鬼, Marquis of E 鄂, and King Wen 文 were vassals under Emperor Zhou 紂. Marquis of Gui 鬼 had a child who was beautiful and sent her to the palace of Zhou 紂. Zhou 紂 thought her ugly and had Marquis of Gui 鬼 boiled alive. Marquis of E 鄂 reproved the emperor sharply and argued with him heatedly, so Zhou 紂 had him chopped to pieces.... <sup>[26]</sup>

A parallel passage occurs also in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 3, only "Marquis of Gui 鬼" is noted as "Marquis of Jiu 九", which is also seen in the *Jinben Zhushu Jinian* 今本竹書紀年. Xu Guang's 徐廣 commentary, cited by *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 3, says, "[Marquis of Jiu 九] is also known as Marquis of Gui 鬼. There is the town of Marquis of Jiu 九 in Ye 鄴 County". However, the *Kuodizhi* 括地志, cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, states, "There is the town of Marquis of Jiu 九, which is a distance of fifty *li* 里 to the southwest of Fuyang 滎陽 County, Xiang 相 Prefecture. It is also called the town of Marquis of Gui 鬼 – perhaps it was known as the town of Marquis of Jiu 九 in Yin 殷 times". The location is not far from the capital of Yin 殷. It must have been Marquis of Gui's 鬼 fief within the environs of

the capital.<sup>[27]</sup> There is a record of the king of Shang's 商 entering the Marquis of Gui's 鬼 fief' in the oracle inscriptions.

Crack-making on *gengzi* 庚子, divined: "The King will not step in the fief of the Gui 鬼". 【庚子卜, 貞不□步鬼.】 (*Heji* 20757)

This seems to indicate that Marquis of Gui's 鬼 enfeoffment was of long standing.

2. Opinions are widely divided on the geographical location of Guifang 鬼方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions. However, three main possibilities can be roughly distinguished.

Firstly, it is suggested that the Guifang 鬼方 people were distributed mainly in the southwest of the present province of Shanxi 山西 and the southern and northern sides of Mount Zhongtiao 中條. The evidence is as follows: not only is there a reference in the "Zhengyu 鄭語" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 that states, "To the west of Chengzhou 成周 there were Yu 虞, Guo 虢, Jin 晉, Huai 隗, Di 翟, Yang 楊, Wei 魏 and Rui 芮". There is also the reference in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the fourth th year of Duke Ding 定) that states, "To Tang Shu 唐叔 there were given a grand carriage, the drum of Mixu 密須, the Quegong 闕鞏 mail, the Guxian 沽洗 bell, nine clans of the surname Huai 懷, and five presidents over the different departments of office. The charge was given to him, as contained in the 'Announcement of Tang 唐', and the ruins of Xia 夏 were assigned as the center of his state. He was to commence his government. according to the principles of Xia 夏, but his boundaries were defined by the rules of the Rong 戎".<sup>[28]</sup> These can all be taken as evidence.

Secondly, it is suggested that the Guifang 鬼方 were distributed mainly in Shanxi 陝西 Province. This theory can be further distinguished by two variants.

One of them suggests that the Guifang 鬼方 were originally in the valley of the Luo 洛 River. The evidence is the statement "西落鬼戎" (The Rong of Gui 鬼 in the Western Luo) in the *Zhushu Jinian* 竹書紀年 cited by Li's 李 commentary on the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87. The Liangboge 梁伯戈 inscription refers to "The Man 蠻 (barbarians) of Guifang 鬼方", which also shows this. The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28A, states that Xiayang 夏陽 County of Zuofengyi 左馮翊 "is the former Shaoliang 少梁". Shaoliang 少梁 is at Hancheng 韓城, which is close to the Luo 洛 River. And on the basis of the same chapter, there was the "Di 翟 Circuit" in Zuofengyi 左馮翊. The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19A, states that "A county where barbarians live is called circuit".<sup>[29]</sup> The Di 翟 Circuit was at Huangling 黃陵 on the northern bank of the Ju 沮 River, which is a tributary of the Luo 洛 River.

Another variant suggests that the Guifang 鬼方 must have originally been in the Yulin 榆林-Yan'an 延安 area in the north of Shanxi 陝西, and then must have expanded northwards to Shilou 石樓, Baode 保德, etc., in the north of Jin 晉. The evidence is the discovery of the Lijiaya 李家崖 Culture and bronzes unearthed from

Shilou 石樓, Baode 保德, etc., which are noted for their obvious characteristics of the steppes.<sup>[30]</sup>

Thirdly, it is suggested that the Guifang 鬼方 must have been in the middle part of Shanxi 山西, from Taiyuan 太原 as far as Shanxi 陝西.<sup>[31]</sup> This can be deduced from the following statement: "Erfu's 貳負 Corpse is east of Da Xingbo 大行伯" and "the state of Gui 鬼 is north of Erfu's 貳負 Corpse" in the "Hainei Beijing 海內北經" of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經; "In an invasion of the Qianggaoru 廡咎如, the Di 狄 captured the two daughters of their chief, Shu Wei 叔隗 and Ji Wei 季隗" in *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the twenty-third year of Duke Xi 僖); and "Qianggaoru 廡咎如 was a separate tribe of the Red Di 狄, whose surname is Wei 隗" in Du's 杜 commentary on above-quoted the records in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳.

In my opinion, the records of the oracle inscriptions are sketchy, and most of the evidence on which scholars who hold the above-mentioned theories based them is from later records. Thus their conclusions are for reference only. Since Shang 商 times the settlement of the Guifang 鬼方 must not have been immutable. Moreover, it is difficult to distinguish whose descendants are the Gui 鬼 or Guifang 鬼方 in the written documents, Guifang 鬼方 or Gongfang 舌方 in Shang times. There is evidence to show that the Gongfang 舌方 in the oracle inscriptions were mostly called Guifang 鬼方 in the written documents. And it is also difficult to differentiate the Guifang 鬼方 and Gongfang 舌方 only on the basis of unearthed relics, because both possibly came from the same origin and their cultures were probably similar.

3. The "Dang 蕩" poem of the "Daya 大雅" section of the *Shijing* 詩經 reads,

King Wen 文 said, "Alas!  
Alas! you [sovereign of] Yinshang 殷商,  
[All round you] is like the noise of cicadas,  
Or like the bubbling of boiling soup.  
Affairs, great and small, are approaching ruin;  
And still you [and your creatures] go on in this course.  
Indignation is rife against you here in the Middle State,  
And extends to Guifang 鬼方".

*Mao's* 毛 *Commentary* says, "Guifang 鬼方 refers to a distant place". The *Maoshi Zhengyi* 毛詩正義 says, "The Middle State is known as Jiuzhou 九州, and "extends to Guifang 鬼方" refers to extending to distant places. This shows that Guifang 鬼方 refers to a distant place, and nobody knows exactly where it is. The 'Jiusan 九三' *yaoci* 爻辭 of the 'Jiji 既濟' trigram in the *Yijing* 易經 states that Gaozong 高宗 attacked Guifang 鬼方 and vanquished it in three years. The 'Xiang 象' explains that it signifies tiredness. In other words, [Gaozong 高宗] had been tired when he vanquished it. The virtuous and able Gaozong was tired when he vanquished it after

having used military force for three years. This shows that Guifang 鬼方 was a distant state". According to Kong's 孔 thinking in this passage, it is not difficult to discern why *Mao's* 毛 *Commentary* says that Guifang 鬼方 was distant place. It is inferred that "Middle State" contrasts with "Guifang 鬼方" in the "Dang 蕩" poem of the "Daya 大雅" section of the *Shijing* 詩經.<sup>[32]</sup>

However, the knowledge that "Middle State" contrasts with "Guifang 鬼方" is not at all enough to identify the Guifang 鬼方 with a distant place. The poet merely regards the Guifang 鬼方 as representative of the barbarians, and did not necessarily stress distance. It has not yet been shown that "Guifang 鬼方" had become a general term for barbarians at that time. The *Maoshi Zhengyi* 毛詩正義 quotes the *Yijing* 易經 as proof, but to no avail. "[Gaozong 高宗] tired when he vanquished it after having used military force for three years", but this was probably because the Guifang 鬼方 were big and powerful, and not because their state were a remote. Moreover, even if Guifang 鬼方 was a distant state, "Guifang 鬼方" should not be explained as "a distant place".<sup>[33]</sup> The line "extends to Guifang 鬼方" shows that Shang 商 and Guifang 鬼方 were closely related, and it tallys with the records in the oracle inscriptions. The Guifang 鬼方 as described in the "Dang 蕩" poem of the "Daya 大雅" section thus may be the Guifang 鬼方 as described in the oracle inscriptions.

4. The "Jiusan 九三" *yaoci* 爻辭 of the "Jiji 既濟" trigram in the *Zhouyi* 周易 says, "Gaozong 高宗 attacked Guifang 鬼方 and vanquished it in three years". The *Zhouyi Zhengyi* 周易正義 says, "Gaozong 高宗 was the temple title of Wuding 武丁, the king of Yin 殷". The "Jiusi 九四" *yaoci* 爻辭 of the "Weiji 未濟" trigram of the *Zhouyi* 周易 also says that "Zengyong 震用 attacked the Guifang 鬼方, and was rewarded by the great state three years later". This seems to correspond with the above-quoted oracle inscriptions which demonstrate that Guifang 鬼方 was an enemy state of Shang 商.<sup>[34]</sup> But, because there is no clear record of the attack on the Guifang 鬼方 during the reign period of Wuding 武丁 in the oracle inscriptions after all, some suggested that "Guifang 鬼方" in the *Zhouyi* 周易 was in fact a general term which refers to various states attacked by Wuding 武丁.<sup>[35]</sup>

In my opinion, to regard "Guifang 鬼方" in the *Zhouyi* 周易 as various states attacked by Wuding 武丁 is indeed one theory worthy of consideration. But the possibility that merits even more consideration is that the Guifang 鬼方 as seen in the *Zhouyi* 周易 are the Gongfang 弓方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions (for details, see the following).

5. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87, it is recorded that "By the time the Yin 殷 Dynasty was halfway in decline, various barbarians rebelled. Wuding 武丁 went on a punitive expedition to the Western Rong 戎, i.e., the Guifang 鬼方, and vanquished them taking three years. Therefore the poem reads, 'Even from the Di 氐 and the Qiang 羌, who dared not come but to seek acknowledgement'. Owing to Wuyi's 武乙 brutality, the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 invaded the border. Gugong 古公 of Zhou 周 crossed Mount Liang 梁 and took refuge at the foot of Mount Qi 岐. As late as the

time when Jili 季歷, his son, succeeded the throne, [Zhou 周] attacked the Rong of Gui 鬼 in the Western Luo 落". On the basis of this record, it has been suggested that the Guifang 鬼方 were the Qiang 羌 people.<sup>[36]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. The Di 氏 and the Qiang 羌 "come but to seek acknowledgement", obviously because Wuding 武丁 had conquered the Guifang 鬼方, and the prestige accruing from that victory impressed them. "the Western Rong 戎, i.e., the Guifang 鬼方" is noted as "the Western Qiang 羌, i.e., the Guifang 鬼方" in one copy.<sup>[37]</sup> If combined with "the Rong of Gui 鬼 in the Western Luo 落" in the following passage, "the Western Qiang 羌, i.e., the Guifang 鬼方" is wrong. Even if the text is just "the Western Qiang 羌, i.e., the Guifang 鬼方", it would not yet prove that the Guifang 鬼方 can be identified with the Qiang 羌. The statement can be thought of as indicating that Wuding 武丁 conquered the Western Qiang 羌 at the same time he conquered the Guifang 鬼方. Thus the poem is cited as evidence. Both the Qiangfang 羌方 and Guifang 鬼方 appear in the oracle inscriptions, which shows that Gui 鬼 may not be equated with the Qiang 羌.

Also, according to Li's 李 commentary, the basis of the statement "owing to Wuyi's 武乙 brutality" and what follows is the *Zhushu Jinian* 竹書紀年. In the light of that work, "In the thirty-fifth year of Wuyi 武乙, Wang Ji 王季 of Zhou 周, attacked the Rong 戎 of Gui 鬼 in the Western Luo 落, and captured twenty kings of the Di 翟", it is clear that "the Rong 戎 of Gui 鬼 in the Western Luo 落 鬼" must have been "the Western Rong 戎, i.e., the Guifang 鬼方". To have been able to attack the Rong 戎 of Gui 鬼 in the Western Luo 落 and to capture twenty rulers of the Di 翟 shows that there was a close relationship between the Guifang 鬼方 (i.e., the Rong 戎 of Gui 鬼) and the Di 翟 people. The Di 翟 and the Qiang 羌 obviously did not come from the same source. From this, it can also stand to reason that the Guifang 鬼方 can not be identified with the Di 翟. It is suggested that those who were attacked by Wang Ji 王季 were the Guifang 鬼方, who had been subjugated by Wuding 武丁.<sup>[38]</sup> In my opinion, this theory may be correct. However, it is also possible that those who were attacked by Wang Ji 王季 were not the Guifang 鬼方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions, because the Quan 犬 people who moved west at that time must not have been just one branch. In other words, it is an objective fact that those who moved westwards divided into various tribes. Because as many as twenty kings were captured by Wangji 王季, one can get a glimpse of the whole picture.

Also, the commentary on the *Shiben* 世本, cited by the commentary to Yang Xiong's 楊雄 "Zhao Chongguo Song 趙充國頌" in the *Wenxuan* 文選, ch. 47, says "The Guifang 鬼方 were the Qiang 羌 of Xianling 先零 in Han 漢 times". According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 69, "Xianling 先零" were a branch of various Qiang 羌 people. If the commentary on the *Shiben* 世本 has grounds for its statement, hence, one could only consider that a branch of the Guifang 鬼方 and the tribes of Qiang 羌 had been fused in Han 漢 times. This is similar to the Xiao



Yuezhi 小月氏, who, as recorded in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, "sought protection among the Qiang 羌 tribes of the Southern Mountains" after the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 had been driven out by the Xiongnu 匈奴 and moved west. Consequently, the Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏 were afterwards regarded as the Qiang 羌 people. In other words, the Guifang 鬼方 can not be identified with the Qiang 羌 on the basis of the commentary on the *Shiben* 世本.<sup>[39]</sup>

The original text of the "Yinwu 殷武" poem in the "Shangsong 商頌" section of the *Shijing* 詩經 cited by the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87 reads as follows:

Rapid was the warlike energy of [our king of] Yin 殷,  
And vigorously did he attack Jingchu 荆楚.  
Boldly he entered its dangerous passes,  
And brought the multitudes of the king together,  
Till the country was reduced under complete restraint --  
Such was the fitting achievement of the descendant of Tang 湯.  
"Ye people", [he said], "of Jingchu 荆楚  
Dwell in the southern part of my kingdom.  
Formerly, in the time of Tang 湯 the Successful,  
Even from the Di 氏 and Qiang 羌,  
They dared not but come with their offerings;  
[Their chiefs] dared not come but to seek acknowledgement --  
Such is the regular rule of Shang 商".

On the basis of this poem, it has been suggested that the Guifang 鬼方 who were attacked were those identified with Jingchu 荆楚.<sup>[40]</sup> In my opinion, this is incorrect. What is described in the poem is Wuding's 武丁 attack on Jingchu 荆楚. The reason why the Di 氏 and the Qiang 羌 were referred to is that they were also powerful barbarians at the time.<sup>[41]</sup> Similarly, in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87, the poem which refers to the fact that the Di 氏 and the Qiang 羌 "come but to seek acknowledgement" is quoted when Wuding's 武丁 attack on the Guifang 鬼方 is mentioned.

6. In the *Jinben Zhushu Jinian* 今本竹書紀年 it is recorded that "In the thirty-second year of his reign, Wuding 武丁 attacked the Guifang 鬼方, and camped in Jin 荆. In his thirty-fourth year, the King's forces subdued the Guifang 鬼方, when the tribes of Di 氏 and the Qiang 羌 came and made their submission". It is generally accepted that this reference can not be taken as evidence, owing to its coming from a false book.<sup>[42]</sup> In spite of this, some suggest that the materials in the reference have their grounds. Thus, one scholar suggests that "Jing 荆" may have been in the ancient Jinjing 井陘 area of Huolu 獲鹿 in Hebei 河北,<sup>[43]</sup> and another scholar suggests that "Jing 荆" may be located to the west of the present Shanxi 陝西.<sup>[44]</sup>

7. According to the "Dixi 帝繫" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記, the Yellow Emperor begot Changyi 昌意, who begot Zhuaxu 顓頊. Zhuaxu 顓頊 begot Laotong 老童, who begot Wuhui 吳回. "Wuhui begot Luzhong 陸終, who married into the Guifang 鬼方. The younger sister of [the lord of] the Guifang 鬼方 was known as Nükui 女隤, who begot six sons". One of the six sons of Luzhong 陸終 was Kunwu 昆吾. Tang 湯 destroyed the descendants of Kunwu 昆吾, who had been marquises or counts during Xia 夏 times.<sup>[45]</sup> This proves that the time when Luzhong 陸終 married the Guifang 鬼方 was very early, and thus the origin of the Guifang 鬼方 is very ancient.<sup>[46]</sup> In the "Dahuang Beijing 大荒北經" of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經, the following is recorded:

The Yellow Emperor begot Miaolong 苗龍, who begot Rongwu 融吾. Rongwu 融吾 begot Nongming 弄明, who begot White Dog. The White Dog had both male and female [qualities]. [Its offspring] became the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬. They eat meat.<sup>[47]</sup>

Of them, "Rongwu 融吾" must have combined both Zhurong 祝融 and Kunwu 昆吾.<sup>[48]</sup> "Zhurong 祝融" here refers to Luzhong 陸終. According to the records in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 40,

The ancestors of Chu 楚 derived from Emperor Zhunxu 顓頊, i.e., Gaoyang 高陽. Gaoyang 高陽 was the grandson of the Yellow Emperor and the son of Changyi 昌意. Gaoyang 高陽 begot Cheng 稱, who begot Juazhang 卷章. Juazhang 卷章 begot Zhongli 重黎. Zhongli 重黎 occupied the position of the Director of Fire for Emperor Ku 嚳, i.e., Gaoxin 高辛, he rendered him great service, and could brighten the land under heaven. Emperor Ku 嚳 called him Zhurong 祝融. When [the lord of] the Gonggong 共工 revolted, Emperor Ku 嚳 made Zhongli 重黎 kill him and his relatives but not totally. Thereupon Emperor Ku 嚳 killed Zhongli 重黎 on the day of *gengyin* 庚寅 and ordered Wuhui 吳回, his younger brother, to be the successor of Zhongli 重黎. Wuhui 吳回 also occupied the position of the Director of Fire and was known as Zhurong 祝融.

This seems to show that Luzhong succeeded Wuhui 吳回, and occupied the position of the director of fire, and was also known as "Zhurong 祝融". "Luzhong 陸終" [*liuk-tjiuəm*] itself a different transcription of "Zhurong 祝融" [*tjiuk-jiuəm*].<sup>[49]</sup> The above-cited statement of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 reads in one variant copy that "The Yellow Emperor begot Miao 苗, who begot Long 龍. Long begot Rong 融, who begot Wu 吾. Wu 吾 begot Bingming 并明, who begot Bai 白. Bai begot Quan 犬 (Dog). Quan 犬 has two males, who are the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬".<sup>[50]</sup> This would appear to be permissible as evidence.

Also, the *Kuodizhi* 括地志, cited by *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義 ch. 40, states, "The former town of Kuai 鄩 is a distance of twenty-two *li* 里 to the northeast of Xinzheng 新鄭 County of Zheng 鄭 Prefecture". And the *Maoshipu* 毛詩譜, cited by the same book, says, "Anciently, the land of Gaoxin 高辛, the ruins of Zhurong 祝融, from Tang 唐 to Zhou 周, after the descendants of Zhongli 重黎, i.e., those of the Surname Yun 妘, who lived there, was the state of Kuai 鄩, which was destroyed by Duke Wu 武 of Zheng 鄭". From this, the location of the former land of Luzhong 陸終, i.e., Zhurong 祝融 can be known. Since Luzhong 陸終 married the Guifang 鬼方, their settlements had probably been close to each other. In other words, there is nothing prevent us from considering that the former land of the Gui 鬼 people, like that of the Quan 犬 people, can also be traced back to Lu 魯.

8. In the "Zhouyu 周語 B" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語, it is recorded that Fuchen 富辰 said that "The Di's 狄 surname is Wei 隗". Wei's 韋 commentary says, "It is the Red Di 狄 whose surname is Wei 隗". In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the third year of Duke Cheng 成) it is recorded that "Xi Ke 郤克 of Jin 晉 and Sun Liangfu 孫良夫 of Wei 衛 attacked Qianggaoru 廡咎如, and the reason for the expedition was that the Qianggaoru 廡咎如 were a remnant of the Red Di 狄". This is to say that Qianggaoru 廡咎如 belonged to the Red Di 狄.<sup>[51]</sup> In the same chapter of the *Zuozhuan* 左傳, the daughters of Qianggaoru 廡咎如 were called Shu Wei 叔隗 and Ji Wei 季隗, which shows that Qianggaoru 廡咎如 was also "the Red Di 狄 whose surname was Wei 隗". On the basis of this, some suggest that the Guifang 鬼方 belonged to the Red Di 狄.<sup>[52]</sup> In my opinion, there are two points regarding this view that need to be cleared up.

First, in the "Zhengyu 鄭語" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語, it is recorded that "To the north of Chengzhou 成周 there were the Wei 衛, Yan 燕, Di 狄, Xianyu 鮮虞, Lu 潞, Luo 洛, Quan 泉, Xu 徐 and Pu 蒲". Wei's 韋 commentary says, "The Xianyu 鮮虞 were those whose surname was Ji 姬 among the Di 狄 people. Lu 潞, Luo 洛, Quan 泉, Xu 徐 and Pu 蒲 were all Red Di 狄, whose surname was Wei 隗".<sup>[53]</sup> The "Zhishixing 志氏姓" chapter of the *Qianfulun* 潛夫論 also records, "The Red Di 狄 whose surname was Wei 隗". This is to say that some of the Red Di 狄 were surnamed Wei 隗. But the Red Di 狄 were by no means equal to the Guifang 鬼方. The "Shizupu 世族譜 B" chapter of the *Chunqiu Shili* 春秋釋例 says, "The viscount of the Red Di's 狄 surname was Ji 姬". This shows that the Red Di 狄 did not all belong to the same surname, which can be taken as evidence.

Besides the Red Di 狄 there were the so-called White Di 狄. In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the thirty-third year of Duke Xi 僖) it is recorded that "Marquis of Jin 晉 defeated the Di 狄 at Ji 箕, and Xi Que 郤缺 captured the viscount of the White Di 狄". On the basis of the "Zhishixing 志氏姓" chapter of the *Qianfulun* 潛夫論, there were "the White Di 狄 whose surname was Cu 媯". However, "Cu 媯" is written as "Heng 姁" in one copy of the text. Wang's 汪 commentary says that "Fan Ning's 范甯 commentary on the *Guliangzhuan* 穀梁傳 (the twelfth year of Duke Zhao 昭)

states that 'The Xianyu 鮮虞 were the White Di 狄 whose surname was Ji 姬'. The subcommentary says, 'It is the text of the *Shiben* 世本'. Therefore Heng 姪 may be a textual error for Ji 姬'.<sup>[54]</sup> The "Zhishixing 志氏姓" chapter of the *Qianfulun* 潛夫論 states that "Duan 短 is the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬, whose ancestors derived from the Yellow Emperor". Here, "Duan 短" must have been a textual error for "Heng 姪", i.e., "Ji 姬". Therefore, the so-called "White Di 狄 whose surname was Heng 姪" are in fact "the White Di 狄 whose surname was Ji 姬". Also, Wei's 韋 commentary on the "Zhengyu 鄭語" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 says, "The Xianyu 鮮虞 were those among the Di 狄 people whose surname was Ji 姬". "Di 狄" here, against the following Red Di 狄, obviously refers to the White Di 狄. This shows that the surname Ji 姬 was found within the White Di 狄.

In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the thirteenth year of Duke Cheng 成) it is recorded that "The White Di 狄 lived in the area of Yongzhou 雍州, which is located in your territory". This shows that the land of Qin 秦 was the former land of the White Di 狄.<sup>[55]</sup> The surname Wei 隗, after the Qin 秦 and the Han 漢 Dynasties, derived from Yongzhou 雍州, which shows that there were those surnamed Wei 隗 among the White Di 狄. For example, there was the queen of the Di 狄 whose surname was Wei 隗, as seen in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the twenty-fourth year of Duke Xi 僖). It is suggested that the queen was also a member of the White Di 狄.<sup>[56]</sup>

Also, combining the reference "the Red Di 狄 whose surname was Wei 隗" and so on with the reference that "Ji 姬 is the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬" in the "Zhishixing 志氏姓" chapter of the *Qianfulun* 潛夫論 seems to indicate that the author understands the White Di 狄 to be the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬. This association was probably caused by the *Shanhaijing's* 山海經 statement that the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 were known as the White Quan 犬 (Dog). However, one cannot equate the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 with the White Di 狄 owing to this reference to the White Quan 犬 (Dog), because the White Quan 犬 (Dog) is not necessarily equal to the White Di 狄. The Quan 犬 people may have been known as the White Quan 犬 (Dog) because the color of their skin was fair and clear. And it is generally suggested that the White and Red Di 狄 were so called because they upheld the colors white and red, respectively.<sup>[57]</sup> In other words, the names Red and White Di 狄 had nothing to do with nationality. Even if the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 and the Guifang 鬼方 as seen in written documents belonged to the Red and White Di 狄, respectively, it is also still possible that both came from the same source.

In sum, the Red and White Di 狄 did not all belong to one surname. In both there were the surnames Wei 隗 and Ji 姬 at least. The entire surname Wei 隗 is not necessarily attributed to the Red Di 狄, and likewise, one cannot attribute the entire surname Wei 隗 to the Red Di 狄.

Secondly, "Di 狄" might have first been the proper name of a specific tribe, and then it gradually became a general term for nomadic tribes in the north. There are the so-called "the five Di 狄" (the "Mingtangjie 明堂解") and "the six Di

狄" ("Zhifangjie 職方解") in the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書. This shows that the Di 狄 were not one tribe. A part of the Guifang 鬼方 can be called Di 狄, Red Di 狄 or White Di 狄. But, no matter what, neither the Di 狄, Red or White, is equal to the Guifang 鬼方. Therefore, one cannot infer the nationality of the Di 狄, Red or White Di 狄 from that of the Guifang 鬼方, and even more so one cannot infer the nationality of the Guifang 鬼方 from a certain Di 狄, or the Red and White Di 狄.

9. Among the descendants of the Kunwu 昆吾, there were those who were called "Rong of Quan 犬", clearly because of their having very obvious figure and features of the Guifang 鬼方 people. "Quan 犬" [hoan] can be regarded as a [phonetic] loan characters for "Gui 鬼" [kiwei]. Quan 犬 Hill, the capital of King Yi 懿, was also called Huaili 槐里; "Huaili 槐里" must have been "Guili 鬼里". According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87, "the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 invaded the border area", Gugong 古公 took refuge at the foot of Mount Qi 岐, and then Ji Li 季歷 attacked the Rong 戎 of Gui 鬼. This evidence shows that "Quan 犬" and "Gui 鬼" were used as names of equal value on some occasions. But this only explains that the Quan 犬 people and the Gui 鬼 people possibly came from the same origin, one should not equate them. For example, there are both the Quanfang 犬方 and the Guifang 鬼方 in the oracle inscriptions, and there are both the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 and the state of Gui 鬼 in the "Hainei Beijing 海內北經" of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經. Even if all were known as "the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬", there are obvious differences between the descendants of the Kunwu 昆吾 and those who lived during the time of the Emperor Ku 嚳, i.e., Gaoxin 高辛.

In conclusion, although available materials show that "Guifang 鬼方" as seen in the oracle inscriptions is not "Quanfang 犬方" as seen in the oracle inscriptions, the possibility cannot be ruled out that both came from the same source, but migrated in different directions and that their names are different transcriptions of the same name. Therefore, the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 as seen in the written documents were quite possibly the descendants of the Guifang 鬼方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions, and the Guifang 鬼方 as seen in the written documents were quite possibly the descendants of the Quanfang 犬方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions.

## C

Besides the Guifang 鬼方, there were the Gongfang 鬲方, one of the important tribes as seen in the oracle inscriptions during the reign period of Wuding 武丁. Here we will study the Gongfang 鬲方,<sup>[58]</sup> then narrate the relations between the Gongfang 鬲方 and the Guifang 鬼方 etc., respectively

1. Gongfang 鬲方 was an antagonistic state of Shang 商. The following oracle inscriptions ask whether the Gongfang's 鬲方 setting out constituted a threat.

Crack-making on *renzi* 壬子, Bin 宀 divined: The Gongfang 舌方 will come out, the King will observe. In the fifth month. 【壬子卜, 宀, 貞舌方出, 王萑. 五月.】 (*Heji* 6096 recto)

Crack-making on *renzi* 壬子, Que 設 divined: The Gongfang 舌方 will come out, there will perhaps no be disaster for us. In the fifth month. 【壬子卜, 設, 貞舌方出, 不佳我有乍困. 五月.】

Crack-making on *renzi* 壬子, Que 設 divined: The Gongfang 舌方 will come out, there will perhaps be disaster to us. 【壬子卜, 設, 貞舌方出, 佳我有乍困.】 (*Heji* 6087 recto)<sup>[59]</sup>

From the following oracle inscriptions we can roughly see the Gongfang's 舌方 invasion of Shang 商.

The King read the cracks and said: "There will be harm and nightmares; there will perhaps be the coming of alarming news". When it came to the seventh day, *yichou* 乙丑, there really was the coming of alarming news from [the west]. Weige[hua] 萑戈[化], reporting, said: "The Gongfang 舌方 are besieging us in our Shi 示.... 【王固曰: 有崇有彊, 其有來艱. 七日乙丑, 允有來艱自[西], 萑戈化乎[告曰: 舌]方显于我示....】 (*Heji* 137 verso)

Crack-making on *guiwei* 癸未, Que 設 divined: In the (next) ten days there will be no [disaster]. [The King, reading the cracks, said:] "[There will be] harm; there will perhaps be the coming of alarming news". When it came to the seventh day, *yichou* 乙丑, there really was the coming of alarming news from the west. Weige[hua] 萑戈[化], reporting, said: "The Gongfang 舌方 are besieging us in [Li 豐], our suburbs. 【癸未卜, 設, 貞旬亡□. [王固曰: 有]崇, 其有來艱. 迄至[七日乙丑], 允有來艱自西, 萑戈[化]告曰: 舌方显于我奠[豐].】 (*Heji* 584 recto A)

Crack-making on [*kui*]wei 癸未, Yong 永 divined: In the (next) ten days there will be no disaster. When it came to the seventh day, *jichou* 己丑, Weiyuhua 萑友化, reporting loudly, said: "The Gongfang 舌方 are besieging us in Li 豐, our suburbs. In the seventh month. 【[癸]未卜, 永, 貞旬亡困. 七日己丑, 萑友化乎告曰: 舌方显于我奠豐. 七月.】 (the *Heji* 6068 recto)

The following allude to the king of Shang's 商 attacks on the Gongfang 舌方.

Crack-making on *yiyou* 乙酉, Que 設 divined: The Gongfang 舌方 will come to attack us, the King will perhaps go out to battle and will not report [Zu] Yi [祖]乙, [will not receive assistance.] 【乙酉卜, 設, 貞舌方衛, 王其[征], 勿告于[祖]乙[句祐].】 (*Heji* 6344)

Crack-making on *yiyou* 乙酉, Que 設 divined: The Gongfang 舌方 will lead the Bu 不 and invade [our territory]. The King will perhaps go out to battle

and will not report to Zu Yi 祖乙, [will not receive assistance]. 【乙酉卜, 殼, 貞舌方衡率伐不, 王其征, 勿告于祖乙[句祐].】 (Heji 6345)

...Que 殼 divined: The Gongfang 舌方 will lead the Bu 不 and invade [our territory]. The King will report to Zu Yi 祖乙 and will perhaps go out to battle, [will not receive assistance]. In the seventh month. 【□□□, 殼, 貞舌方衡率伐不, 王告于祖乙其征, 句祐. 七月.】

...Que 殼 divined: The Gongfang 舌方 will lead the Bu 不 and invade [our territory]. The King will perhaps go out to battle, will report to Zu Yi 祖乙, and will not receive assistance. 【□□□, 殼, 貞舌方衡率伐不, 王其征, 告于祖乙, 句祐.】 (Heji 6347)

...divined: The King will report the Gongfang 舌方 to Zu Yi 祖乙. 【貞告舌方于祖乙.】

...divined: The Gongfang 舌方 will invade [our territory]. The king will not report to Zu Yi 祖乙. 【貞舌方衡, 勿告于祖乙.】 (Heji 6349)

From the following, we can know the scale of mobilization for attacking the Gongfang 舌方.

Crack-making on *bingwu* 丙午, Que 殼 divined: The King will collect three thousand men, and order them to attack the Gongfang 舌方. [The King] will perhaps not receive [assistance]. 【丙午卜, 殼, 貞勿登人三千乎伐舌方, 弗其受[祐].】 (Yingzang 559)

Crack-making on *wuyin* 戊寅, Que 殼 divined: The King will collect three thousand men, and order them to attack the Gongfang 舌方. [The King will perhaps not receive assistance.] 【戊寅卜, 殼, 貞登人三千乎伐舌方, 弗□□□.】 (Heji 6171)

Crack-making on *gengzi* 庚子, Bin 宀 divined: The King will not collect three thousand men, and order them to attack the Gongfang 舌方. The King will not receive assistance. 【庚子卜, 宀, 貞勿登人三千乎伐舌方, 弗受有祐.】 (Heji 6169)

Crack-making on *kuisi* 癸巳, Que 殼 divined: The King will collect men and order them to attack the Gongfang 舌方, and will receive [assistance]. 【癸巳卜, 殼, 貞共人乎伐舌方, 受[有祐].】 (Heji 6172, 6173, 6174)

Que 殼 divined: on the next day, *xinwei* 辛未, [The King] will order an attack on the Gongfang 舌方, and will receive assistance. 【□□□, 殼, 貞翌辛未令伐舌方, 受[有祐].】 (Heji 6173, 6174)

The above-cited oracle inscriptions belong to the reign period of Wuding 武丁. From them, it can be seen that the Gongfang 舌方 constituted a great threat to Shang 商 for a time. It is generally suggested that there are no records of the Gongfang 舌方 in

the oracle inscriptions after the time of Wuding 武丁 because the Gongfang 舌方 had been conquered by Shang 商.

2. In this passage we will discuss the geographical location of Gongfang 舌方. Gongfang 舌方 and Tufang 土方 appeared in the oracle inscription on one and the same plate. This suggests that both were possibly northwest of Shang 商.

[Crack-making on *kuimao* 癸卯, Que 設 divined: In the (next) ten days there will be no] disaster. The King, reading the cracks, said: "There will be harm; there will perhaps be the coming of alarming news". When it came to the seventh day, *jisi* 己巳, there really was the coming of alarming news from the west. Zhangyoujue 長友角, reporting, said: "The Gongfang 舌方 are coming out and have raided our fields in Shilai 示隳 and seventy five men, in the fifth month.

【[癸卯卜，設，貞旬亡]囧。王固曰：有崇，其有來艱。乞至七日己巳，允有來艱自西。長友角告曰：舌方出犍我示隳田，七十五人。五月。】

Crack-making on *kuisi* 癸巳, Que 設 divined: In the (next) ten days there will be no disaster. The King, reading the cracks, said: "There will be harm; there will perhaps be the coming of alarming news". When it came to the fifth day, *dingyou* 丁酉, there really was the coming of alarming news from the west. Zhige (?) 沚臧, reporting, said: "The Tufang 土方 are besieging our eastern borders and have harmed two settlements". The Gongfang 舌方 have also raided the fields of our western borders. 【癸巳卜，設，貞旬亡囧。王固曰：有崇，其有來艱，乞至五日丁酉，允有來艱自西。沚臧告曰：土方屺于我東鄙，戕二邑，舌方亦犍我西鄙田。】 (*Heji* 6057 recto)

Concerning the geographical location of Gongfang 舌方, there are mainly two theories among scholars. One suggests it was in the present Shanxi 陝西, another that it was in Shanxi 山西.

The former theory can be further divided into several variations. One suggests that Gongfang 舌方 was Gong 共 as seen in the "Huangyi 皇矣" poem of the "Daya 大雅" section of the *Shijing* 詩經:<sup>[60]</sup>

The people of Mi 密 were disobedient,  
Daring to oppose our great country,  
And invaded Ruan 阮, marching to Gong 共.

If this were true, Gongfang 舌方 would be located in the southwest, south of Fu 富 County.<sup>[61]</sup> It has also been suggested that Hetao 河套 (Ordos) was possibly included, except in the north of Shanxi 陝西.<sup>[62]</sup>

Opinions concerning the latter theory are also divided. One suggestion is that Gongfang 舌方 was the Mount Zhongtiao 中條 area between Yuanqu 垣曲 and Anyi 安邑.<sup>[63]</sup> Another suggestion is that it was near Taiyuan 太原, because the place



names related to the Gongfang 𠄎方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions are highly concentrated in this region.<sup>[64]</sup> Yet another suggests that it was located in the Shilou 石樓 area, Shanxi 山西.<sup>[65]</sup>

In addition, some suggest that it must have been in the region where Shanxi 陝西 and Shanxi 山西 meet. This is based on the oracle inscriptions, in which it can be seen that the place names related to the Gongfang 𠄎方, such as Yue 戊 (Pinglu 平陸 of Shanxi 山西), Fu 甫 (Yongji 永濟 of Shanxi 山西), Zhang (Jiang 絳 County of Shanxi 山西), Tang 唐 (Yicheng 翼城, near Xia 夏 County), etc., are all in the southwest of Jin 晉.<sup>[66]</sup>

In my opinion, like Quanfang 犬方 and Guifang 鬼方, the geographical location of Gongfang 𠄎方 has not yet been precisely corroborated. The locations held by the above-mentioned theories may not only have been the settlement of the Gongfang 𠄎方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions but could also have been the descendants of the Gongfang 𠄎方. In other words, the various theories are just for reference at the present time.

3. The Gongfang 𠄎方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions were possibly the Guifang 鬼方 as seen of the in some written documents.

Firstly, "Gong 𠄎" [*kong*] and "Gui 鬼" [*kiuəi*] can be taken as different transcriptions of the same name.<sup>[67]</sup>

Secondly, the available oracle inscriptions which record the Gongfang 𠄎方 are over five hundred in number, and date mainly to the reign period of Wuding 武丁. Of them, those which mark the month of invasion amount to over thirty, and the places on the western borders that suffered devastation can be numbered in the tens in these inscriptions. This is sufficient to show that there was long-term contact between Shang 商 and Gongfang 𠄎方. It also agrees with the record in the "Jiji 既濟" trigram of the *Zhouyi* 周易 that states: "Gaozong 高宗 attacked Guifang 鬼方 and vanquished it in three years".<sup>[68]</sup>

Thirdly, from the calendrical system of the Yin 殷 Dynasty, it can be deduced that the time when the Gongfang 𠄎方 invaded and Wuding 武丁 sent armed forces to suppress the invasion was from the end of the twenty-ninth year to the thirty-second year of the reign period of Wuding 武丁. This disagrees with the related record in the *Jinben Zhushu Jinian* 今本竹書紀年 that Wuding 武丁 attacked the Guifang 鬼方 from the thirty-second to the thirty-fourth year of his reign, but there is not much difference between them after all, as both are three years from the beginning to the end. Although the latter may include some errors due to transmission, the basic facts it records are identical with those in the former.<sup>[69]</sup>

Fourthly, as mentioned above, it is possible that Gongfang 𠄎方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions was Gong 共 as seen in the written documents. On the geographical location of Gong 共, there are different opinions among scholars, but all consider that Gong 共, Mi 密, and Ruan 阮 must have been at the adjacent places. The *Shiji* 史記, ch. 32, records that King Wen 武 attacked the Yi 夷 of Quan 犬 at

the same time that he attacked Mixu 密須. Since "Mixu 密須" was Mi 密 as seen in the "Huangyi 皇矣" poem in the "Daya 大雅" section of the *Shijing* 詩經, the Yi 夷 of Quan 犬 could have been the descendants of the Gong 共, i.e., the Gongfang 舌方. "Quan 犬" and "Gui 鬼" were different transcriptions of the same name. This also shows that the Gongfang 舌方 could have been called the Guifang 鬼方 in the written documents.

It must be pointed out that one should not draw the conclusion from this that the Gongfang 舌方 can be identified with the Guifang 鬼方 of the oracle inscriptions. Both Gongfang 舌方 and Guifang 鬼方 were northwest of Shang 商, but their concrete locations have not been corroborated. Thus there is no conclusive evidence to identify them with each other.<sup>[70]</sup>

In sum, from the available materials, the possibility can not be ruled out that the Gongfang 舌方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions were the Guifang 鬼方 as seen in some written documents, though the Guifang 鬼方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions were not the same as the Gongfang 舌方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions.

## D

As mentioned above, the Quanfang 犬方, the Guifang 鬼方 and the Gongfang 舌方 came from the same source, but migrated in different directions, and "Quan 犬", "Gui 鬼" and "Gong 舌" were different transcriptions of one and the same name. While the Xianyun 獫狁 or 猯狁 as seen in the written documents and the inscriptions on ancient bronze objects were possibly not only the descendants of the Quanfang 犬方, the Guifang 鬼方, and the Gongfang 舌方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions, they may also have included the descendants of another branch of the Quan 犬 people, unrelated to the aforesaid three groups, who moved west. As for the Xiongnu 匈奴, their name can also be taken as a different transcription of "Xianyun 獫狁" or "Xianyun 猯狁"; the Xiongnu people were possibly the Quan 犬 people who had moved north by the end of Xia 夏 times.

1. In the written documents, the Xianyun 獫狁 first appear in the "Xiaoya" section of the *Shijing* 詩經. It is generally suggested the situation described in the "Caiwei 采薇" poem of the "Xiaoya 小雅" was the same as that during the reign period of King Yi 懿, and the others, i.e., the "Chuche 出車", "Liuyue 六月" and "Caiqi 采芑" poems, that of King Xuan 宣.

There is no clear and definite record on the settlement of the Xianyun 獫狁. However, the lands that they moved to and from can be traced back, owing to its frequent invasions of Zong Zhou 宗周. On the basis of the "Chuche 出車" and "Liuyue 六月" poems, and the Buqikui 不期簋 and Duoyouding 多友鼎 inscriptions, it can be seen that the lands were located mainly in the valley of the Jing 涇 River. And on the basis of the Guojizi Baipan 虢季子白盤 and Xijiapan 兮甲盤

inscriptions, the Xianyun's 獯狁 lands that they moved to and from would still include a part of the valley of the Luo 洛 River.<sup>[71]</sup> There is no direct evidence to declare that the valleys of the Jing 涇 and Luo 洛 rivers were the lands the Xianyun 獯狁 occupied, but the possibility remains that part of the valleys of both rivers (especially the Jing 涇 River) were the settlement of the Xianyun 獯狁. And as mentioned above, these regions were also the lands occupied by the Rong of Quan 犬 during Shang 商 and Zhou 周 times. Therefore, the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 were quite possibly the Xianyun 獯狁 or their predecessors.

2. In the "Lianghuiwang 梁惠王 B" chapter of the *Mengzi* 孟子 it is recorded that "King Wen 文王 served the Yi 夷 of Hun 混. ...King Tai 太 served the Xunzhuo 獯鬻". It seems that the Yi 夷 of Hun 混 and Xunzhuo 獯鬻 were not identical. However, since the "Mian 緜" poem of the "Daya 大雅" section of the *Shijing* 詩經 says that, after King Tai 太 had chosen a site for the capital, cutting down timber and making roads, then the Yi 夷 of Hun 混 ran away in fear of his power. Thus it can be seen that those whom King Tai 太 served were the Yi 夷 of Kun 昆. In the *Mengzi* 孟子, the Yi 夷 of Kun 昆 were replaced by the Xunzhuo 獯鬻, with a different name but the same substance as the Yi 夷 of Kun because there is the wording "King Wen 文 served the Yi 夷 of Hun 混" in the preceding text.<sup>[72]</sup> If this is true, the Yi 夷 of Hun 混 or the Yi 夷 of Quan 犬 could also be called "Xunzhuo 獯鬻".

The preface to the "Caiwei 采薇" poem of the "Xiaoya 小雅" section of the *Shijing* 詩經 says, "At the time of King Wen 文 there were the troubles of the Yi 夷 of Kun 昆 in the west and the trials of the Xianyun 獯狁 in the north". The preface of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書 also says that "After King Wen 文 had ascended the throne, he resisted the Yi 夷 of Kun 昆 in the west, and he prepared to fight against the Xianyun 獯狁 in the north". The old pronunciations of 獯 and 狁 were the same: "獯狁" was "獯狁". As the Yi 夷 of Kun 昆 were also the Xianyun (獯狁 or 獯狁), they are mentioned in a staggered form in the two prefaces, just as in the *Mengzi* 孟子.<sup>[73]</sup> "The Yi 夷 of Kun 昆" must have been the "the Yi 夷 of Hun 混", while "the Xianyun" 獯狁 or 獯狁 [xian-jiuən] and "Xunzhou 獯鬻" [xiuən-jiəuk] can be regarded as different transcriptions of the same name.<sup>[74]</sup> The above-cited preface of the poem, and so on, say nothing but that there were the troubles of the Yi 夷 of Kun 昆, i.e., Xianyun 獯狁, in the west and in the north during the reign period of King Wen 文.

3. In the *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳, ch. 5, it is recorded that "The Bi 畢 people reported the disaster of the Rong 戎 and said 'the Di 翟 of Jun 隃 have invaded'. The Son of Heaven ordered Meng Yu 孟兪 to reach Bi 畢 and attack the Rong 戎". Thereupon, "the Di 翟 of Jun 隃 offered bribes: one hundred *si* 駟 (a team of four horses) of fine horses, and returned the captured Bi 畢 people so as to become reconciled".<sup>[75]</sup> On "the Di 翟 of Jun 隃", an old commentary says, "It was a state with the surname Wei 隃". This shows that "Jun 隃" was a shortened version

of "Xianyun 獫狁", because "Yun 狁" [jiuən] can be regarded as a [phonetic] loan characters for "Jun 隃" [siuən]. That the Xianyun 獫狁 were known as the Di (翟 or 狄) is conclusive evidence to identify the Guifang 鬼方 with the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬.

4. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110, it is recorded that "The ancestor of the Xiongnu 匈奴 was a descendant of the rulers of the Xia 夏 Dynasty by the name of Chunwei 淳維. As early as the time of Tang 唐 and Yu 虞, and even before, we hear of these people, known as the Rong 戎 of Shan 山, and Xianyun 獫狁, or Xunzhou 葷粥, living in the region of the northern barbarians and wandering from place to place pasturing their animals". Zhang Yan's 張晏 commentary, cited by *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 110, says, "Chunwei 淳維 had escaped to the northern borders by Yin 殷 times". Yue Chan's 樂產 *Kuodipu* 括地譜, cited by the same book also says, "Jie 桀 of the Xia 夏 Dynasty was unprincipled, thus he was banished to Mingtiao 鳴條 by Tang 湯, and died there three years later. Xunzhuo 獯粥, his son, married Jie's 桀 numerous concubines, took refuge on the northern plain, and wandered from place to place pasturing his animals. The Middle State called him and his people Xiongnu 匈奴". Combining the records of Zhang 張 and Yue 樂, it can be seen that "Chunwei 淳維" and "Xunzhuo 獯粥" were different transcriptions of the same name. This is in accordance with Sima Zhen's 司馬貞 view that "The ancestor of the Xiongnu 匈奴 was Chunwei 淳維, who can be identified with Xunzhuo 獯粥". If this is true, the pronunciation of "淳" here must have been like "郭". This is probably because its phonetic element is "章" and not "韋", which is a textual error caused by the similarity in form of the two elements. A similar example is "埠". According to the "Hainei Dongjing 海內東經" of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經, there was a state named "埠端" within the Flowing Sands. On the basis of Guo's 郭 commentary, the pronunciation of "埠" is the same as "敦", but according to the "Rusheng (entering tone) B" chapter of the *Jiyun* 集韻 (vol. 10), the pronunciation of "埠" is the same as "郭" [kuak]. Therefore, "Chunwei 淳維" [kuak-jiuəi] can be regarded as a different transcription of "Xunzhuo 獯粥" [xiuən-tjiəuk].

Since "Chunwei 淳維", i.e., "Xunzhuo 獯粥" can be regarded as a different transcriptions of "Xianyun" (獫狁 or 獫狁), i.e., "Yi 夷 of Quan 犬" or "Yi 夷 of Kun 昆", the statement "Chunwei 淳維 had escaped to the northern borders by Yin 殷 times" means only that a branch of the Quan 犬 people had moved north by the end of the Xia 夏 Dynasty, and that they were the ancestors of Xiongnu 匈奴 [xiōng-na]. Ying Shao's 應劭 *Fengsutong* 風俗通, cited by *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 110, says, "They were known as Xunzhuo in Yin 殷 times, and became Xiongnu 匈奴 afterwards". Fu Qian's 服虔 commentary, cited by the same book says, "They were known as Xunzhuo 獯粥 in the time of Yao 堯, as Xianyun 獫狁 during the Zhou 周, and as Xiongnu 匈奴, during the Qin 秦". And Weizhao's 韋昭 commentary again, cited by the same book, says, "They were known by the name of Xiongnu 匈奴 in Han 漢 times. Hunzhuo 葷粥 was their alternative name",

etc. <sup>[76]</sup> These references can be regarded as evidence that "Chunwei 淳維", i.e., "Xunzhuo 獮粥" or "Hunzhuo 葷粥" [*xiuən-tjiəuk*], "Xianyun 獫狁", etc., came from the same origin.

Since the Xiongnu 匈奴 were the Quan 犬 people who had moved north by the end of the Xia 夏 times, it can be understood that there were no Xiongnu 匈奴 before this time. The reference "the time of Tang 唐 and Yu 虞, and even before", etc., can not be regarded as relating to those who lived in the region of the northern barbarians before the Xiongnu 匈奴. Rather, it should be interpreted as meaning that the Xianyun 獫狁 or Hunzhuo 葷粥 might have been the predecessors of the Xiongnu 匈奴. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 86, it is recorded that "Anciently, the Gaoxin 高辛 had suffered an invasion by the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬". Li's 李 commentary says, "[The lord of] the Gaoxin 高辛" refers to Emperor Ku 嚳. From this, it can be seen that Sima Qian's 司馬遷 statement "the time of Tang 唐 and Yu 虞 and even before" refers to the time of Gaoxin 高辛, i.e., Emperor Ku 嚳, and "Xianyun 獫狁", "Hunzhuo 葷粥", etc., were all other terms for the Xiongnu 匈奴. Because they are side by side in the reference, it can be considered that the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 had divided into various branches.

As for the reference that the ancestors of the Xiongnu 匈奴 were "descendant of the rulers of the Xia 夏 Dynasty", as Sima Zhen 司馬貞 said, "It may well be like this". One need not delve deeply into it seriously.

5. The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94A, mentions the prehistory of the Xiongnu 匈奴, and says,

When the power of the Xia 夏 Dynasty declined, Gongliu 公劉, the ancestor of the Zhou 周 Dynasty, having lost his position as minister of grain, went to live among the Western Rong 戎 barbarians, adopting their ways and founding a city at Bin 豳. Some three hundred years later the Rong 戎 and Di 狄 tribes attacked Gongliu's 公劉 descendant, the King Tai 太, Danfu 亶父. Danfu 亶父 fled to the foot of Mount Qi 岐 and the whole population of Bin 豳 followed after him, founding a new city there. This was the beginning of the Zhou 周 State. A hundred and some years later, Chang 昌, the Zhou 周 count of the West, attacked the Yi 夷 of Quan 畎 tribe, and ten or twelve years later, his son, King Wu 武, overthrew Emperor Zhou 紂 (the last ruler of the Shang 商 Dynasty) and founded a new capital at Luo 雒. He also occupied the regions of Feng 酆 and Hao 鎬, drove the barbarians north beyond the Jing 涇 and Luo 洛 rivers, and obliged them to bring tribute to his court at specified times. Their lands were known as "the submissive wastes". Some two hundred years later, when the power of the Zhou 周 Dynasty had declined, King Mu 穆 attacked the Rong 戎 of Quan 畎 and brought back with him four white wolves and four white deer which he had seized. From this time on, the peoples of the "submissive wastes" no longer journeyed to court. At this time the Zhou 周 adopted the penal code of Marquis Lü 呂. By the time of King Yi 懿, a

grandson of King Mu 穆, the royal family had declined and various barbarians invaded alternately, ravaging the Middle State. The Middle State was deeply troubled by this fearful cruelty, and therefore the poets rose and wrote with alarm: "Wife and husband will be separated because of the Xianyun 獫狁". "Shall we not daily warn one another? The business of the Xianyun 獫狁 is very urgent". King Xuan 宣, the great-grandson of King Yi 懿, sent his army and ordered the generals to attack. The poets praised his exploits and wrote: "We struck at the Xianyun 獫狁; / And drove them to the Taiyuan 大原 (great plain)". "We sent forth our chariots in a majestic array", "To build a wall in that northern region". That time was admired as one of resurgence, because the barbarians of the borders came as allies. King You 幽 of the Zhou 周, egged on by his beloved concubine Baosi 褒姒, quarreled with Marquis Shen 申. In anger, Marquis Shen 申 joined forces with the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 and attacked and killed King You 幽 at the foot of Mount Li 麗. Eventually the barbarians seized the region of Jiaohuo 焦獲 from Zhou 周, occupied the area between the Jing 涇 and Wei 渭 rivers, and invaded and plundered the Middle State. Duke Xiang 襄 of Qin 秦 came to the rescue of the Zhou 周 court, and King You's 幽 successor, King Ping 平 abandoned the regions of Feng 酈 and Hao 鎬 and moved his capital east to the city of Luo 雒. At this time Duke Xiang 襄 of Qin 秦 attacked the barbarians and advanced as far as Mount Qi 邽; as a result, he was for the first time ranked among the feudal lords of the Zhou 周 Dynasty.

A similar record also appears in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110.

In addition, the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 73, records Wang Shun 王舜 and Liu Xin's 劉歆 speech: "We have heard that after the Zhou 周 Dynasty had declined, the barbarians on the borders of the Middle State invaded. Of them the Xianyun 獫狁, which are the present Xiongnu 匈奴 were the most powerful". This is the earliest known theory about the Xianyun 獫狁-Xiongnu 匈奴 identity.

From this, it can be seen that the Xianyun 獫狁 and the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 and even the Xiongnu 匈奴 could be traced to the same origin in the eyes of the people in Western and Eastern Han 漢 times. On the basis of this, one can not equate the Xianyun 匈奴 with the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 or the Xiongnu 匈奴, but there is no harm in drawing the conclusion that the three had the same origin.

6. The above-cited record in the "Hainei Beijing 海內北經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 seems to indicate that Quanfeng 犬封, i.e., the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬, were those who were skilled at taming dogs. The terms "Yi 夷 of Quan 犬" or "Rong 戎 of Quan 犬" had given consideration to both the pronunciation and the meaning of the ancient word for "dog". And, according to the explanation under the "*Quan* 犬" radical of the *Shuowen* 說文 (ch. 10A), "*xian* 獫 means a dog with long mouth", thus terms such as "Xianyun 獫狁", etc., also convey this meaning. In

the "Wanghuijie 王會解" chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書 it is recorded that "The Rong 戎 of Xiong 匈 [offer] their strong dogs. The strong dogs have a big mouth, red body, and legs four *chi* 尺 (feet) high".<sup>[77]</sup> The Rong 戎 of Xiong 匈 must have been the Xiongnu 匈奴. This shows that the Xiongnu 匈奴 were very closely related to dogs.

7. In regard to the fact that the Xianyun 獫狁 and the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬, the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 and the Xiongnu 匈奴, and the Hu 胡 and the Gui 鬼, came from the same origins, respectively, the following can be taken as collateral evidence.

Firstly, in the Donggui 戎簋 inscription dates from the reign period of King Mu 穆 of the Western Zhou 周 (c. 850s B.C.), which was discovered in Fufeng 扶風 County in 1975, the following is recorded:

On the day of *yiyou* 乙酉 in the first ten day period of the sixth month, Dong 戎 had been at Tangshi 鞏自. The Rong 戎 invaded Qun 鞏. Dong 戎, leading officers and generals, running, pursued and resisted the Rong 戎 at Yulin 械林, then struggled with the Rong 戎 of Hu 馱... 【佳六月初吉乙酉, 才鞏自. 戎伐鞏, 戎達有鬪、師氏徯追禦戎于械林, 博戎馱....】

It is generally suggested that character "馱" can be identified with "Hu 胡".

As for "Yulin 械林", one suggestion is that it appears in the statement of the *Zhuozhuan* 左傳 (the sixteenth year of Duke Xiang 襄) "In the sixth month, in summer, the army halted at Yulin 械林. On the day of *gengyin* 庚寅 an attack was launched against Xu 許, halting at Hanshi 函氏". Du's 杜 commentary says, "Yulin 械林 and Hanshi 函氏 were both in the land of Xu 許". Xu's 許 capital was in Ye 葉, which is located in the present county of Ye 葉, Henan 河南. At that time, Yulin 械林 was to the northeast of the seat of the county government. Since Dong 戎, "running, pursued and resisted the Rong 戎 at Yulin 械林, then struggled with the Rong 戎 of Hu 馱", Yulin 械林 was near Hu 胡. The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28A, records that there was a Ruyin 女陰 County in Runan 汝南 Prefecture". The commentary says, Ruyin 女陰 was "the former state of Hu 胡". This shows that the state of Hu 胡 in Western Zhou 周 times is the present county of Fuyang 阜陽, Anhui 安徽. In the *Shiji*, ch. 63, it is recorded that "Anciently, Duke Wu 武 of Zheng 鄭 wanted to attack the Hu 胡" and the *Shiben* 世本 cited by *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 63, makes mention of "Hu 胡 by the surname of Gui 歸".<sup>[78]</sup> In my opinion, the old pronunciation of "Hu 胡" was close to that of "Gui 鬼". In fact, "Hu 胡" may be identified with "Gui 歸", and also with "Gui 鬼". Some bronze wares stored in a cellar were discovered at the village of Renbei 任北 in Wugong 武功 County, Shanxi 陝西 in 1978. Of them, three shells of the *gui* 簋 (a utensils to be used in filling broomcorn millet when a memorial ceremony or was held), made by Hu Shu 馱叔 and Hu Ji 馱姬 for their daughter Bo Wei 伯隗 as dowry, can also be regarded as evidence.<sup>[79]</sup>

It is also suggested that Yulin 械林 was located roughly on the western bank of the Jing 涇 River, in the present Fufeng-Baoji 寶鷄 area.<sup>[80]</sup> If this is true, then the Hu 胡 of Rong 戎 were the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 attacked by King Mu 穆. This is because the "Rong 戎 of Quan 犬" are called "Hu" in the above-cited record from the *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳, ch. 4. This shows that, like the Xiongnu 匈奴, the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 were known as "Hu 胡".

Secondly, the "Chuche 出車" poem of the "Xiaoya 小雅" section of the *Shijing* 詩經 sings:

Awe-inspiring was Nan Zhong 南仲,  
the Xianyun 獫狁 were sure to be swept away!

.....  
The awe-inspiring Nan Zhong 南仲  
Are smiting the Western Rong 戎".

This shows that the Xianyun 獫狁 were called the Western Rong 戎. And the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 also were known as the Western Rong 戎. For example, in the "Jinyu 晉語 1" of the *Guoyu* 國語, it is recorded that "The Shen 申 people and the Zeng 鄭 people summoned the Western Rong 戎 to attack Zhou 周, and thereupon Zhou 周 was destroyed". And in the parallel passage of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 4 and 5, they are also noted as "Western Yi 夷" and "Western Rong 戎" respectively.<sup>[81]</sup>

Thirdly, the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 43, records a letter sent by Su Li 蘇厲 to King Huiwen 惠文 of Zhao 趙 for Qi 齊, which stated that if Qin 秦 dispatched troops, crossed Mount Gouzhu 句注, and cut off the road to Changshan 常山, then "the horses of Dai 代 and the dogs of the Hu 胡 will not descend east and the jade of Mount Kun 崑 will not come out". It is very possible that the "dogs of the Hu 胡" refers to the dogs from the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬.

8. The following are additional remarks:

Firstly, the "Huangyi 皇矣" poem of the "Daya 大雅" section of the *Shijing* 詩經 reads, "God having brought about the removal thither of this intelligent ruler, The Huan 串 hordes fled away". Zheng's 鄭 commentary says, "The Yi 夷 of Huai 串 are the Yi 夷 of Hun 混, the name of a state in the Western Rong 戎". This shows that the Yi 夷 of Hun 混, i.e., the Xianyun 獫狁, were also called "the Yi 夷 of Huan 串", because the pronunciation of "串" here was similar to "患" [*hoan*], which was a homophone of "犬".<sup>[82]</sup>

Secondly, in the "Yiyin Chaoxian 伊尹朝獻" section attached to the "Wanghuijie 王會解" chapter of the *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書, it is recorded that there were the Kunlun 昆侖 and Guiqin 鬼親 due west, and the Di 翟, Xiongnu 匈奴, etc. due north. It is suggested that, since the Guiqin 鬼親 and the state of Gou 狗 (dog) can be identified with the Guifang 鬼方 and the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 (dog) respectively, the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬, Guifang 鬼方, Di 翟, and Xiongnu 匈奴,



etc., were all different tribes.<sup>[83]</sup> In my opinion, this view is inadequate, because the following possibilities can not be ruled out: First, the records in the "Yiyin Chaoxian 伊尹朝獻" section are in fact the accumulation of records from different times. Secondly, the above-stated various tribes originally belonged to the same tribe, but they were located at different locations due to their moving in separate groups. In other words, it is impossible to deny their having same origin.

Thirdly, in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, it is recorded that "The Gaoche 高車 were possibly the remnants of the ancient Red Di 狄. They were first known as Dili 狄歷, were called Laile 勒勒 by the northern tribes, and were named Gaoche 高車 or Dingling 丁零 by the various Xia 夏". It seems that the origin of the Red Di 狄 and the Guifang 鬼方 was not the same as the Xiongnu 匈奴. But the remnants of the ancient Red Di 狄 must not only have had the surname of Wei 隗, i.e., the Guifang 鬼方. One can not deny that the Guifang 鬼方 and the Xiongnu 匈奴 had the same origin owing to the origin of the Gaoche 高車 and even that of the Dingling 丁零 being different from that of the Xiongnu 匈奴. In addition, the same chapter also says that the ancestors of the Gaoche 高車 were "the nephew of the Xiongnu 匈奴" very probably because of the relationship between the Gaoche 高車 and a part of the Red Di 狄 whose surname was Wei 隗, i.e., Guifang 鬼方.

Fourthly, of the tribes of the Xiongnu 匈奴 as seen in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110, "Hunyu 渾庾" [*kuən-jio*] and "Hunxie 渾邪" [*kuən-zya*] may be tribes of the Kunwu 昆吾 who moved north, because both names can be regarded as different transcriptions of Kunwu 昆吾 [*kuən-nga*].

In sum, the Yi 夷 of Hun 混, Kun 昆, Quan 犬, Huan 串, Rong 戎 of Quan 犬, Hunzhuo 葷粥, Xunzhuo 獯鬻, Chunwei 淳維, Xianyun 獫狁 (or 獯狁) and even Xiongnu 匈奴 were different transcriptions of one and the same name. Chunwei 淳維, Hunzhuo 葷粥, Xunzhuo 獯鬻, Xianyun 獫狁 (or 獯狁), Xiongnu 匈奴 are complete transcriptions; Hun 混, Kun 昆, Huan 串 and Quan 犬 are shortened versions.

## E

That the Quanfang 犬方, the Guifang 鬼方 and the Xianyun 獫狁, and so on came from the same origin can also be shown on the basis of the evidence of physical anthropology combined with the related records of Western literature:

1. The Xiongnu 匈奴 were a complicated tribal association, but the possibility can not be ruled out that their nuclear tribe was Europoid.<sup>[84]</sup> The possibility that the racial classification of the Quanfang 犬方 and the Guifang 鬼方, etc., was similar is as follows.

Firstly, *Gui* 鬼 is a pictograph. According to the explanation for the "鬼" character in the *Gui* 鬼 radical of the *Shuowen* 說文 (vol. 9A), "[*Gui*] is to

describe the head of a ghost". The Rong 戎 of Quan's 犬 being called "Gui 鬼" must have been in order to describe the differences between their features and that of others by means of the "鬼" character.<sup>[85]</sup> Ancient transcriptions often took meaning into account as well. The term "Gui 鬼" also considered the physical characteristics of the Gui 鬼 people. And the term "Quan 犬" or "Xianyun 獫狁" considered their totem. And so forth.

Secondly, according to the "Dahuang Beijing 大荒北經" of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經, the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 also were called "White Dog". This may be because color of their skin was paler than that of others. It should be pointed out that the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 who were called White Dog were the descendants of Luzhong 陸終 and the younger sister of the lord of the Guifang 鬼方. They should be distinguished from the general Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 or Guifang 鬼方 in the ordinary course of events. However, since there is no record that the Luzhong 陸終 were a white race, we may consider that the name white dog was applied to one particular group because of a variation in physical characteristics that had appeared among the Luzhong 陸終 people. And the root of this variation was the marriage of the younger sister of the lord of the Guifang 鬼方 into the Luzhong 陸終.

The white race appears repeatedly in ancient Chinese literature. For example, in the "Haiwai Xijing 海外西經" of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 it is recorded that "The state of Baimin 白民 (White People) is to the north of Dragon Fish. They have white skin and wear their hair down. There is a Chenghuang 乘黃 (Ride Yellow) like the fox with a horn on its back. Riding it grants one a life of two thousand years". Guo's commentary says, the state of Baimin 白民 refers to "the people who have white bodies". In the "Wanghuijie 王會解" of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書 it is also recorded that "The Baimin 白民 [offers] Chenghuang 乘黃, which is like a *qi* 麒 (麒 may be a textual error of *hu* 狐, i.e., fox), i.e., unicorn with two horns on its back". And in the "Dixingxun 墜形訓" of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 it is recorded that "There are ... the Baimin 白民 (White people) from the northwest to the southwest". Gao You's 高誘 commentary says, "The Baimin 白民 have white bodies. The people wear their hair down, and their hair is also white".

It may be possible that the people of the state of Baimin 白民 and the Quan 犬 people came from the same origin. This is because the "Wanghuijie 王會解" chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書 also says, "The Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 [offers] a striped horse with red mane, white body, and its eyes like gold, which is called Guhuang 古黃". In the "Hainei Beijing 海內北經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 it is recorded that "The state of Quanfeng 犬封 is called the state of Rong 戎 of Quan 犬. The people resemble dogs. There is a girl kneeling, offering a club and food. There is a striped horse with a white body, red hair, and its eyes like gold, which is called Jiliang 吉量. Whoever rides it will live one thousand years". "Guhuang 古黃" is written as "Jihuang 吉黃" in a copy. "吉量" is a textual error for "古黃" or "吉黃". There are various explanations for "Chenghuang 乘黃", but the correct

explanation would seem to be "(chariot) team of Gu (Ji) huang 古 (吉) 黄".<sup>[86]</sup> This shows that the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 had the same special local product as the state of Baimin 白民. It can be regarded as evidence to prove that the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 and the state of Baimin 白民 had the same origin. Since those who have white bodies and dishevelled hair were possibly of the white race, the possibility can also not be ruled out that the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 were a white race.

Thirdly, in the "Dixi 帝繫" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記 it is recorded that "The Yellow Emperor dwelt in Xuanyuan 軒轅 Hill and took a wife from the Xiling 西陵. The daughter of [the lord of] the Xiling 西陵, who was called Leizu 嫫祖, begot Qingyang 青陽 and Changyi 昌意. ...Changyi 昌意 took a wife from the Shushan 蜀山. The daughter of [the lord of] the Shushan 蜀山, who was called Changpu 昌濮, begot Zhuangu 顓頊. Zhuangu 顓頊 took a wife from the Teng 滕. The daughter of Ben 奔, [the lord of] the Teng 滕, who was called Nülu 女祿, begot Laotong 老童. Laotong 老童 took a wife from the Jieshui 竭水. The daughter of [the lord of] the Jieshui 竭水, who was called Gaogua 高緇, begot Zhongli 重黎 and Wuhui 吳回. Wuhui 吳回 begot Luzhong 陸終. Luzhong 陸終 took a wife from the Guifang 鬼方. The younger sister of [the lord of] the Guifang 鬼方, who was called Nütui 女隤, begot six sons. She was pregnant but did not beget for three years. Then she opened up the left side of her body from the armpit to the waist, and six men came out". The *Shiben* 世本, cited by *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 371, says, "Luzhong 陸終 married the younger sister of [the lord of] the Guifang 鬼方, who was Nütui 女隤, and begot six sons. She was pregnant but did not beget for three years. She then opened up the left side of her body from the armpit to the waist and three men came out, then, another three came out from the right side". These two records have only minor differences. According to research, the legend of coming out from the mother's armpit is a special motif, which is belongs to Indo-European fable.<sup>[87]</sup> For example, in the "Pusa Jiangshenpin 菩薩降身品, the second" chapter of the *Xiuxing Benqijing* 修行本起經 (*Cārya-nidāna-sūtra*), translated by Mahabāla and Kang Mengxiang 康孟祥 in the Eastern Han 漢 times, it is mentioned:

Sākyamuni bodhisattva thereupon was transformed and rode a white elephant; he came and was reincarnated in his mother's body. ...Ten months were over; the prince's body had formed. On the seventh day of the fourth month... when the ladyship climbed the branch, the prince come out from her right armpit and fell to the earth. He then walked seven steps, raised his hands and said, "I am the most honorable above and under heaven".<sup>[88]</sup>

Other texts such as the *Foshuo Taizi Ruiying Benqijing* 佛說太子瑞應本起經 (*Kumāra-kuśalaphala-nidāna-sūtra*) vol. 1, translated by Zhi Qian 支謙 in Wu 吳 times,<sup>[89]</sup> and so on, record the legend that Buddha was born from either the right or left armpit of his mother. In addition, there is a similar legend in relation to Indra, the

Great God in India. On the basis of the *Rgveda Samhita* (4.18.2), Indra speaks himself "I shall not come forth by this path, for this passage is hard to break; let me come forth obliquely from this side".<sup>[90]</sup> It should be noted that, according to the "Dixi 帝繫", there were none who were born from the armpit before Luzhong 陸終. Therefore, the legend undoubtedly derived from the Guifang 鬼方 from whom Luzhong 陸終 took his wife. Thus the suspicion that the Guifang 鬼方 were Indo-European cannot be eliminated.

2. According to the *History* of Herodotus<sup>[91]</sup> (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. Of them, "Arimaspi" means "one-eyed person". These references by Herodotus are based mainly on the "Arimaspea", a long epic poem by Aristeas of Proconnesus in which he describes what he had seen and heard during his journey into Central Asia in the second half of the seventh century B.C. Therefore, this ethnic migration must have taken place towards the end of the seventh century B.C. at the latest.

This account of Arimaspeae is not unique, but has its counterpart. There are also the records on "one-eyed person" in the Chinese historical books. In the "Hainei Beijing 海內北經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經, it is recorded that "The state of Gui 鬼 is north of Erfu's 貳負 Corpse. These creatures have a human face and one eye. Some say Erfu 貳負 Spirit is to the east, and that these things have a human face and snake body". In the "Hawai Beijing 海外北經" chapter of the same book it is recorded that "The state of Yimu 一目 (One Eye) is to the east. They have one eye in the center of their face. Some say they have hands and feet". In the "Dahuang Beijing 大荒北經" chapter of the same book it is recorded that "There are people with one eye in the middle of their face. Some say their surname is Wei 威, and that they are descendants of Shaohao 少昊. They eat millet". Hao Yixing's 郝懿行 commentary says, "These people were known as the state of Yimu 一目". Also, in the "Dixingxun 墜形訓" chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 it is stated that "There are people who have one eye, ...from the northeast to the northwest". It has been suggested that the state of Yimu 一目 whose surname was Wei 威 [iuəi], were the Guifang 鬼方. The reason for their being called "Yimu 一目" (One eye) is that their nose and mouth were covered by a face guard, leaving only a hole on the face through which the eyes appeared.<sup>[92]</sup>

Also, on the basis of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 5, in the thirty-seventh year of Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦 (623 B.C.), "Qin attacked the king(s) of the Rong 戎 by using the stratagem of Youyu 由余. Thus it increased the lands of the twelve states, opened up territories which extended for one thousand *li* 里, and came to dominate the Western Rong 戎". It is very possible that the sequential migrations of nomadic tribes on the Eurasian steppes described by Herodotus were precipitated by this opening up

territories.<sup>[93]</sup> And in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110, it is recorded that "Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦, having obtained the services of Youyu 由余, succeeded in forcing the eight barbarian tribes of the west to submit to his authority. Thus, at this time there lived in the region west of Long 隴 the Mianzhu 緜諸, the Rong of Gun 緄, the Di 翟 and the Rong 戎 of Yuan 獯. In the north of Qi 岐 and Liang 梁 mountains, and the Jing 涇 and Qi 漆 rivers lived the Rong of Yiqu 義渠, Dali 大荔, Wushi 烏氏, and Quyan 胸衍. In the north of Jin 晉 were the Lin Hu 林胡 and the Rong of Loufan 樓煩, while to the north of Yan 燕 lived the Eastern Hu 胡 and the Rong 戎 of Shan 山. All of them were scattered about in their own little valleys, each with their own chieftains. From time to time they would have gatherings of a hundred or more men, but no one tribe was capable of unifying the others under a single ruler". This shows that the various tribes included the Rong 戎 of Gun 緄. "Rong 戎 of Gun 緄" is noted as "Rong 戎 of Quan 畎" in the parallel passage of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110A. Yan's 顏 commentary says "the Yi 夷 of Quan 畎 were the Rong 戎 of Quan 畎, and were also called the Yi 夷 of Kun 昆. 'Kun 昆' is sometimes noted as 'Hun 混' or 'Gun 緄'.... The pronunciations of 'Kun 昆', 'Hun 混' and 'Quan 畎' were similar, thus the 'Rong 戎 of Gun 緄' were also called the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬". This shows that another name of "the Rong 戎 of Gun 緄" was "Rong 戎 of Quan 犬", i.e., "the Yi 夷 of Quan 畎" and they can also be referred to as "Guifang 鬼方" or "state of Yimu 一目". This tallies completely with the related record of Herodotus.

Also, regarding the same matter, in the "Jingshenxun 精神訓" chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, it is recorded that "The king of the Hu 胡 lost his good land, owing to wallowing in the joys of female musical entertainers". The "Zhushuxun 主術訓" chapter of the same book states, "The king of the Hu was fond of music, thus Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦 enticed him by means of female musical entertainers". Gao's 高 commentary says, "Hu 胡 refers to the lord of the Western Rong 戎. Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦 wanted to attack him, and first sent female musical entertainers to sap his will. Youyu 由余, his subject, admonished him, but he did not heard Youyu's 由余 advice. Thereupon he departed from the Rong 戎 and went to Qin 秦. Qin 秦 attacked the Rong 戎, and captured their good lands". "Hu 胡" here must have referred to the Rong 戎 of Gun 緄.

It should be noted that, in the "Dahuang Beijing 大荒北經" of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經, the Yimu 一目 people are referred to as "descendants of Shaohao 少昊". The import of this statement awaits further research.

3. On the basis of the record of Apollodorus (c. 200 B.C. ) cited in the *Geography* of Strabo<sup>[94]</sup> (XI, 11-1), it is said that says, the kings in Bactria "extended their empire even as far as the Seres and Phryni". It is suggested that since Seres here refers to China, Phryni must have referred to the Hun (Xiongnu 匈奴).<sup>[95]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. By the end of the third century B. C., the influence of the Xiongnu 匈奴 was still very limited. To their west were the Yuezhi 月氏, a

powerful nomadic tribe. The sphere of influence of the Yuezhi 月氏 stretched from Hetao 河套 in the east to the Tian 天 Mountains and the Altai in the west.<sup>[96]</sup> Therefore, it is impossible that the sphere of influence of the kingdom of Graeco-Bactria reached to the Xiongnu 匈奴.<sup>[97]</sup> In other words, the Phryni must not have been the Xiongnu 匈奴.

In addition, the *Natural History* (VI, 20) of Pliny<sup>[98]</sup> says that the settlement of the Tochari was close to that of the Phuni. Dionysius' *Periegesis*<sup>[99]</sup> also says that the Tochari and Seres neighbored the Phryni. It is suggested that the Phuni and Phryni can be identified with the Xiongnu 匈奴.<sup>[100]</sup> In my opinion, it is quite possible that Pliny (23-79 A.D.) and Dionysius (c. 3-4 century A.D.) themselves knew the Xiongnu 匈奴 to some extent. However their records related to the Phuni and Phryni followed those of Apollodorus, and thus cannot be regarded as record of their time. In other words, the Phuni or Phryni should not be equated with the Xiongnu 匈奴.

It is generally suggested that the Seres, as seen in western records, refers to China, mainly because of producing silk. But the *Natural History* of Pliny says that they had "flaxen hair and blue eyes" (VI, 24). From this, it can be seen that Seres were not the Chinese who produced silk. And, on the basis of the same book, the settlement of the Seres was roughly located to the east of Scythians and to the north of India. There were the Attacorae, the Phuni and the Tochari, etc., between Seres and India (VI, 20). Combining this information with the above-cited the record of Apollodorus that the kings of Bactria extended their sphere of influence as far as the Seres, it can be seen that Seres in fact refers to the tribes who were the intermediaries in the silk trade at that time. Their settlements were located in the present Xinjiang 新疆 and to its north.<sup>[101]</sup> If this is correct, the Phuni should have been in the Tarim Basin or to its north. As for the Tochari people, at the time described by Pliny there were traces of them everywhere from the Hexi 河西 region (Gansu 甘肅 Corridor), *via* the Tarim Basin, to the west of the Pamir Mountains.<sup>[102]</sup> Therefore, the Phuni who neighbored the Tochari must not have been the Xiongnu 匈奴.

In fact, the Phryni of Strabo, the Phuni of Pliny and the Phryni of Dionysius were only descendants of the Rong 戎 of Gun 緄 who had moved west when Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦 dominated the Western Rong 戎 at the latest.

[1] Cf. Yang, Sh.-3, p. 42; Chen, p. 294; Liu. In my opinion, these theories completely equate the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 in the written documents with the Quanfang 犬方 in the oracle inscriptions. This is less accurate than considering that both came from the same origin.

[2] Cf. Yang, Sh.-2.

[3] For details, see Hu (1944-1); Liu; and Yang, Sh.-2.

[4] Hu (1944-1).

[5] Zheng, pp. 186-191.

[6] Chen, p. 294.

- [7] Cf. Wang, G. (1984-1). Also the "Fei 廢" radical of the *Guangyun* 廣韻, vol. 4, states "瘝 means in a difficult position. The *Shi* 詩 reads, "昆夷瘝矣 (the Yi 夷 of Kun 昆 were in an extremely difficult position)". In my opinion, both "犬夷咽矣" and "昆夷瘝矣" express briefly the meaning of the two lines "混夷駟矣，維其喙矣". The *Shuowen Jiezi Yizheng*, pp. 122-123, considers that "犬夷咽矣" and "昆夷瘝矣" are the variants of "混夷駟矣", which is incorrect. Cf. *Shuowen Jiezi Zhu*, p. 56, and *Maoshi Zhuanjian Tongshi* (vol. 24), pp. 824-825.
- [8] Cf. Chen, P. (1988), pp. 1022-1023. Chen 陳 considers that on basis of the *Guben Zhushu Jinian Jijiao* 古本竹書紀年輯校 of Wang Guowei 王國維, in the first year of Xiang 相, the emperor of Xia 夏, "[he] attacked the Yi 夷 of Huai 淮 and Quan 畎". To attack the Yi 夷 of Huai 淮 and Quan 畎 at that time shows that the Yi 夷 of Quan 畎 were one tribe of the Eastern Yi 夷. In the same book it is also recorded that "The Yi 夷 of Quan 畎 entered and dwelt between Bin 邠 and Qi 岐 during the reign period of Jie 桀. This shows that the Yi 夷 of Quan 畎 had moved westwards from east at that time. For the relations between the Yi 夷 of Quan 畎 and the Rong of Quan 犬, see also Ding, S., pp. 80-81. In my opinion, the reference in the *Zhushu Jinian* as cited by the *Taiping Yulan*, vol. 82, is noted as "in the first year [Xiang 相], [he] attacked the Yi 夷 of Huai 淮": "[the Yi 夷 of] Quan 畎" is missing. The missing words were supplied by Wang 王 according to the "Houji 後記" chapter of the *Lushi* 路史 (vol. 13) and the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87. Also, "the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬" is called by the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 4 "the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬, the Western Yi 夷", which shows that the traces of the Yi 夷 turning into the Rong 戎.
- [9] See Duan (1989).
- [10] See the second chapter of this book.
- [11] Besides, there was also Quan 犬 Hill to the west of Tianshui 天水 County, Gansu 甘肅, which was "Western Quan 犬 Hill" as seen in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 5. Duke Zhuang 莊 of Qin 秦, who dwelt at Quan 犬 Hill, was called "the Grand Master in Western Chui 垂" in the same chapter. This shows that "Western Quan 犬 Hill" was also known as "Western Chui 垂". There were four "Quan 犬 Hill" from east to west in all, and both Quan 犬 Hill at the ends of the east and west had another name, "Chui 垂". This can be regarded as evidence that the Quan 犬 people moved to the west from the east. Ch. Duan (1989).
- [12] See Zheng, pp. 186-191.
- [13] Cf. Chen, P. (1988), pp. 1023-1024. On the geographical location of "the Dang 當 River", there are various theories among scholars. See the *Mutianzizhuan Huijiao Jishi*, pp. 16-18.
- [14] See the "Taiyuan 大原" section of the *Rizhilu* (vol. 3). The *Qunjing Pingyi*, vol. 10, suggests that "Taiyuan 大原" must have been Taiyuan 太原 in Shanxi 山西. In my opinion, if this is correct, the Rong 戎 that were removed by King Mu 穆 and the Xianyun 獫狁 who lived during the reign period of Li 厲 and Xuan 宣 would not be one and the same tribe. Of course, this wouldn't preclude the possibility that the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 and the Xianyun 獫狁 came from the same origin. Moreover, the possibility that the settlement of the Xianyun 獫狁 was at the reaches of the Fen 汾 River has not been ruled by the study of the Xianyun's 獫狁 geography. In other words, "Taiyuan 大原" as seen in the "Liuyue 六月" poem of the "Xiaoya 小雅" section of the *Shijing* 詩經 was possibly in Shanxi 山西 Province. Cf. Chen, P. (1988), pp. 81-85.

- [15] Li, Zh.
- [16] Cf. Chen, P. (1988), pp. 1031-1036. On the On the geographical location of "Mount Leishou 雷首", there are various theories among scholars. See the *Mutianzizhuan Huijiao Jishi*, p. 227.
- [17] The *Chunqiu Dili Kaoshi*, vol. 1.
- [18] See the *Xingshi Bianwu*, vol. 22; the *Guoyu Fazheng*, vol. 1 and others.
- [19] Cf. Chen, P. (1988), pp. 1027-1036.
- [20] Cf. Wang, G. (1984-1).
- [21] Li, X. (1992), p. 7.
- [22] Cf. Li, X. (1959), pp. 73-75. Wang, Y.-2 also holds this theory, which can be consulted. In my opinion, Wang's 王 paper considers that "the three years" as seen in the *yaoci* 爻辭 about the Guifang 鬼方 refers to "the third year of the reign period of Wuding 武丁". This seems to be an inadequate explanation.
- [23] On the "Yang 易 of Guifang 鬼方", there are many discussions among scholars. For example, Ding (1988), p. 78 considers that "yang 易" is a verb, which means "fly upward". Yu, p. 425, considers that the meaning of 易 is just like 揚 (fly upward), 易 and 揚 (throw up) are the ancient and modern forms of one and the same character respectively, which is used as a verb here. To say that the Guifang 鬼方 "flew upward" would be to describe the speed of the Guifang's 鬼方 running away. Hu (1944-1) considers that 易 was a place in the state of Guifang 鬼方. In addition, there are many other theories on 易 among scholars, for example, that it is the name of a nationality, the name of a state, etc. I agree with the Qu Wanli's 屈萬里 theory; see Qu, p. 424.
- [24] Cf. Zhang, Y. The "Shuyibo 叔夷罇 inscription"; see Guo, M. (1958), pp. 246-247.
- [25] Cf. Yang, Sh.-2., and Luo.
- [26] The reference "Anciently, Zhou 紂 of Yin 殷 disturbed the land under heaven and had the Marquis Gui 鬼 chopped into pieces to offer the feudal lords" in the "Mingtangwei 明堂位" chapter of the *Liji* 禮記 is obviously a different legend about the same event.
- [27] Li, X. (1992), p. 8.
- [28] The theories of Wang, G. (1984-1); Chen, pp. 274-275; Zheng, pp. 317-318; and Zhao, L., pp. 49-54, are roughly the same. Liu, Y. (1987) considers that the Guifang 鬼方 attacked by the Yin 殷 people was in the valley of the Fen 汾 River, and expanded east as far as between mounts Tianhang 太行 and Chang 常.
- [29] Tang (1986), pp. 183-184.
- [30] Zou (1980-2); Chen, Q. & Shang, Z.; and Shi; Yang, Sh.-1; Lü; Zhang.
- [31] Shima, pp. 416-417; Zhong, B., pp. 195-196.
- [32] Cf. Li, X. (1992), p. 6.
- [33] The theory that Guifang 鬼方 referred to distant places elaborated in *Mao's* 毛 *Commentaries* was very popular during Han 漢 times and after. For example, the "Cangjiepan 蒼頡篇", cited by the commentary on "Guifang 鬼方" in the "*Zhouyi Yinyi* 周易音義 (the 'Jiji 既濟')" chapter of the *Jingdian Shiwei* 經典釋文 says, "Gui 鬼 means distant". The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 81, states "to change different customs and make the Guifang 鬼方 come to submit". Ying Shao's 應劭 commentary, cited by Yan's 顏 commentary, says, "Guifang 鬼方 refers to distant places". Ban Gu's 班固 "*Dianyin* 典引" in the



*Wenxuan* 文選, vol. 48, says, "The illustrious prestige extended as far as the regions of Gui 鬼", and the commentary says, "The regions of Gui 鬼 refers to the most distant regions". The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 40B, says, "The illustrious prestige extended as far as the regions of Gui 鬼", and Li's 李 commentary says, "The regions of Gui 鬼 refers to distant places. The *Yi* 易 states that Gaozong 高宗 attacked Guifang 鬼方". But An 安, the king of Huainan's 淮南 "Jian Zhu Minyue Shu 諫誅閩越書", cited by the *Hanshu*, ch. 64A, states, "The *Zhouyi* 周易 says, Gao Zong attacked Guifang and vanquished it in three years. The Guifang 鬼方 were a small barbarian state, and Gaozong 高宗 was the great Son of Heaven in Yin 殷 times. The great Son of Heaven's attacking a small barbarian state took three years. It shows that the use of military force must be carefully weighed". Yu Fan's 虞翻 commentary, cited by Li Dingzuo's 李鼎祚 *Zhouyi Jijie* 周易集解, vol. 12, says, "Gaozong 高宗 refers to Wuding 武丁, the king of Yin 殷. Guifang 鬼方 was the name of a state". These texts take "Guifang 鬼方" as a special term. Gan Bao's 干寶 commentary, cited by the *Zhouyi Jijie* 周易集解, vol. 12, says, "Gaozong 高宗 was the resurgent lord of the Yin 殷 Dynasty. Gui 鬼 was a state in the north. Gaozong 高宗 attacked Guifang 鬼方 and vanquished it in three years". It seems to regard "Guifang 鬼方" as a general term for various states in the north. However, if "attacked Guifang" only refers to Gaozong's 高宗 making a northern expedition, "Guifang 鬼方" would be a state in the north in Gan Bao's 干寶 mind. In my opinion, since Zhou 周 times the Guifang 鬼方 no longer appeared in historical affairs. Some have suggested that both the Xiao Yuding 小孟鼎 and Liangboge 梁伯戈 inscription have something to do with the Guifang 鬼方 (for example, Yang, Sh.-3, p. 42). These theories have been proved to be incorrect. See Li, X. (1978), pp. 149-157, esp. 153, and Li, X. (1989-2). In fact, "Guifang 鬼方" was only a name which was prevalent in Shang 商 times and turned into a synonym of remote barbarians after the Western Zhou 周 Dynasty. However, one should not therefore refer to "Guifang 鬼方" as "remote place". Cf. Li, X. (1992), p. 9.

[34] See Hu (1944-1). Xu, Zh. (1936) considers that the "Jiushi 九四" *yaoci* 爻辭 of the "Wei 未濟" trigram of the *Yijing* 易經 states that Zhou 周 attacked Guifang 鬼方 and the Yin 殷 people bestowed a reward upon it. The implication is that when Zhou 周, as a little state, attacked the enemy of a great state, people were shocked or amazed.

[35] See Luo.

[36] See Luo.

[37] The *Hou Hanshu Jijie*, vol. 87.

[38] Chen, Q. & Shang, Z.

[39] Ding (1988), p. 78, considers that "Xianling 先零" was a different transcription of "Xiluo 西落" (the Western Luo 落" as seen in the *Zhushu Jinian* 竹書紀年). In my opinion, this theory seems to be adequate.

[40] Among those who hold the theory that Guifang 鬼方 was in the south are the *Huangshi Richao*, vol. 4 at the earliest, and recently Wang, Y.-1. Hou has fully pointed out the shortcomings of the theory that Guifang 鬼方 was in the southwest.

[41] Hou, Li, X. (1959), p. 9.

[42] Xu, Zh. (1936).

[43] Liu, Y. (1987).

- [44] Hou.
- [45] The *Jinben Zhushu Jinian* states that in his sixth year Emperor Zhongkang 仲康 "conferred on [the prince of] Kunwu 昆吾 the appointment of leader among the princes". Also, in his thirty-third year Emperor Fen 芬 "appointed the son of the chief of Kunwu 昆吾 to Youso 有蘇". Furthermore, in the thirtieth year of Emperor Gui 癸, "the forces of Shang 商 marched to punish Kunwu 昆吾", and in the thirty-first year, "the forces of Shang 商 overcame Kunwu 昆吾". The *Kuodizhi* 括地志, cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 40, says, "Puyang 濮陽 County is the ancient state of Kunwu 昆吾. The former town of Kunwu 昆吾 is a distance of thirty *li* 里 to the west of the county. The platform [of Kunwu 昆吾] is a distance of one hundred steps to the west of the county, which are the ruins of Kunwu 昆吾".
- [46] Cf. Li, X. (1989-1).
- [47] "Rong of Quan 犬戎" is noted as "Yi 夷 of Quan 犬" in the *Shanhaijing* 山海經, cited by the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 110. In my opinion, the reference cited by the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱 seems to be the original text.
- [48] This theory is on the basis of Ding, S., pp. 80-81.
- [49] The finals of "lu 陸" and "zhu 祝" are the same, and their initials can be exchanged (the so-called quasi-*pangniu* 旁紐 in ancient Chinese phonology). "Zhong 終" of "Luzhong 陸終" as seen in the inscription on the Bazhong 鈞鐘 of the duke of Zhu 邾 and "rong 融" of "Zhurong 祝融" as seen in the documents on silk from Chu 楚 are in fact one and the same character. Cf. Li, X. (1989-1) and Wang, G. (1984-3).
- [50] Cited from the *Shanhaijing Jianshu*, vol. 17.
- [51] In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the thirteenth year of Duke Cheng 成) it is said that "The marquis of Jin 晉 sent Lü Xiang 呂相 to declare the end of his friendly relations with Qin 秦. Lü 呂 said that ...The White Di 狄 lived in the area of Yongzhou 雍州, which is located in your territory. They are your enemies, but to us they are relatives by marriage". Takezoe (the thirteenth year of Duke Cheng 成, p. 10) says that the White Di 狄 here refers to Qianggaoru 廐咎如. This is because the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-third year of Duke Xi 僖) says, "In an invasion of the Qianggaoru 廐咎如, the Di 狄 captured the two daughters of their chief, Shu Wei 叔隗 and Ji Wei 季隗, and presented them to the prince". In my opinion, his theory is inadequate. Jin 晉 intermarried with the Di 狄, which were not only Qianggaoru 廐咎如. Cf. the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhu*, p. 405.
- [52] For example, Tang (1986), pp. 183-184.
- [53] On the surname of the Lu 潞, there are also three theories of Yun 妘, Jiang 姜, and Ji 姬. We cannot know which is correct. For details, see Chen, P. (1988), pp. 1118-1120.
- [54] The *Qianfulun Jianzheng*, p. 457.
- [55] Cf. Wang, G. (1984-1). On the geographical location of the White Di 狄, see Chen, P. (1988), pp. 1080-1082.
- [56] The *Chunqiu Dashibiao*, p. 1155.
- [57] Cf. Chen, P. (1988), pp. 1019-1020.
- [58] For details, see Hu (1944-2).
- [59] On the foregoing, for details, see Li, X. & Peng, pp. 346-351.
- [60] Hu (1944-2), and Chen, Q. & Shang, Z.

- [61] The *Qunjing Shidi*, vol. 2, says, "Gong 共 was a settlement in Ruan 阮. It is in Zhangcunyi 張村驛, which is to the west of Fu 郿 Province. The Qingshui 清水 River flows northeast of it. The papers cited in note 60 hold similar theories. This is to say that Mi 密 occupied roughly the northwest of the present Guanzhong 關中 in Shanxi 陝西 and the Lingtai 靈臺 area in Gansu 甘肅. Ruan 阮 occupied a part of the regions between Baishui 白水 and Huanglong 黃龍 Counties to the north of Chengcheng 澄城 County in the east of Guanzhong 關中. Gong 共 occupied the southwest and south of Fu 富 County. Gongfang 舌方 as seen in the oracle inscriptions was mainly located in the north of the middle of Shanxi 陝西. It bordered on the Guifang 鬼方 which was located in the north of Shanxi 陝西.
- [62] Shima, pp. 385-387. The author's conclusion is mainly inferred from the sphere that was invaded by the Gongfang 舌方 in the oracle inscriptions.
- [63] Chen, p. 274. Chen 陳 points out also that Tufang 土方 bordered on Gongfang 舌方.
- [64] Li, Y.
- [65] Zheng, pp. 284-286. The paper suggests that the so-called Lijiaya 李家崖 Culture should be attributed to the Gongfang 舌方.
- [66] Zhong, B., pp. 198-191. Xu, Zh. (1936) suggests that the base area of the Guifang 鬼方 was in Shanxi 山西 Province, but the lands between the Jing 涇 and Luo 洛 rivers were the sphere that they frequented.
- [67] "Lun Gongfang ji Guifang 論舌方即鬼方 (On the Gongfang 舌方-Guifang 鬼方 Identity)" in Dong, p. 39, says, "I have suspected that Gongfang 舌方 can be identified with Guifang 鬼方. This view has been developing in my mind for a long time, but could I not make a decision about, because the Guifang 鬼方 appear separately in the oracle inscriptions. Only now have I learned that 舌 was a phonetic loan character for 鬼 and that they were earlier and later variants of the same word".
- [68] For details, see Zhu. Also, cf. the "Zheng Gongfang Jianpu 征舌方簡譜 (A Simple Register for attacking the Gongfang 舌方 [during the reign period of Wuding 武丁])" in Ding, S., pp. 80-81, pp. 153-163.
- [69] Cf. Zhu.
- [70] Cf. Zhao, L., pp. 61-68.
- [71] Cf. the third chapter in this book.
- [72] Wang, G. (1984-1). Chen, p. 275, disavows Wang's 王 theory. In my opinion, his view is incorrect.
- [73] Wang, G. (1984-1).
- [74] The final of 猯 was far from that of 鬻, thus it seems that these two characters can not be exchanged. However, "獯鬻" was not a phonetic loan for "猯猯" or "獯猯", they must have been different transcriptions of the same name. In other words, the finals of 猯 ([ən]) and 鬻 ([uk]) can not be exchanged for each other, but it is possible that their finals could both be exchanged with the third final (e.g. [ək] and [ən], [ək] and [uk] can be exchanged for each other respectively, which is called *tongzhuān* 通轉 and *pangzhuān* 旁轉 in ancient Chinese phonology). Similar instances are not exceptional. Because these original names often derived "by communicating through many interpreters", and the translators, who had the

different local accents, were not phonologists, and requirements must be relaxed when one studies phonetic identifications at present.

- [75] Cf. Sun Yirang's 孫詒讓 "*Mutianzizhuan Guo Pu Zhu* 穆天子傳郭璞注 (On Guo Pu's Commentary on the *Mutianzizhuan*)" in the *Zhayi*, vol. 11.
- [76] On the "Hunzhou 葷粥" who were driven to the north by the Yellow Emperor, the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 1, says, "This was another name of the Xiongnu 匈奴. They were called the Rong 戎 of Shan 山 or Xunzhou 熏粥 before the times of Tang 唐 and Yu 虞, Chunwei 淳維 in Xia 夏 times, Guifang 鬼方 in Yin 殷 times, Xianyun 獫狁 in Zhou 周 times, and Xiongnu 匈奴 in Han 漢 times". "Xunzhou 獫粥" as seen in the *Fengsutong* 風俗通 is turned into "Guifang 鬼方" here.
- [77] The original text reads "The Rong 戎 of Xiong 匈. [offer] their strong dogs. The strong dogs have a big mouth, red body, with ankles four *chi* 尺 (feet) high. 匈戎狡犬, 狡犬者, 巨口, 赤身, 四尺踝" is originally "匈戎狡犬, 犬者, 巨身, 四尺果", which is corrected on the basis of the theories of Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 and Liu Shipai 劉師培, etc., cited by the *Yi Zhoushu Huijiao Jizhu*, pp. 947-948.
- [78] Qiu.
- [79] Lu & Luo.
- [80] Tang (1976); Tang (1986), pp. 408-410.
- [81] Liu.
- [82] The *Maoshi Zhuanjian Tongshi*, vol. 24, p. 843, says that "Both *huan* 串 and *guan* 貫 are explained as *xi* 習 (used to) in the 'Shi Gu 釋詁' chapter of the *Erya* 爾雅. *Guan* 貫 is noted as *guan* 慣 in the *Shiwen* 釋文, which states, 'It was originally 貫, and is also noted as 還'. The *Yupian* 玉篇 states, 'Another form of 串 is 慣'. The [*Maoshi*] *zhuan* [毛詩]傳 regards *huan* 串 is a [phonetic] loan characters for *guan* 貫, and thus explains it as *xi* 習, which is less exact than the [*Maoshi*] *Jian* [毛詩]箋, which takes the Yi 夷 of Huan 串 as the Yi 夷 of Hun 混. *Huan* 串 must have been a variety of *guan* 𠂔 in official script. 貫 and 𠂔 are the ancient and modern forms of one and the same character respectively. The initials of *kun* 昆 and *guan* 貫 are the same. *Quan* 畎, *kun* 昆 and *guan* 貫 are also so. Therefore, 串夷 (the Yi 夷 of Huan) and 混夷 (the Yi 夷 of Hun 混) referred to the same tribe, and both are loan words for 畎夷 (the Yi 夷 of Quan 犬). Sometimes 畎夷 (the Yi 夷 of Quan 犬) is shortened as 犬夷 (the Yi 夷 of Quan 犬). The initials of these characters can all be exchanged with each other. The phonetic element of *huan* 患 is *huan* 串, therefore 串夷 was sometimes noted as 患夷, and 患 was also a phonetic loan for 串.
- [83] Cf. Chen, P. (1982), pp. 137-139.
- [84] Yu, T. (1992-1).
- [85] Shen.
- [86] There are many variants for "Chenghuang 乘黃" in the historical records. The *Tongya* 通雅, vol. 46, states that "Feihuang 飛黃, Zihuang 訾黃, Cuihuang 翠黃, Chenghuang 乘黃, Jiliang 吉量, Guhuang 古皇, Jiguang 吉光 and Jihuang 吉黃 referred to one and the same creature". In my opinion, this theory is quite adequate. It is possible that the records on Chenghuang 乘黃 of the Baimin 白民 in the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 agree in fact with the records on Jihuang 吉黃 of the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬 in the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書. Cf. the *Yi Zhoushu Huijiao Jizhu*, pp. 944-946.

- [87] For details, see Rao (1997).
- [88] The *Dazhengzang*, vol. 3, p. 463.
- [89] The *Dazhengzang*, vol. 3, p. 473.
- [90] Sarasvati & Vidyalanrar, pp. 1430-1431.
- [91] Grene.
- [92] Duan (1988), pp. 57-60; Wang, K. Zhou holds the another theory about the "Yimu 一目 (One Eye)".
- [93] For details, see Yu, T. (1992), pp. 7-8.
- [94] Jones.
- [95] Kálmán Namäti.
- [96] See Yu, T. (1992), pp. 52-56.
- [97] Tarn, pp. 84-85.
- [98] Rackham.
- [99] Müller.
- [100] J. Charpantier, "Die ethnographische Stellung der Tocharer", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* LXXI, 1917, pp. 347-388.
- [101] Cf. Tarn, pp. 110-111.
- [102] See Yu, T. (1992), pp. 16-21.



## APPENDIX 1

### On the Qusou

#### A

According to legend, there were the Qusou 渠搜 in the times of Yao 堯, Shun 舜, Yu 禹 and Tang 湯.

1. In the "Xiuzhengyu 修政語 A" chapter of the *Xinshu* 新書 it is recorded that "Therefore, Yao's 堯 enlightenment reached the tattooed people in Shu 蜀 and Yue 越. He pacified the Jiaozhi 交趾, personally set foot in the Flowing Sands, performed the grand ceremony of worship of heaven on the top of Mount Du 獨, and went west to see Wangmu 王母. His teaching extended to Daxia 大夏 and Qusou 渠搜".<sup>[1]</sup>

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1 it is recorded that Emperor Shun 舜 "pacified the Jiaozhi 交趾 and the Beifa 北發 to the south; the Western Rong 戎, the Xizhi 析枝, the Qusou 渠搜, the Di 氐 and the Qiang 羌 to the west; the Rong 戎 of Shan 山, the Fa 發, and the Xishen 息慎 to the north; and the Yi 夷 of Chang 長, the Yi of Niao 鳥 to the east".

Also, in the "Wudide 五帝德" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記 it is recorded that Emperor Shun 舜 "pacified the Jiaozhi 交趾 and the Dajiao 大教 to the south; the Xianzhi 鮮支, the Qusou 渠搜, the Di 氐 and the Qiang 羌 [to the west]; the Rong 戎 of Shan 山, the Fa 發, and the Xishen 息慎 to the north; and the [Yi 夷 of] Chang 長 and the Yi 夷 of Niao 鳥, i.e., the feathered people, to the east".

Also, in the "Shaoxian 少閒" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記 it is recorded that "Anciently, Shun 舜 of the Yu 虞 Dynasty succeeded Yao 堯 by means of the virtue of Heaven. He made achievements, bestowed grace, and established ceremonies. The people of Shuofang 朔方 and Youdu 幽都 came to submit to him. And he pacified the Jiaozhi 交趾 to the south. Everywhere under the sun and moon there was no one who did not submit to his rule. Xi Wangmu 西王母 came to offer her white *guan* 琯 (a musical instrument). All the people who ate rice saw and thought clearly. The teaching illuminated the people. Their culture extended to the four seas; from beyond the sea, the Sushen 肅慎, the Beifa 北發, the Qusou 渠搜, the Di 氐 and the Qiang 羌 came to submit [to him]".

Also, in the "Xiuwen 修文" chapter of Liu Xiang's 劉向 *Shuoyuan* 說苑 it is recorded that "He pacified the Jiaozhi 交趾 and the Dafa 大發 to the south; the

Xizhi 析支, the Qusou 渠搜, the Di 氐 and the Qiang 羌 to the west; the Rong 戎 of Shan 山 and the Sushen 肅慎 to the north; the Yi 夷 of Chang 長 and the Yi 夷 of Niao 鳥 to the east. All people within the four seas respected Emperor Shun 舜 for his exploit".<sup>[2]</sup>

In the "Yugong 禹貢" chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書 it is recorded that "Hair-cloth and skins were brought from the Kunlun 崑崙, Xizhi 析支, and Qusou 渠搜 - - the Western Rong 戎 all came to submit to Yu's 禹 arrangements".

Also, in the "Shaoxian 少閒" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記 it is recorded that "Shun 舜 was succeeded by Yu 禹. Yu 禹 thereupon accepted the order of Heaven, ...and the people were illuminated by the teaching. Their culture extended to the four seas; from beyond the sea, the Sushen 肅慎, the Beifa 北發, the Qusou 渠搜, the Di 氐, and the Qiang 羌 came to submit [to Yu 禹]".<sup>[3]</sup>

In the "Shaoxian 少閒" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記 it is recorded that "Chengtang 成湯 thereupon accepted the order of Heaven, ... and the people were illuminated by the teaching. Their culture extended to the four seas; from beyond the sea, the Sushen 肅慎, the Beifa 北發, the Qusou 渠搜, the Di 氐, and the Qiang 羌 came to submit [to Tang 湯]".

It is difficult to affirm the above-cited records, but they do indicate that the Qusou 渠搜 had a long history. In other words, the possibility can not be entirely ruled out that there were the Qusou 渠搜 people at the time of Yao 堯, Shun 舜 and Yu 禹. Since the Qusou's 渠搜 "coming to submit" became a symbol for peace reigning under Heaven or the four seas willingly submitting for a long period of time, it can be seen that the Qusou 渠搜 had been a very important tribe.

The following are the records related to the Qusou 渠搜 in Zhou 周 times:

1. In the "Shaoxian 少閒" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記 it is recorded that "King Wen 文 thereupon accepted the order of Heaven, ... and the people were illuminated by the teaching. Their culture extended to the four seas; from beyond the sea, the Sushen 肅慎, the Beifa 北發, the Qusou 渠搜, the Di 氐, and the Qiang 羌 came to submit [to King Wen 文]".

2. In the "Wanghuijie 王會解" of the *Yizhoushu* 逸周書 it is recorded that "The Qusou 渠搜 [offers] *Jue* 酌 dog" at a meeting held in Chengzhou 成周 during the time of King Cheng 成.

3. The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 6, records an edict in the fifth year of the reign-period *Yuanguang* 元光 of Emperor Wu 武帝, saying, "Kings Cheng 成 and Kang 康 of the Zhou 周 [Dynasty] established [mutilating] punishments but did not employ them and the virtue [of these kings] reached [even] to the birds and beasts. Their culture extended to the four seas; from beyond the sea, the Sushen 肅慎, the Beifa 北發, the Qusou 渠搜, and the Di 氐, the Qiang 羌 came to submit [to them]".

In the *Mytianzizhuan* 穆天子傳, ch. 4 it is recorded that "The Son of Heaven (King Mu 穆), running fast toward southeast as if on wings, galloped a journey of one thousand *li* 里 and reached the land of the Jusou 巨蒐. The Ruonu 繻奴, a



Jusou 巨蒐 tribe, offered the blood of a white crane, and gave it to the Son of Heaven to drink. They made ready the milk of oxen and horses to wash the feet of the Son of Heaven and those of the others in the two carriages. On the day of *jiaxu* 甲戌, the Ruonu 繻奴, a Jusou 巨蒐 tribe, entertained the Son of Heaven on the top of Mount Fenliu 焚留. They thereupon offered three hundred horses, five thousand oxen and sheep, one thousand carts of wheat harvested in the autumn, and thirty carts of millet from the Western Regions. The Son of Heaven ordered Baiyao 柏夭 to accept their offerings".<sup>[4]</sup>

In my opinion, there is no reason to doubt at least that the Qusou 渠搜 had paid tribute at the time of kings Cheng 成 and Kang 康 of the Zhou 周 Dynasty, and that they existed until the reign period of King Mu 穆.

## B

The following is a discussion on the geographical location of the settlement of the Qusou 渠搜 people.

In the above-cited records, or in legends of the pre-Zhou 周 days, the Qusou 渠搜 were located to the west of the Central Plains, and were sometimes called the Western Rong. Yang Xiong's 揚雄 "Jiechaofu 解嘲賦" as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 87B, says, "Great Han 漢 now has the Eastern Sea on the left, Qusou 渠搜 on the right, Fanyu 番禺 in the front, and Taotu 陶塗 in the back". From Qusou's 渠搜 being contrasted with Eastern Sea, one can also deduce that the former land of the Qusou 渠搜 was located to the west of the Central Plains

2. Fu Qian's 服虔 commentary, cited by Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentary on the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 6, says, Qusou 渠搜 "is a place name". Also, Yingshao's 應劭 commentary, cited by Yan 顏, says, "According to the 'Yugong 禹貢', Xizhi 析支 and Qusou 渠搜 belonged to Yongzhou 雍州, and were located to the west of the river and the barrier of Jincheng 金城". Also, Jin Zhuo's 晉灼 commentary, cited by Yan 顏, says, "On the basis of the 'Memoir on Wanghui 王恢', 'the Beifa 北發 and the Yuezhi 月支 can be subjugated'. It seems that Qusou 渠搜 is a state name. According to the 'Memoir on Geography', there was a county of Qusou 渠搜 in Shuofang 朔方 Prefecture".<sup>[5]</sup> And Chen Zan's 臣瓚 commentary, cited by Yan 顏, states, "According to the *Kongzi Sanchaoji* 孔子三朝記, 'To call up the Qusou 渠搜 to the north, to pacify the Jiaozhi 交趾 to the south'. This contrasts the north with the south. The Qusou 渠搜 as seen in the 'Yugong 禹貢' were located to the northwest of Yongzhou 雍州. Qusou 渠搜 County was in Shuofang 朔方 Prefecture".

From this, it can be seen that most of the settlements of the Qusou 渠搜 people were called "Qusou 渠搜". There was a Qusou 渠搜 in Shuofang 朔方 Prefecture. There was also a Qusou 渠搜 to the west of Jincheng 金城 Prefecture.

3. There are two theories about the location of Qusou 渠搜 as seen in the "Yugong 禹貢". One theory that is was in Qusou 渠搜 County of Shuofang 朔方 Prefecture. Besides Chen Zan 臣瓚, Li Daoyuan 酈道元, also upholds this theory at earlier times. According to Li's 酈 theory, for which see the "Heshui 河水 3" chapter of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, "The River turns east from Shuofang 朔方 and flows by to the north of the former town of Qusou 渠搜 County. The 'Memoir on Geography' [of the *Hanshu* 漢書] records that there was a Qusou 渠搜 County, which was the seat of the government of the Commandant of the Middle Sector. It was Gousou 溝搜 Booth at the time of Wang Mang 王莽. The *Li Sanchaoji* 禮三朝記 says 'To call up the Qusou 渠搜 to the north, to pacify the Jiaozhi 交趾 to the south.' This contrasts the north with the south. They were the Xizhi 析支 and the Qusou 渠搜 as seen in the 'Yugong 禹貢'.<sup>[6]</sup> Another, whose representative figure was Ying Shao 應劭, west of Jincheng 金城 Prefecture.<sup>[7]</sup>

In my opinion, the latter theory may be correct. If this is true, the Qusou 渠搜 in Shuofang 朔方 should be those who moved there from the west.

4. The theories on the Jusou 巨蒐 as seen in the *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳 are widely divergent.<sup>[8]</sup> Some may be inferred from the related records in the "Yugong 禹貢", because the Jusou 巨蒐 are identified with the Qusou 渠搜 in the "Yugong 禹貢". And some may be inferred from the journey of King Mu 穆, as recorded in the *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳. Some consider that it was in the area of Mount Yin 陰.<sup>[9]</sup> Others suggest that it was in Shuofang 朔方.<sup>[10]</sup> Still others suggest that it was located in the region from Su 肅 Province to Shanshan 鄯善 west.<sup>[11]</sup> And some consider that it was in Ferghāna,<sup>[12]</sup> and so on. In my opinion, the first theory is close to correct. If this is true, then the Jusou 巨蒐 as seen in the *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳, i.e., the Qusou 渠搜, would be a branch who were known to have occupied a more eastern position.

In the "Xirongzhuan 西戎傳" of the *Weilüe* 魏略, cited in Pei's 裴 commentary on the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 30, it is recorded that "To the west, running alongside the Middle Route one can reach the states of Weili 尉梨, Weixu 危須, and the kingdom of Shan 山, which has been annexed and belonged to Yanqi 焉耆. Then he can reach the states of Gumo 姑墨, Wensu 溫宿, and Weitou 尉頭, which belong to Qiuci 龜茲; and the states Zhenzhong 楨中, Suoju 莎車, Jieshi 竭石, Qusuo 渠莎, Xiye 西夜, Yinai 依耐, Manli 滿犁, Yiruo 億若, Yuling 榆令, Juandu 捐毒, Xiuxiu 休脩 and Qin 琴, which have been annexed and belong to Shule 疏勒". Of them, "Qusuo 渠搜" [*gia-sai*] should be a different transcription of "Qusou 渠搜". However, because the state of Qusuo 渠搜 is not recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, its exact location is unknown. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, "The state of Qusuo 渠莎 has its capital at the former town of Suoju 莎車; it lies west of Zihe 子合, at a distance of twelve thousand, nine hundred and eighty *li* 里 from Dai 代". It seems that the state of Qusuo 渠搜 as seen in the "Xirongzhuan 西戎傳" of the *Weilüe* 魏略, had occupied the seat of the king's government of the state of Suoju 莎

車 as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, at the time described by the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102. In my opinion, this is, of course, one possibility, but another possibility cannot also be ruled out that the "Qusuo 渠莎" as seen in the "Xirongzhuan 西戎傳" of the *Weilüe* 魏略 is in fact only another name for the "Suoju 莎車" as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96. The editor of the *Weilüe* 魏略 was unaware of the facts, and mistook one state as two states. Of the various states in the Western Regions, it was not only the state of Suoju 莎車 that had two and even more names, owing to their complicated racial composition. <sup>[13]</sup>

6. In the "Hainei Dongjing 海內東經" of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 it is recorded: "The state of Daxia 大夏, the state of Shusha 豎沙, the state of Juyou 居繇, and the state of Yuezhi 月支 are outside the Flowing Sands". A similar record is also found in the "Xirongzhuan 西戎傳" of the *Weilüe* 魏略: "To the west of the Flowing Sands are the state of Daxia 大夏, the state of Jiansha 堅沙, the state of Shuyou 屬繇, and the state of Yuezhi 月氏". It is suggested that this passage in the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 is not from the original text, but instead was interpolated after Han 漢 had opened up the Western Regions. <sup>[14]</sup> In my opinion, "Shusha 豎沙" and "Juyou 居繇" are textual errors for "Jiansha 堅沙" and "Shuyou 屬繇" respectively, and "Jiansha 堅沙" and "Shuyou 屬繇" must have been different transcriptions of "Guishuang 貴霜" and "Suyi 粟弋" respectively. Ignoring time differences, the *Weilüe* 魏略 juxtaposes the three states of Daxia 大夏, Jiansha 堅沙, and Yuezhi 月氏, but this record still mirrors -- however tortuously -- the actual historical course: the Daxia 大夏 were conquered by the Yuezhi 月氏, and the Yuezhi 月氏 by the Guishuang 貴霜 (Jiansha 堅沙). <sup>[15]</sup>

Though the editor the "Xirongzhuan 西戎傳" of the *Weilüe* 魏略 makes a far-fetched interpretation of the above-cited record of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 through a false analogy, if one takes into account the Qusou's 渠搜 existence, it would not be difficult to discover that the above-cited record must not have been interpolated after Han 漢. There is no doubt that the Daxia 大夏 (Tochari), the Jiansha 堅沙 (Qusou 渠搜), the Shuyou 屬繇 (Sugda) and the Yuezhi 月氏 had lived to the west of the Flowing Sands (Tynger Desert) as early as in the pre-Qin 秦 days.

7. The *Liangtu Yiwuzhi* 涼土異物志, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 165, says, "The ancient state of Qusou 渠搜 was on the northern border of Dayuan 大宛". In the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. 83, it is recorded that "The state of Bohan 鐵汗 has its capital at a distance of more than five hundred *li* 里 to the west of the Congling 葱嶺 Mountains. It was originally the state of Qusou 渠搜". This shows that the Qusou 渠搜 people were in Bohan 鐵汗, i.e., Ferghāna. Their name was not known until they had replaced the Tochari people and had become the suzerain of Ferghāna, at the time described by the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. 83. That the Chinese records (such as the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102) turned "Dayuan 大宛" into "Poluona 破洛那" or "Bohan 鐵汗" may be related to this change.

The Tochari people entered Ferghāna by c. 140 B.C. at the latest,<sup>[16]</sup> while the Qusou 渠搜 people may have entered somewhat earlier there. The Qusou 渠搜 people who come to Ferghāna lived in Khojend for a time. Therefore it is possible that "Guishan" 貴山 [*giuət-shean*] became the name of the place. After the Tochari people had entered Ferghāna, the Qusou 渠搜 people moved north to Kāsān in the north of Ferghāna, because Kāsān can also be taken as a different transcription of "Qusou 渠搜".<sup>[17]</sup> This is probably the reason that the *Liangtu Yiwuzhi* 涼土異物志 says that "the ancient state of Qusou 渠搜" was on "the northern border of Dayuan 大宛".

8. In Song Yong's 宋庸 *Yiwuzhi* 異物志, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 793, it is recorded that "The hills of the Greater and the Lesser Headache are located to the east of Qusou 渠搜 and the west of Shule 疏勒. Those who cross them suffer from fever and headache. They cannot be crossed in the summer; if you cross [in the summer] you will die. Only in the winter can they be crossed, and one will still vomit. This is because the mountains have poisonous vapors. In the winter it dries up and there is a respite [in the production of the vapors], and therefore one can cross". According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A:

But starting in the area south of Pishan 皮山, one passes through some four or five states which are not subject to Han 漢. A patrol of some hundred officers and men may divide the night into five watches and, striking their cooking pots [to mark the hours] so keep guard, yet there are still occasions when they will be subject to attack and robbery. ...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 the Body. These cause a man to suffer from 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 *cun* 寸 wide -- that leads forward for a length of thirty *li* 里, overlooking a precipice whose depth is unfathomable. 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* 里 do they reach the Suspended Crossing.

This shows that both "the hills of the Greater and the Lesser Headache" were located to the west of Pishan 皮山 and to the east of the Suspended Crossing. Since both "the hills of the Greater and the Lesser Headache" were "to the east of Qusou 渠搜", this Qusou 渠搜 must have been to the west of Pishan 皮山. As for its specific location, the "Heshui 河水 2" chapter of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注 discloses a little information:

There is a river, which is to the south of the town, that flows northeast. The river rises west of Mount Luoshi 羅逝, which is in the Congling 葱嶺 Mountains. The river flows through the valley of Qisha 岐沙, and is divided into two rivers after going out from the valley.

Mount "Luoshi 羅逝" must have been Mount "Jiasheluoshi 迦舍羅逝". "Jiashe" [keai-sjya] and "Qisha 岐沙" [ngye-shea] in the following text should be different transcriptions of the same name. "Luoshi 羅逝" [lai-zjiat] must be a transcription of *raja* (Sanskrit). "Jisheluoshi 迦舍羅逝" may be likened to saying "the king of Jiashe 迦舍". The state of Jiasheluoshi 迦舍羅逝 must have been the state of "Kepantuo 渴盤陁" as seen in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, the Jiepanuo 竭盤陀 in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, ch. 12.<sup>[18]</sup> The *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54, says, "Gesha 葛沙 is the surname of the king [of the state of Kepantuo 渴槃陁]. "Gesha" [kat-shea], "Jiashe 迦舍", and "Qisha 岐沙" were different transcriptions of the same name. Since "Jiashe 迦舍", and "Gesha 葛沙" and "Qusou 渠搜" can be regarded as different transcriptions of the same name,<sup>[19]</sup> they may be the "Qusou" 渠搜 [gia-shiu] as seen in Song Yong's 宋庸 *Yiwuzhi* 異物志.

## C

The following is the mode of production and the way of life of the Qusou 渠搜 people.

1. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 2, it is recorded that "Hair-clothed skins were brought from Kunlun 昆侖, Xizhi 析支, and Qusou 渠搜; the Western Rong 戎 all came to submit to Yu's 禹 arrangements". Kong Anguo's 孔安國 commentary, cited by the *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 2, says, "The four states (Kunlun 昆侖, Xizhi 析支, Qusou 渠搜, and the Western Rong 戎) were known as beyond the submissive wastes, and within the Flowing Sands. Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 commentary, cited by the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 2, says, "The people in fur clothing lived nearby mounts Kunlun 昆侖, Xizhi 析支, and Qusou 渠搜. The three mounts were all in the region of the Western Rong 戎".<sup>[20]</sup>

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28A, it is recorded that "Hair-cloth and skins were brought from Kunlun 昆侖, Xizhi 析支, and Qusou 渠搜; the Western Rong 戎 all came to submit to Yu's 禹 arrangements". Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentary says, "Kunlun 昆侖, Xizhi 析支, and Qusou 渠搜 were the names of three states. This statement indicates that all the states spun wool; each had its proper line of activity. And the distant barbarians in the west all came to submit to these arrangements".<sup>[21]</sup>

From this, it can be deduced that Qusou's 渠搜 special local products were wool fabrics. The fabrics were known as "Qusou" 毼毼.<sup>[22]</sup>

2. According to the above-cited statement in the *Mytianzizhuan* 穆天子傳, the Jusou 巨蒐 people prepared the milk of oxen and horses to wash the feet of King Mu 穆, and those in the two carriages. They also offered three hundred horses, five thousand oxen and sheep, one thousand carts of wheat harvested in the autumn, and thirty carts of millet from the Western Regions. From this, one can infer that the Qusou 渠搜 were a nomadic tribe, but that they also farmed.

3. According to the above-cited statement in the "Wanghuijie 王會解" of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書, one can see that Qusou 渠搜 bred and produced the *Jue* 駒 dog. The so-called "*Jue* 駒 dog is the Luo 露 dog, which can fly and eats tigers and leopards". This shows the Qusou 渠搜 people could raise and train beasts of prey.

4. The *Shiyiji* 拾遺記, ch. 3, says that at the time of King Ling 靈 of Zhou 周, "a man named Hanfang 韓房 came from the state of Quxu 渠胥 and offered a jade camel five *chi* 尺 (feet) high". It is suggested that "Quxu 渠胥" must have been "Qusou 渠搜".<sup>[23]</sup> The fifth chapter of the same book records that in the sixth year of the reign-period *Yuanshou* 元狩 of Emperor Wu 武 of Han 漢 (117 B.C.), "the state of Qusou 渠搜 presented a netted garment". Although this is a legend, we may record it for reference.

## D

On the nationality of the Qusou 渠搜 there has always been a divergence of opinion.

One suggestion is that "Qusou 渠搜" can be identified with "Sute 粟特" (Sugda or Sogdiana).<sup>[24]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is incorrect. Their pronunciations are too different. The scholar who maintains this theory has tortuously explained it, but to no avail.

Some suggest that the Qusou 渠搜 were the Yuezhi 月氏 who lived in the Hexi 河西 region (Gansu 甘肅 Corridor) during the period of the Warring States.<sup>[25]</sup> In my opinion, it should be admitted that this theory seems reasonable. Firstly, "Qusou 渠搜" and "Yuezhi 月氏" can be regarded as different transcriptions of the same name. Secondly, it is possible that the Qusou 渠搜 people had indeed lived in the Hexi 河西 region, and the time may be before the Yuezhi 月氏 reached the Hexi 河西 region. Thirdly, it is completely possible that a single race was mistaken as two because its people lived in different settlements, though the Qusou 渠搜 and Yuzhi 禺氏 (Yuezhi 月氏) stood side by side in the "Wanghuijie 王會解" of the *Yizhoushu* 逸周書, and others. In other words, these records do not present an obstacle to establishing a theory about the Qusou 渠搜-Yuezhi 月氏 identity or their coming from the same origin. However, if one thinks that the history of the Qusou 渠搜 reflected by the related legend is unusually long, then taking the Qusou 渠搜 and Yuezhi 月氏 as two peoples will be more appropriate.

There are also other theories,<sup>[26]</sup> which I do not intend to introduce one by one here.

The following is my new theory: it is possible that the Qusou 渠搜 and the tribe of Shaohao 少昊 came from the same origin.

First, Shaohao 少昊 was the Qingyang 青陽 by the surnamed of Ji 己.

According to the *Shiben* 世本, cited by the subcommentary on the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the seventeenth year of Duke Zhao 昭), "Qingyang 青陽 was Shaohao 少昊". But, of the sons of the Yellow Emperor, there were two Qingyang 青陽. One was surnamed Ji 己, and another, Ji 姬. In the "Jinyu 晉語 4" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 it is recorded:

Of the twenty-five sons of the Yellow Emperor 黃帝, two had the same surname. Qingyang 青陽 and Yigu 夷鼓 were both surnamed of Ji 己. Qingyang 青陽 was the nephew of [the lord of] the Fanglei 方雷. Yigu 夷鼓 was the nephew of [the lord of] Tongyu 彤魚. Those who were born by the same mother had different surnames; the sons of four mothers had twelve surnames respectively. The sons of the Yellow Emperor amounted to twenty-five clans in all. Those who had twelve surnames were fourteen men. The twelve surnames were Ji 姬, You 酉, Qi 祁, Ji 己, Teng 滕, Zhen 箴, Ren 任, Xun 荀, Xi 僖, Ji 姑, Xuan 僎 and Yi 依. Only Qingyang 青陽 and Canglin 蒼林 were the same as the Yellow Emperor, thus both were surnamed Ji 姬.

The two Qingyang 青陽 can be referred to as Qingyang 青陽 of the surname Ji 己 and Qingyang 青陽 of the surname Ji 姬, respectively, for convenience.

Of the sons of the Yellow Emperor, there were two men by the name of Qingyang 青陽, which raised many doubts in later generations.<sup>[27]</sup> It is suggested that those fourteen individuals who received surnames should actually be thirteen all. The surname of Ji 己 which belonged to Qingyang 青陽 and Yigu 夷鼓 should have been surname of Ji 姬, and Yigu 夷鼓 can identified with Canglin 蒼林.<sup>[28]</sup>

In my opinion, though it is doubtful that the two Qingyang 青陽 were both the sons of the Yellow Emperor and had the same name, there may be a textual error. One should not completely deny the above-cited record from the "Jinyu 晉語 4" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語.

Firstly, the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1, also mentions that "Of the twenty-five sons of Yellow Emperor, fourteen received surnames". There is no basis for changing fourteen into thirteen.

Secondly, the "Jinyu 晉語 4" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 clearly records that there was not only a Qingyang 青陽 by the surname of Ji 己, but also Ji 姬. To this we may add the statement in the "Dixi 帝繫" chapter of the *Dadailiji* 大戴禮記:

The Yellow Emperor dwelt in Xuanyuan 軒轅 Hill, and took a wife from the Xiling 西陵. The daughter of [the lord of] the Xiling 西陵, who was called Leizu 嫫祖, begot Qingyang 青陽 and Changyi 昌意. Qingyang 青陽 came down and dwelt in the valley of the Di 氾 River, while Changyi 昌意 came down and dwelt in the valley of the Ruo 若 River. Changyi 昌意 took a wife from the Shushan 蜀山. The daughter of [the lord of] the Shushan 蜀山, who was called Changpu 昌濮, begot Zhuanyu 顓頊.

It is also known that Qingyang 青陽 of the surname Ji 己 and Qiangyang 青陽 of the surname Ji 姬 had different maternal families. The former was the Fanglei 方雷, and the latter was the Xiling 西陵. The two Qingyang 青陽 should not be confused.

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1, it is recorded that "The Yellow Emperor dwelt in Xuanyuan 軒轅 Hill, and married the daughter of [the lord of] the Xiling 西陵, who was called Leizu 嫫祖. Leizu 嫫祖 was the Yellow Emperor's legal wife, and begot two children whose descendants all ruled the land under heaven. One was Xuanxiao 玄囂, i.e., Qingyang 青陽. Qingyang 青陽 came down and dwelt in the valley of the Jiang 江 River. The second was Changyi 昌意, who came down and dwelt in the valley of the Ruo 若 River". "Jiang 江 River" must have been a textual error for "Di 氾 River".<sup>[29]</sup> Accordingly, it can be deduced that Qingyang 青陽 as mentioned in the "Dixi 帝繫" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記 should be Xuanxiao 玄囂. Since it was not Xuanxiao 玄囂 himself who had "ruled land under heaven", but his descendants who were, of course, not the same as Shaohao 少昊 (Changyi's 昌意 situation can be provided for reference), it is impossible that Xuanxiao Qingyang can be identified with Shaohao 少昊. Therefore, according to the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 1, the aforementioned record in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1 clearly shows that "Sima Qian 司馬遷 could not have thought Qingyang 青陽 to be Shaohao 少昊".<sup>[30]</sup>

Since the *Shiben* 世本 mentions not only that Shaohao 少皞 was Qingyang 青陽, but also that "The surname Ji 己 derived from Shaohao 少皞" (cited by the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan Zhengyi* 春秋左傳正義 [the seventeenth year of Duke Zhao 昭]), Shaohao 少昊 must have been Qingyang 青陽 of the surname Ji 己. Since Shaohao 少昊 was Qingyang 青陽 of the surname Ji 己, Xuanxiao 玄囂 was Qingyang 青陽 of the surname Ji 姬.

In sum, of the sons of the Yellow Emperor there were two Qingyang 青陽, namely Qingyang 青陽 of the surname Ji 姬 and Qingyang 青陽 of the surname Ji 己. The former was Xuanxiao 玄囂, and the latter, Shaohao 少昊.

Secondly, it is possible that Shaohao 少昊 dwelt in the valley of the Ruo 若 River earlier than Changyi 昌意.

1. As mentioned above, Xuanxiao 玄囂, namely, Qingyang 青陽 of the surname Ji 姬, came down and dwelt in the valley of the Di 氾 River. The man who came down and dwelt in the valley of the Ruo 若 River was Changyi 昌意. But the *Shiben* 世本, cited by the "Tudiming 土地名 C" chapter of the *Chunqiu Shili* 春秋



釋例 (vol. 3), mentions that "Ruo 都 was the state of the surname Yun 允, in which Changyi 昌意 came down and dwelt in and was made the prince". This seems to indicate that the place in which Changyi 昌意 came down and dwelt was originally the state of the surname Yun 允.

2. The only possibility is that the state of the surname Yun 允 in the valley of the Ruo 若 River was founded by Shaohao 少昊. This is because, according to the legend, Yunge 允格, the son of Shaohao 少昊, dwelt at Ruo 都. Yunge's 允格 son had the surname Ruo 都. It is quite clear that the place was named Ruo 都 because Shaohao 少昊 had dwelt in the valley of the Ruo 若 River. As for "Ruo 都" referred to in the above-cited *Shiben* 世本, it must have been in the valley of the Ruo 若 River. Otherwise, Ruo 都 should be a textual error for "Ruoshui 若水 (the valley of the Ruo 若 River)".<sup>[31]</sup> The "Ruo 都" located in "Lexiang 樂鄉 County, Xiang 襄 Province" as seen in Du's 杜 commentary, namely, the so-called "Upper Ruo 都" should be the later settlement of the surname Yun 允.<sup>[32]</sup>

3. According to legend, Zhuanxu 顓頊, who was born in the valley of the Ruo 若 River moved east to Qionsang 窮桑 in the north of Lu 魯 to assist Shaohao 少昊. From this, the relationship between Shaohao 少昊 and the Ruo 若 River can also be seen.<sup>[33]</sup>

4. The "Shi Yan 釋言" chapter of the *Erya* 爾雅 mentions that "*Ruo* 若 means to obey". The original meaning of "yun 允" is also "to obey". In the reference "瞽亦允若" (Gu[sou] 瞽[叟] also followed and obeyed him) in the "Dayumo 大禹謨" chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書, "yun 允" and "ruo 若", as synonyms, were used consecutively.<sup>[34]</sup> It is beyond the shadow of a doubt that "yun 允" of "Yunxing 允姓" and "ruo 若" of "Ruoshui 若水", as transcriptions, were both entrusted with another meaning at the time when the two Chinese characters were selected for use. It is, of course, not accidental that the original meaning of both Chinese characters for the two transcribed terms was "to obey".

In addition, there was a tribe of mixed blood of the surname Yun 允 and the Qiang 羌 called "the Qiang 羌 of Ruo 婁".<sup>[35]</sup> "Ruo 婁", according to the definition under the "Nū 女" radical of the *Shuowen* 說文, ch. 12B, "means 不順 (disobey), belongs to the 'nū 女' radical, and its initial is the same as ruo 若. There is Shusun Ruo 叔孫婁 in the *Chunqiu* 春秋傳". In my opinion, it seems impossible that the meaning of Shusun Ruo's 叔孫婁 name was "disobey". "不" in the *Shuowen* 說文 must have been a redundant word. The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96 A, mentions that "The king of the Qiang 羌 of Ruo 婁 is entitled King Quhulai 去胡來 (Tochari)". Yan's 顏 commentary says, "This refers to the one who abandoned the nomads and went over to the Han 漢". It is clear that the Chinese literal meaning of "Quhulai 去胡來", the transcribed term, and the original meaning of "ruo 婁" are consistent. In other words, the original meaning of "婁" is the same as "若".<sup>[36]</sup> From this, one can see the relationship between the surname Yun 允 and the Ruo 若 River.

In sum, there had been a state of the surname Yun 允 in the valley of the Ruo 若 River before Changyi 昌意 came down and dwelt there. Shaohao 少昊 dwelt in the valley of the Ruo 若 River earlier than Changyi 昌意. The valley of the Ruo 若 River should be the earliest settlement of Shaohao 少昊, thus a settlement of his descendants was called Ruo 都. Shaohao 少昊 moved east for a certain reason, and his state had the title "Qionsang 窮桑". "Qionsang 窮桑" [*giuəm-sang*] and "Yunxing 允姓" [*jiuən-sieng*] were different transcriptions of the same name.

Third, "Qusou 渠搜" and "Yunxing 允姓" can be regarded as different transcriptions of the same name.

As for the name "Qusou 渠搜", it can be regarded as a different transcription of "Yuezhi 月氏", "Yushi 虞氏", or "Yunxing 允姓". However, it seems that the age of the Qusou 渠搜 was earlier than that of the Youyu 有虞 (the predecessors of the Yuezhi 月氏) and they had always lived to the west of the Central Plain. With this in mind, the possibility becomes even greater that the origin of the tribe was the same as that of Shaohao 少昊. It is quite possible that there was still a part of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, namely, the tribe of Shaohao 少昊 who originally dwelt scattered about and lived in Shuofang 朔方 and so on, after the greater part of them had moved east to Qionsang 窮桑 in the north of Lu 魯. The former was termed Qusou 渠搜.

The following are some additional pertinent observations:

1. In the "Dahuang Beijing 大荒北經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 it is recorded that "In the Great Beyond are Mount Hengshi 衡石, Mount Jiuyin 九陰 and Mount Jiongye 洞野. Above is a red tree with green leaves and red flowers, called the Ruo 若 tree, where the sun sets". And in the "Haineijing 海內經" of the same book it is recorded that "Beyond the South Sea, between the Black and Green rivers, is a tree called the Ruo 若 tree. This is the source of the Ruo 若 River". "若" is noted as "叒" under the "Ruo" 叒 radical of the *Shuowen* 說文, ch. 12B, which mentions that "The Fusang 搏桑 that the sun ascends after rising from the Tang 湯 Valley is a mulberry tree. It is a pictographic character". It is suggested that the Fusang 搏桑 in the *Shuowen* 說文 is the Ruo 若 tree in the farthest eastern region, while that in the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 is the Ruo tree in the farthest western region.<sup>[37]</sup> In my opinion, these records show that there are Ruo 若 trees at the places of sunrise and sunset. The Ruo 若 tree at the place of the sunrise is Fusang 扶桑, and the Ruo 若 River has its source at the place where the Ruo 若 tree grows. It is generally suggested that the Ruo 若 River in whose valley the state of the surname Yun 允 was located and Changyi 昌意 dwelt, is the present Yalong 雅礮 River in Sichuan 四川 Province. This can well be regarded as an acceptable theory. But another possibility can not be ruled out that there is another River Ruo 若 west of the Yalong 雅礮 River. Guo's 郭 commentary on the above-cited reference to the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 says, "Its source is in the west of Mount Kunlun 昆侖 near the

farthest western region". And the "Lisao 離騷" says, "I break off a branch of the Ruo 若 tree to brush the sun's path". Wang Yi's 王逸 commentary says, "The Ruo 若 tree grows in the farthest western region; its brilliance shines on the lower land". These all can be regarded as evidence in support of this interpretation. This is to say that one can trace farther westward the source of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允.

In sum, the Ruo 若 River had its source where the Ruo 若 tree grew. The Ruo 若 tree grew not only in the place of sunset, namely, the farthest western region, but also the place of sunrise, namely, Fusang 扶桑 or Qionsang 窮桑, in the east. This relates to the migration of the tribe of Shaohao 少昊.

2. The state of the surname Yun 允 that had occupied the valley of the Ruo 若 River before Changyi 昌意 came down and dwelt, the tribe of Shaohao 少昊 that moved east to Qionsang 窮桑 from the valley of the Ruo 若 River, the villains of the surname Yun 允 as the descendants of Shaohao 少昊 and the Asii, i.e., the villains of the surname Yun 允 who moved west and became a part of the Sai 塞 tribes and scattered and lived in the Western Regions, all came from the same origin. However, they must have developed differences in language, customs, and physical characteristic, due to their different experiences.

3. The "Memoir on the Western Region" of the *Hanshu* 漢書, cited by 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 塞 tribes were originally the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who dwelt in Dunhuang 燉煌 for generations, and then moved to the south of Congling 葱嶺 (the Pamir Regions) because of being forced and driven off by the Yuezhi 月氏.<sup>[38]</sup>

It is generally suggested that the "the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允" here must have been "the Rong 戎 of Yin 陰" as seen in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the ninth year of Duke Zhao 昭). This is of course a possibility. However, the possibility that "the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允" in the paragraph cited by Xun Ji 荀濟 were in fact the Qusou 渠搜, the remains of the state of surname Yun 允 after moving east to Qionsang 窮桑 can not be ruled out either. And it is also possible that some tribes, such as the Wusun 烏孫 [*a-siuən*], being taken as branch of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who moved west, were likewise the Qusou 渠搜.

4. "Qionsang 窮桑" (the title of Shaohao 少昊) and "Yunxing 允姓" were different transcription of the same name, and "Gaoyang 高陽" (the title of Zhuanyu 顓頊, the ancestor of the Youyu 有虞, which was the precursor of the Yuezhi 月氏) and "Yushi 虞氏" or "Yuezhi 月氏" were different transcriptions of the same name. Therefore, "Yuezhi 月氏" and "Yunxing 允姓" or "Qusou 渠搜" were also different transcriptions of the same name. Thus, it is difficult to know from which of these two

the names of places, tribes and states similar to "Yuezhi 月氏" or "Yunxing 允姓", etc. in the Hexi 河西 region and even the Western Regions were derived, from the Yuezhi 月氏 or from the Yunxing 允姓. In addition, the Gasiani and Asii (Asiani), as seen in the Western sources, who belonged to the Sakā tribes, can of course be identified with the Yuezhi 月氏 and the surname Yunxing 允姓 respectively. But there is also no harm in taking the Gasiani as Yunxing 允姓, and the Asii as Yuezhi 月氏. Hopefully, future research will produce more conclusive answers.

- [1] In the *Jinben Zhushu Jinian* 今本竹書紀年 it is recorded that "In the sixteenth year [of Emperor Yao 堯, the lord of Taotang 陶唐] the Qusou 渠搜 came to make their submission". It is possible that the basis for this reference is the same as the *Xinshu* 新書.
- [2] In the "Zashi 雜事, the first" chapter of the *Xinxu* 新序 (ch. 1) by Liu Xiang 劉向 it is also recorded that Shun 舜 "was selected as the Son of Heaven, all people under the sun had been enlightened by him. The barbarians all submitted to him. He called upon the Qusou 渠搜 to the north to pacify the Jiaozhi 交趾 in the south, there was nobody who did not admire his virtue. The unicorn and the phoenix appeared in the suburbs of the capital".
- [3] The historiographer's comment on the memoir on Zhang Gui 張軌 of the *Jinshu* 晉書 says, "There lived the Qusou 渠搜, who came to submit to Yu's 禹 rule and arrangements".
- [4] In the "Zhoumuwang 周穆王 (King of Mu 穆 of Zhou 周)" chapter of the *Liezi* 列子 it is recorded that "[The King Mu 穆] galloped a journey of one thousand *li* 里, and reached the state of Jusou 巨蒐. The Jusou 巨蒐 people offered the blood of a white crane and gave it to the king. Then they got the milk of oxen and horses ready to wash the feet of the Son of Heaven, and that of the people in the two carriages".
- [5] There is no memoir on Wang Hui 王恢 in the *Hanshu* 漢書; the reference cited by Jin 晉 appears in the memoir on Han Anguo 韓安國.
- [6] The theory of Lu Deming 陸德明 is roughly the same; See the *Shangshu Zhengyi*, p. 150.
- [7] The *Yugong Shuoduan*, vol. 2, supports Ying's 應 theory and says, "On the basis of my study, the Qusou 渠搜 in Shuofang 朔方 during Han 漢 times were not the Qusou 渠搜 here. The latter must have been the barbarians who lived to the west of Jincheng 金城. There were Qusou 渠搜 in Shuofang 朔方 during Han 漢 times as a result of the migrations of tribes in later ages. If the Qusou 渠搜 had lived in Shuofang 朔方 in the time of Yu 禹, they should not have sailed east from Jishi 積石. Therefore Lu's 陸 theory is incorrect". There is the same theory in the *Yugong Zhuizh*, vol. 10.
- [8] Cf. *Mutianzizhuan Huijiao Jishi*, pp. 215-216.
- [9] The *Mutianzizhuan Tongshi*, p. 73, suggests that the settlement of the Jusou 巨蒐 must have been in the valley of the Ayibuqa and Sharamuren rivers to the north of Mount Yin 陰 according to the route of King Mu's 穆 journey. The *Mutianzizhuan Huijiao Jishi*, pp. 215-216, suggests that, in the *Mutianzizhuan* 穆天子傳, one reaches the eastern end of Yangyu 陽紆 after a day's journey from the settlement of the Jusou 巨蒐. It must have been a distance of about one hundred *li* 里 to the north of the eastern foot of Mount Yin 陰.
- [10] The *Mutianzizhuanzhu Buzhen*, vol. 4, Ogawa (1939-1), esp. 326-327, and so on.
- [11] Cen (1962), esp. 34.

- [12] Gao, and so on.
- [13] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 210-215.
- [14] Wang, G. (1984-2)
- [15] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), p. 43.
- [16] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 71-72.
- [17] Of course, the possibility cannot be ruled out that both Khojend and Kāsān derived from Gasiani. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 71-72.
- [18] Cf. Shiratori, esp. 135-136, and the *Datang Xiyuji Jiaozhu*, pp. 983-984.
- [19] It is also possible that "Jiashe 迦舍" and "Gesha 葛沙" are different transcriptions of "Gasiana". Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 210-215.
- [20] Zheng Xuan's 鄭玄 theory appears also in the *Shangshu Zhengyi* 尚書正義. In my opinion, Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 possibly has grounds for regarding "Qusou 渠搜" as the name of the mountain. The mountain derived its name because the Qusou 渠搜 people had lived there.
- [21] In the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 18, it is recorded that "All ...grey squirrels and fur coats from Qusou 渠搜... are banned articles". In the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 29, it is also recorded that "Qusou 渠搜 came and offered fur coats at the time of Yu 禹". These can be read for reference.
- [22] Cf. Ma.
- [23] Cen (1958-2).
- [24] Cen (1958-2).
- [25] Shiratori, esp. 223, 224.
- [26] Ogawa (1939-1), esp. 327-328.
- [27] For example, the subcommentary on the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the seventeenth year of Duke Zhao 昭) states, "The 'Jinyu 晉語' states Qingyang's 青陽 virtue was the same as that of the Yellow Emperor, thus his surname was Ji 姬. The Yellow Emperor begot fourteen sons, who had twelve surnames. Of twelve surnames there were both Ji 姬 and Ji 己. Since Qingyang's 青陽 surname was Ji 姬, the surname Ji 己 was not that of the descendants of Qingyang 青陽. On the basis of the *Shiben* 世本, the surname Ji 己 derived from Shaohao 少皞, but not from Qingyang 青陽. It is impossible to know entirely because the age is remote and the records are lost", things like that.
- [28] The *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 1, says, "The old explanation breaks four and makes three, that is to say that those who had the surname were thirteen men in all. In my opinion, the *Guoyu* 國語 records the words of Xu Chen 胥臣, who says, 'Of twenty-five clans of the sons of the Yellow Emperor, those who had twelve surnames were fourteen men in all. The twelve surnames were Ji 姬, You 酉, Qi 祁, Ji 己, Teng 滕, Zhen 箴, Ren 任, Xun 荀, Xi 僖, Ji 姑, Xuan 僊 and Yi 衣. Both Qingyang 青陽 and Yigu 夷鼓 were surnamed Ji 己'. And he also said that 'Qingyang 青陽 and Canglin 蒼林 had the surname of Ji 姬'. From this, it can be seen that fourteen men had twelve surnames. The related record is very clear. But the surname Ji 姬 was also subject to both Qingyang 青陽 and Canglin 蒼林, probably because the text of the *Guoyu* 國語 had errors, which resulted in the puzzlement of the succeeding scholars. Qingyang 青陽 by the surname of Ji 姬 must have been Xuanxiao 玄囂. This shows that the ancestor of Emperor Ku 嚳 had the same surname as the Yellow Emperor. The former Qingyang 青陽 as seen in the above-cited *Guoyu* 國語 must have been Shaohao 少昊, the lord of the state of Jintian 金天, whose surname was Ji 己. Since

there is no reason to doubt this, it is unnecessary to break four and make three". In my opinion, Sima Zhen's 司馬貞 theory is correct. The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 20, records that "The daughter of [the lord of] Fanglei 方雷 was a concubine of the Yellow Emperor. She begot Xuanxiao 玄囂, who was known as Qingyang 青陽. Leizu 象祖 was a concubine of the Yellow Emperor. She begot Changyi 昌意". And Huangfu Mi's 皇甫謐 commentary, cited by the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 1, says, "The legal wife of the Yellow Emperor, the daughter of [the lord of] the Xiling 西陵, who was Leizu 累祖, begot Changyi 昌意. The second concubine, the daughter of [the lord of] the Fanglei 方雷, who was Nüjie 女節, begot Qingyang 青陽. The third concubine, the daughter of [the lord of] the Tongyu 彤魚, begot Yigu 夷鼓. Another name for Yigu 夷鼓 was Canglin 蒼林". Both references lump Qingyang 青陽 of the surname Ji 己 with Qingyang 青陽 of the surname Ji 姬, which is inadequate. Also, Wei's 韋 commentary on the "Jinyu 晉語 D" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 admits there were two Qingyang 青陽, one of them surnamed Ji 己, another, Ji 姬, but also says that "Fanglei 方雷 was the surname of the Xiling 西陵". This is equal to saying that the Leizu 累祖 begot Qingyang 青陽 of the surname Ji 己. It is also in order to deny that there were two Qingyang 青陽. The reason that caused the error is the same as that of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 20.

[29] Li, X. (1994), p. 217.

[30] Song Zhong's 宋衷 commentary, cited by the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1, says, "Xuanxiao Qingyang 玄囂青陽 was Shaohao 少昊". In my opinion, this theory is incorrect.

[31] The reference in the "Ju 居" chapter of the *Shiben* (2) notes that "In the valley of the Ruo 若 River there was the state by the surname Yun 允, where Changyi 昌意 came down to be made the prince (compiled from the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽)". Zhang Shu's 張澍 note says, "Du Yu 杜預 considers that the feudality of Changyi 昌意 was at Ruo 都, which is Lexiang 樂鄉 in Xiang 襄 Province, but not Ruo 都 in Nan 南 Prefecture. The Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 were those who were removed by Qin 秦. The *Shiben* 世本 regards the valley of the Ruo 若 River as the settlement of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, which is incorrect". In my opinion, Zhang Shu 張澍 did not know that Qingyang 青陽 by the surname of Ji 己 had dwelt in the valley of the Ruo 若 River, so he denounced the *Shiben* 世本. His view is incorrect. Also, the above-cited reference of the *Shiben* (2) does not appear in the present *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽. Further, the "Shixing 氏姓" chapter of the *Shiben* 世本 compiled by the same book says, "Ruo 若 was a state of the surname Ji 姬. Changyi 昌意, the son of the Yellow Emperor, came down and dwelt in the valley of the Ruo 若 River. The state was established by the descendants of Changyi 昌意". Zhang Shu's 張澍 note says, "Ruo 婞 here was in Le 樂 County of Xiang 襄 Province; see Du Yu's 杜預 commentary on the *Zuozhuan* 左傳. The *Shiben* 世本 considers that it was the valley of the Ruo 若 River which Changyi 昌意 came down and dwelt in, which is incorrect". In my opinion, the reference of the *Shiben* 世本 that is compiled by Zhang Shu 張澍 appears in the *Taiping Huanyuji* 太平寰宇記, ch. 145. Since Changyi 昌意 had dwelt in the valley of the Ruo 若 River, it is completely possible that the settlement of his descendants was known as Ruo 婞. If we take into consideration the reference "[Ruo 都 was] the state of the surname Yun 允" from the *Shiben* 世本, cited by the "Guomingji 國名紀" chapter of the *Lushi* 路史, there is no harm in considering that Lower Ruo 婞 derived its name from the

Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, and Upper Ruo 都, from the descendants of Changyi 昌意.

[32] It is possible that Ruo 都 in Lexiang 樂鄉 is a trace of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 who moved to there from Lower Ruo 都. The "Guomingji 國名紀" chapter of the *Lushi* 路史 says, "Old Ruo 都 is originally Shangmi 商密, which was a small state on the border between Qin 秦 and Chu 楚. The *Shiben* 世本 states 'it was the state of the surname Yun 允'. Qin 秦 removed them inward, and they then moved to Nan 南 Prefecture. Now Ruo 都 Pavilion is to the southwest of Yicheng 宜城 in Xiang 襄. There is a strategically secure town on the mount". In my opinion, Old Ruo 都 must derive its name from Yunge 允格, who were not removed to there by Qin 秦.

[33] Cf. the 2nd chapter of this book.

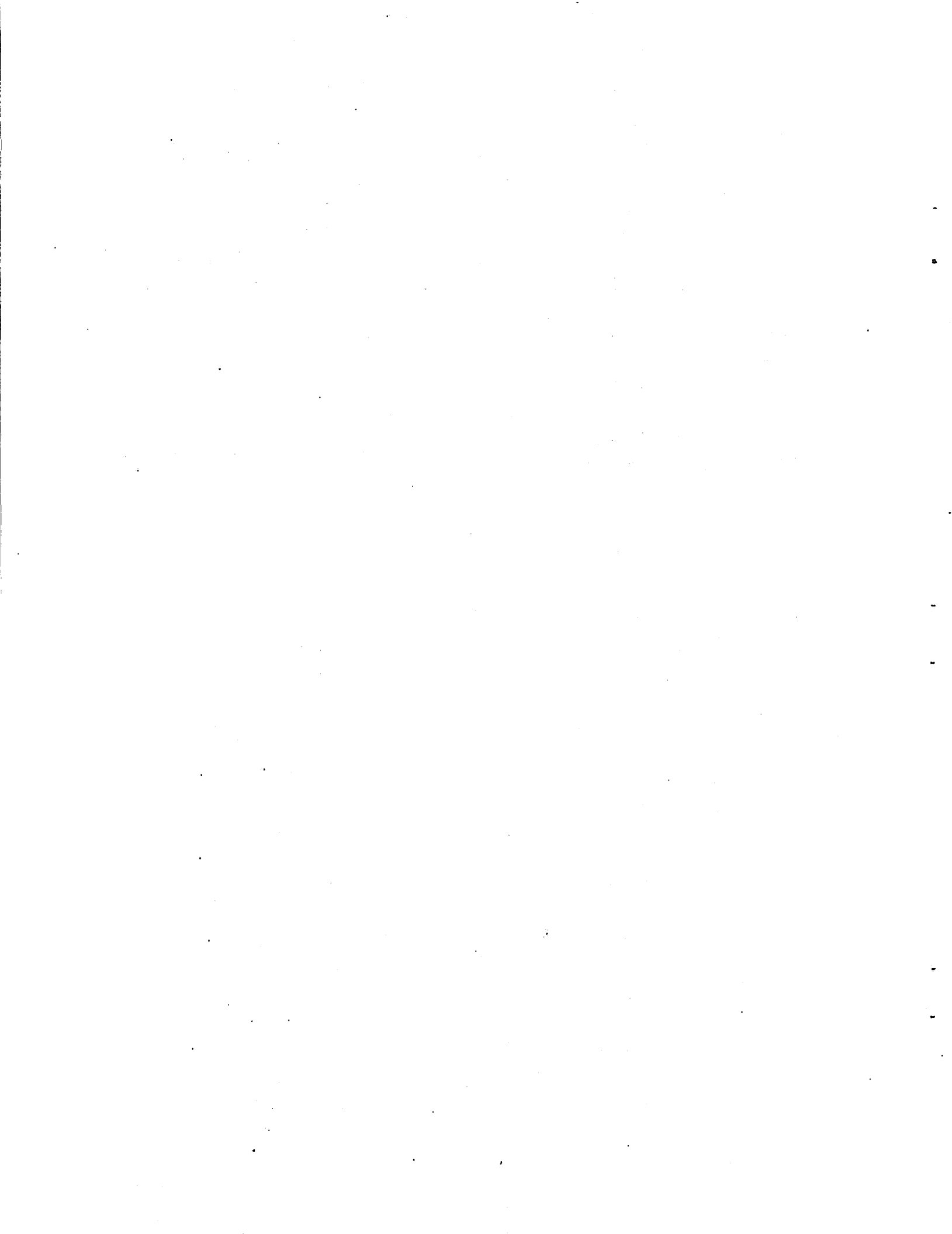
[34] Zhao, pp. 155-157.

[35] Cf. the 3rd chapter of this book.

[36] For details, see Zhou, L.

[37] See the *Shanhaijing Jianshu*, vol. 17.

[38] The *Dazhengzang*, vol. 52, p. 129.





## APPENDIX 2 On the Yiqu

### A

Of activities of the Yiqu 義渠, there are only a few that can be verified.<sup>[1]</sup>

In the *Jinben Zhushu Jinian* 今本竹書紀年 it is recorded that "In the thirtieth year [of Wuyi 武乙], the army of Zhou 周 attacked the Yiqu 義渠, capturing their lord, and returned". If one may believe this record, the state of Yiqu 義渠 would have had to exist by the end of Yin 殷 Dynasty at the latest. In the "Shijijie 史記解" of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書 it is recorded that "Anciently, [the lord of] the Yiqu 義渠 had two sons. They had different mothers. The lord attached importance to both on an equal basis. When the lord was ill, the ministers formed two cliques and struggled with each other. The state of Yiqu 義渠 thus died out". This may be the same event as seen in the *Jinben Zhushu Jinian* 今本竹書紀年. According to the reference in the "Wanghuijie 王會解" of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書, "There are the Yiqu 義渠 who offer Zibo 茲白 in the due north. Zibo 茲白 is like a white horse with sawteeth, and eats tigers and leopards". This may be regarded as the situation after the Yiqu 義渠 acknowledged their allegiance to Zhou 周.

Down to the Spring and Autumn period, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110, "Duke Mu of Qin 秦, having obtained the services of Youyu 由余, succeeded in forcing the eight barbarian tribes of the west to submit to his authority. Thus at this time there lived in the region west of Long 隴 the Mianzhu 緜諸, the Rong 戎 of Gun 緄, the Di 翟 and the Rong 戎 of Yuan 獯. In the north of Qi 岐 and Liang 梁 mountains, and the Jing 涇 and Qi 漆 rivers lived the Rong 戎 of Yiqu 義渠, Dali 大荔, Wushi 烏氏, and Quyan 胸衍. In the north of Jin 晉 were the Lin Hu 林胡 and the Rong 戎 of Loufan 樓煩, while to the north of Yan 燕 lived the Eastern Hu 胡 and the Rong 戎 of Shan 山. All of them were scattered about in their own little valleys, each with their own chieftain. From time to time they would have gatherings of a hundred or more men, but no one tribe was capable of unifying the others under a single rule". A parallel record also appears in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94A.

During the Warring States period, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 15, in the sixth year of Duke Li 厲 of Qin 秦 (471 B.C.), "the Yiqu 義渠 came and offered presents". In the thirty-third year (444 B.C.) Qin 秦 "attacked the Yiqu 義渠, and

captured their king".<sup>[2]</sup> In the thirteenth year of Duke Zao 躁 of Qin 秦 (430 B.C.) "The Yiqu 義渠 attacked the Qin 秦 and reached as far as the northern bank of the Wei 渭 River".<sup>[3]</sup> In the seventh year of King Huiwen 惠文 of Qin 秦 (331 B.C.), "There was internal disorder in the state of Yiqu 義渠. Cao 操, the Militia General, led the troops to put it down". In the eleventh year of King Huiwen 惠文 (327 B.C.) of Qin 秦 "the lord of the Yiqu 義渠 declared himself the vassal of Qin 秦". In the eleventh year of *Chugeng* 初更 of King Huiwen 惠文 (314 B.C.), the Qin 秦 "invaded Yiqu 義渠, and obtained twenty-five towns".<sup>[4]</sup>

In the reference that the Yiqu 義渠 invaded Qin 秦 and "reached as far as the northern bank of the Wei 渭 River", "the northern bank" is noted as the "southern bank" in a parallel passage of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87 (Memoir on the Western Qiang 羌). After that, according to the latter book, "More than one hundred years later, the Yiqu 義渠 defeated the Qin 秦 army in the valley of the Luo 洛 River. Four years later, the state of Yiqu 義渠 was in disorder. King Hui 惠 of Qin 秦 ordered Cao 操, the Militia General, to lead troops to restore peace. Thereupon the lord of Yiqu 義渠 declared himself the vassal of Qin 秦. Eight years later, Qin 秦 attacked the Yiqu 義渠, and seized Yuzhi 郁郅. Two years later, the Yiqu 義渠 defeated the troops of Qin 秦 at Libo 李伯. In the next year, Qin 秦 attacked the Yiqu 義渠, and snatched twenty-five towns in Tujing 徒涇". On the basis of these accounts, the dates of the Yiqu 義渠's defeating the troops of Qin 秦 in the valley of the Luo 洛 River, Qin's 秦 snatching Yuzhi 郁郅, the Yiqu's 義渠 defeating the troops of Qin at Libo 李伯 and Qin's 秦 snatching twenty-five towns in Tujing 徒涇 are 335, 319, 317 and 316 B.C. respectively.

After the lord of Yiqu 義渠 had declared himself the vassal of Qin 秦, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 70, "When the lord of the Yiqu 義渠 came to be presented at the court of Wei 魏, Xishou 犀首 heard of Zhang Yi's 張儀 being Prime Minister of Qin 秦 once again and was jealous of him. Xishou 犀首 thus said to the lord of the Yiqu 義渠, 'The road is long and it is not likely I shall see you pass this way again. Allow me, then, to tell you how matters stand'. And it is said, 'When the Middle States are not warring against Qin 秦, then Qin 秦 is plundering and burning your country. When the Middle States are at war with Qin 秦, the Qin 秦 will quickly send envoys, heavy with wealth, to prove that she serves your state'. The five states later attacked Qin 秦, and Chen Zhen 陳軫 said to the king of Qin 秦, 'The ruler of Yiqu 義渠 is a worthy ruler among the barbarians; your majesty should bribe him to mollify him'. 'Good advice', said the king of Qin 秦, and he sent a thousand bolts of embroidered silk and a hundred fine women to the lord of the Yiqu 義渠. The lord of the Yiqu 義渠 in turn called together his ministers and gave them his plan. 'This is what Gongsun Yan 公孫衍 spoke of, he said, and raising his troops he attacked and heavily defeated Qin below Libo 李伯'.<sup>[5]</sup> "Five states attacked Qin 秦", according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 15, occurred in the seventh year of the latter part

of the reign period of King of Huiwen 惠文 of Qin 秦 (318 B.C.). It is possible that in the year after this event that the lord of the Yiqu 義渠 attacked Qin 秦.

After that, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 5, in the first year of King Wu 武 (310 B.C.), Qin 秦 also "attacked the Yiqu 義渠".

Also, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110, "During the reign period of King Zhao 昭 of Qin 秦 (306-251 B.C.) the king of the Rong 戎 of Yiqu 義渠 had illicit relations with King Zhao's 昭 mother, the Queen Dowager Xuan 宣, by whom he had two sons. Later the Queen Dowager Xuan 宣 deceived and murdered him at the Palace of Sweet Springs. She eventually raised an army and sent it to attack and ravage the lands of the Yiqu 義渠. Thus Qin 秦 came into possession of the prefectures of Longxi 隴西, Beidi 北地, and Shang 上, where it built long walls to act as a defense against the Hu 胡". A parallel record appears in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94A. And according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87 (Memoir on the Western Qiang 羌), the time when "the Queen Dowager Xuan 宣 deceived and murdered the king of Yiqu 義渠 at the Palace of Sweet Springs, and eventually raised an army and sent it to destroyed them" was the forty-third year of King Nan 赧 [of Zhou 周] (the thirty-fifth year of King Zhao 昭 of Qin 秦, i.e., 272 B.C.).<sup>161</sup>

The state of Yiqu 義渠 was ravaged, but their remnants survived until the beginning of the Han 漢 times. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94A,

In the next year (the second year of the reign-period *Yuanfeng* 元鳳 of Emperor Zhao 昭, i.e., 79 B.C.), the *Chanyu* 單于 [of the Xiongnu 匈奴] sent King Liwu 犁汗 to spy upon the borders of Han 漢. The king told the *Chanyu* 單于 that the troops in Jiuquan 酒泉 and Zhangye 張掖 had become weaker. If an army was sent to attack, there would be hope of recovering the lands again. At that time, Han 漢 took some prisoners before the Xiongnu 匈奴 set out, and heard of the plan from them. The Son of heaven thereupon ordered the border to be guarded. Shortly after this, the Wise King of the Right and King Liwu 犁汗 led four thousand cavalymen, dividing into three files, and entered the Rile 日勒-Wulan 屋蘭-Fanhe 番和 region. The governor of Zhangye 張掖 Prefecture and the Commandant of the Dependency dispatched troops to attack, and utterly defeated them. These who managed to escape numbered only in the hundreds. A cavalier of chief of a thousand of the dependency, the king of the Yiqu 義渠, shot and killed King Liwu 犁汗, and was conferred two hundred *jin* 斤 of gold and two hundred horses, thus he was granted the title of King Liwu 犁汗.

The chief of a thousand in the dependency in Zhangye 張掖 Prefecture was still known as "the king of the Yiqu 義渠". This shows that the tribes of the Yiqu 義渠 had not yet withered away completely.

Also, the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 49 records that Chao Cuo 鼂錯 presented a memorial expounding his military views, which says:

Now the people who came to submit to justice, such as the surrendered Hu 胡, Yiqu 義渠, Man 蠻 and Yi 夷, can be numbered in the thousands. Their food and drink, and their specialities are the same as the Xiongnu 匈奴. Your Majesty can confer upon them strong armor, padded clothes, powerful bows, sharp arrows, and good horses from the frontier prefectures, then order a general who knows their customs and is able to console their minds, to restrain them and to command them to rely on Your Majesty's wisdom. If any danger and difficulty occur, they could bear it....

This must have been the background of the situation whereby, "Of the Yiqu 義渠 and the Eastern Hu, a lot of people came to surrender" recorded in the "Xiongnu 匈奴" chapter of Jia Yi's 賈誼 *Xinshu* 新書.

## B

The earliest settlement of the Yiqu 義渠 people can be traced back to north of the Jing 涇 River. The evidence is the follows:

In the *Shiji*, ch. 110 it is recorded that "North of Qi 祁 and Liang 梁 mountains, and the Jing 涇 and Qi 漆 rivers lived the Rong of Yiqu 義渠, Dali 大荔, Wushi 烏氏, and Quyan 胸衍". Wei Zhao's 韋昭 commentary, cited by the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 110, says, "Yiqu 義渠 was originally a state of the Western Rong 戎, had its king, and was destroyed by Qin 秦. Its former land is the present Beidi 北地 Prefecture". And the *Kuodizhi* 括地志, cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 5, says, "Ning 寧, Yuan 原 and Qing 慶, the tree prefectures were Beidi 北地 Prefecture in Qin 秦 times. It was the state of the Rong 戎 of Yiqu 義渠 during the periods of the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States. Gongliu 公劉 and Buzhu 不窋, the ancestors of Zhou 周, dwelt there. It was originally the land of the ancient western Rong 戎". According to the *Kuodizhi* 括地志 cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 110, it is noted that "The three prefectures of Ning 寧, Yuan 原, and Qing 慶 originally were the land of the ancient Western Rong 戎. It was the settlement of Gongliu 公劉. It was the state of the Rong 戎 of Yiqu 義渠 in Zhou 周 times and Beidi 北地 Prefecture in the Qin 秦 times".<sup>[7]</sup> This shows that Beidi 北地 Prefecture in Han 漢 times was the settlement of the Yiqu 義渠 in Eastern Zhou 周 times. The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28A mentions that there was an "Yiqu 義渠 Circuit" in Beidi Prefecture. The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87 (Memoir on the Western Qiang 羌), mentions that "Qin 秦 attacked the Yiqu 義渠, and seized Yuzhi 郁郅" in 319 B.C. "Yuzhi 郁郅", the commentary says, "is the name of a county that belongs to Beidi 北地 Prefecture". The above-cited records about Zhou's 周 attack

on the Yiqu 義渠 in the *Jinben Zhushu Jinian* 今本竹書紀年, and the record of Yiqu's 義渠 being due north of Zhou 周 can be regarded as evidence.

The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87 (Memoir on the Western Qiang 羌), records that Qin 秦 attacked the Yiqu 義渠 and took twenty-five towns in Tujing 徒涇. The commentary says, "Tujing 徒涇 is the name of a county, which belongs to Xihe 西河 Prefecture".<sup>[8]</sup> If this is correct, Xihe 西河 Prefecture in Han 漢 times also belonged to the sphere of influence of the Yiqu 義渠 during the period of the Warring States.

It is suggested that Tujing 徒涇 may have been in or near Jing 涇 Prefecture in the present Gansu 甘肅, because Yiqu 義渠 was on the northwest border of Ning 寧 Prefecture, and its southeast part adjoined Jing 涇 Prefecture. However, Xihe 西河 Prefecture in Han 漢 times is now in the Front Banner of the Left Wing in the Ordos, hence too remote from the former land of Yiqu 義渠.<sup>[9]</sup>

In my opinion, the base area of the Yiqu 義渠 in Qin 秦 times was north of the Jing 涇 River, but the possibility that their power extended as far as Xihe 西河 Prefecture in Han 漢 times can not be completely ruled out.<sup>[10]</sup>

Firstly, on the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87 (Memoir on the Western Qiang 羌), "In the eighth year of King Zhen 貞 of Zhou 周 (461 B.C.) Duke Li 厲 of Qin 秦 destroyed the Dali 大荔 and seized their land. Zhao 趙 also destroyed the Rong 戎 of Dai 代, i.e., the Northern Rong. Han 韓 and Wei 魏 in company annexed the Rong 戎 of Yiluo 伊洛 and Yin 陰 and destroyed them. All those who escaped fled west and crossed the Yan 沂 and Long 隴 mountains. From then on there were no invader of the Rong 戎 except the race of Yiqu 義渠 in the Middle States". This shows that the Yiqu 義渠 had dwelt in the Middle States together with the various Rong 戎, and after the various Rong 戎 had been driven out they continued to stay east of the Yan 沂 and Long 隴 mountains. From the fact that the Yiqu 義渠 defeated the Qin 秦 army at the Luo 洛 in 335 B.C., one can further see that the Yiqu 義渠 had tried to develop eastwards for a time.

Secondly, in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110, it is recorded that "Wei 魏 held the Hexi 河西 region (Guansu 甘肅 Corridor) and Shang 上 prefecture, bordering the lands of the various Rong 戎. After this the Rong 戎 of Yiqu 義渠 began to build walls and fortifications to protect themselves, but Qin 秦 gradually ate into their territory and, under King Hui 惠, finally seized twenty-five of their towns. King Hui 惠 attacked Wei 魏, forcing it to cede to him Xihe 西河 and Shang 上 prefectures". During the reign period of King Zhao 昭 of Qin 秦, the Queen Dowager Xuan 宣 deceived and murdered the king the Rong 戎 of Yiqu 義渠 at the Palace of Sweet Springs, she eventually raised an army and sent it to attack and ravage the lands of the Yiqu 義渠. Thus Qin 秦 came into possession of the prefectures of Longxi 隴西, Beidi 北地, and Shang 上. Shang 上 Prefecture in Qin 秦 times comprised the western part of Xihe 西河 Prefecture in Han 漢 times. It is probable that a part of Shang 上 prefecture was seized by Qin 秦 from the Yiqu 義渠.

## C

It is suggested that the Yiqu 義渠 were a branch of the Tochari.<sup>[11]</sup> This following is a summary of the theory:

In the "Jiezang 節葬" chapter of the *Mozi* 墨子 it is recorded that "West of Qin 秦 live the people of the state of Yiqu 儀渠. When their parents die, they gather together brushwood and burn the bodies. When the smoke rises up they say that the dead have 'ascended far up' (*dengxia* 登遐). After this they feel that they have fulfilled their duty as filial sons". A parallel record also appears in the "Tangwen 湯問" chapter of the *Liezi* 列子. This shows that the Yiqu 儀渠 (i.e., 義渠) people had the custom of cremation. In the *Avesta*, fire is called *agni*, to burn is *dagdha*, and cremation is *agnidagdha*. Since *agnidagdha* and *yiqu-dengxia* 義渠登遐 can be identified phonetically, it is evidence that the languages of the Yiqu 義渠 people had borrowed from India. This is because there were migrants from India along the Southern Route in the Western Regions in ancient time. Since "Yiqu 義渠" and "Yanqi 焉耆" are different transcriptions of the same name, and since the Yanqi 焉耆 people spoke a Tochari language, the Yiqu 義渠 must have been a Tochari people. They were originally migrants from India, and initially dwelt on the Southern Route in the Western Regions (This would have been west of Qiemu 且末, according to the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, ch. 12). They then migrated to the west of Long 隴 Mountain during the Spring and Autumn Period.

In my opinion, the theory is inadequate.

Firstly, the statement that "The [Yellow] Emperor ascended far up (*dengjia* 登假)" also occurs in the "Huangdi 黃帝 (the Yellow Emperor)" chapter of the *Liezi* 列子. Thus *jia* 假 is a phonetic loan character for *xia* 遐. This shows that *dengxia* 登遐, i.e., *dengjia* 登假, was not only used to describe the cremation of the Yiqu 義渠 people.

Also, the "Quli 曲禮 B" chapter of the *Liji* 禮記 mentions that when the Son of Heaven died, "the announcement is made [to all the states] in mourning for him, it is said, 'The king by [the grace of] Heaven has ascended far up'". Zheng's 鄭 commentary says, "*Deng* 登 means to ascend, and *jia* 假 means already done. *Dengjia* 登假 refers to passing away". This shows that "The smoke rises up" as seen in the *Mozi* 墨子 or *Liezi* 列子 refers to the soul of the dead going up to Heaven along with the smoke. This is the only reasonable explanation.

Though *dengxia* 登遐 is also noted as *dengxia* 登霞, *dengjia* 登假 or *shengjia* 升假, their meanings are not different. The evidence is the following: The "Yuanyou 遠遊" chapter of the *Chuci* 楚辭 mentions that "I ride the glistened soul and ascend far up"! The "Dechongfu 德充符" chapter of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 mentions that "He will soon choose the day and ascend far up. Men may become his followers".

The "Dazongshi 大宗師" chapter of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 mentions that "[The True Man of ancient times] could climb high places and not be frightened, could enter the water and not get wet, could enter fire and not get burned. His knowledge was able to ascend far up to the Way like this..." The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 25B, records Gu Yong's 谷永 words: "There are immortals... who ascend far up to the highest". (Yan's 顏 commentary states that "Xia 遐 means remote".) The "Qisuxun 齊俗訓" chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 mentions that "His being unable to ride a cloud and to ascend far up is very clear". (Xu's 許 commentary states: "jia 假 means far up".) and so on. These can all be regarded as evidence, <sup>[12]</sup>

Secondly, if it is true that there were people who spoke Tocharian at ancient Yanqi 焉耆, the Yanqi 焉耆 people would not necessarily be equal to the Tochari people. Of course, it is also impossible to infer the conclusion that the Yiqu 義渠 people were the Tochari people only because "Yiqu 義渠" and "Yanqi 焉耆" were different transcriptions of the same name. <sup>[13]</sup>

## D

It is suggested that the Yiqu 義渠 can be identified with the Qiang 羌. <sup>[14]</sup> The theory is as follows:

1. In the "Yishang 義賞" chapter of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 it is said that "The people of the Di 氐 and the Qiang 羌, when they are tied up, do not worry about their being put in prison, but about their not being burned after death". In the "Dalue 大略" chapter of the *Xunzi* 荀子 it is said that "The people of the Di 氐 and the Qiang 羌 who are tied up do not worry about their being put in prison, but about their not being burned [after death]". This shows that the Qiang 羌 people also had the custom of cremation as did the Yiqu 義渠. In my opinion, a custom is by no means the main basis for determining race. It is possible that people from the same clan had different customs, and that people from different clans had the same custom. In addition, because there is no reference to cremation in the records on the Qiang 羌 people found in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87 (Memoir on the Western Qiang 羌), this seems to indicate that it was not their main funeral custom.

2. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 69, it is recorded that "At that time, Yiqu Anguo 義渠安國, the Counsellor of the Palace, was sent as an envoy to make a circuit of the various Qiang 羌 tribes. The chiefs of the [Qiang 羌] of Xianling 先零 said to him that they wanted to cross the Huang 湟 River to the north bank in time to go in search of the places which the Han people had not farmed and raise livestock. Anguo 安國 thus submitted a report to the throne. [Zhao] Chongguo [趙]充國 exposed Anguo's 安國 crime, which was carrying out a mission disobediently. After this, the Qiang 羌 people, depending on the former words, brazenly crossed the Huang 湟 River. The lords of the prefectures and counties were unable to prevent

them. ...Thereupon the Prime Minister and the Censor again appealed to the emperor to send Yiqu 義渠 Anguo 安國 to tour and inspect the various Qiang 羌 tribes, and distinguish the good from the evil. Anguo 安國 reached them and called more than thirty of the chiefs of the Qiang 羌 of Xianling 先零 together. Of them, those who were especially fierce and cunning were all beheaded. Anguo 安國 launched the troops to attack the tribal people, and beheaded more than one thousand men. And then various Qiang 羌 who had surrendered, such as Marquis *Guiyi* Qiang 歸義羌 (the Qiang 羌 who Allegiance to the Right), Yang Yu 楊玉 and others, were frightened and angry, They no longer believed and submitted [to Han 漢], so they robbed the lesser tribes, betraying Han 漢 and invading the defence lines. They attacked towns and settlements, killing the senior officers. Anguo 安國, in his capacity as a Commandant of Cavalry, led three thousand cavalry to encamp and guard against the Qiang 羌. When he arrived at Haomen 浩亶, his army was thrashed by the brigands and lost a large amount of baggage, carriages, and weapons". Yiqu 義渠 Anguo 安國, who was of the Yiqu 義渠 people, was sent by Emperor Xuan 宣 to tour and inspect the settlements of the various Qiang 羌 twice. He did not fail to accomplish his diplomatic mission because he knew well the languages, natural conditions and social customs of the Western Qiang 羌. He, as an Yiqu 義渠 person, knew well the Western Qiang 羌. From this, one can see his relationship to the Western Qiang 羌 and the Western Qiang 羌 to him. In my opinion, one who knew the languages, natural conditions, social customs of the Western Qiang 羌 did not necessarily have to belong to the Qiang 羌 people. In addition, as recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 69, Anguo's 安國 mission was not accomplished with flying colors, probably because he actually did not know well the languages, natural conditions, and social customs of the Western Qiang 羌.

3. At the beginning of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87 (Memoir on the Western Qiang 羌), the Yiqu 義渠 are mentioned, because they are regarded as the Western Rong, who included a lot of the Di 氐 and the Qiang 羌. Based on this, one may infer that the Yiqu 義渠 and the Di 氐 or Qiang 羌 were similar. In my opinion, the mention of the Western Rong 戎 including the Yiqu 義渠 at the beginning of the text is solely for the purpose of explaining the relationship between the rebellion and obedience of the Western Rong 戎, as well as the peace and disorder of the Middle States, the beginning with history lesson as mirror. The mention can also be used as the background for the history of the Western Qiang 羌 in the text. The Yiqu 義渠 cannot be identified with the Qiang 羌 simply on this basis.

In conclusion, it is not possible to equate the Yiqu 義渠 with the Qiang 羌.<sup>[15]</sup>

## E



It is suggested that the Yiqu 義渠 can be identified with the Xiongnu 匈奴, the Di 狄 or the White Di 狄.<sup>[16]</sup> The summary of the theory is as follows:

The above-mentioned memorial of Chao Cuo 鼂錯 in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 49 referred to the Yiqu 義渠 people as "the surrendered Hu 胡", and said that their food, drink, and special skills were the same as the Xiongnu 匈奴, i.e., the Hu 胡.

Also, in the "Memoir of Gongsun He 公孫賀" attached to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 111, it is recorded that "He 賀 is a member of the Yiqu 義渠 people; his ancestors were of the Hu 胡 race. Hunxie 渾邪, the father of He 賀, was invested with the title of Marquis Pingqu 平曲 during the reign period of Emperor Jing 景". This also shows that the Han 漢 people regarded the Yiqu 義渠 as the Xiongnu 匈奴.

From this, it is not utterly groundless that "Yiqu 義渠 was a state of the Di 狄 people; it was destroyed by Qin 秦" as stated in Ying Shao's 應劭 *Fengsu Tongyi* 風俗通義 cited by the "Shizulue 氏族略 B" chapter of the *Tongzhi* 通志.

In my opinion, this theory is also difficult to establish.

Firstly, "Hu 胡" was mainly used to refer to the Xiongnu 匈奴, but the Xiongnu 匈奴 were not the only tribe that could be called "Hu 胡". Various tribes in the Western Regions were also called "Hu 胡" (see: the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 9). It is impossible to equate the Yiqu 義渠 with the Xiongnu 匈奴 because they were called "Hu 胡".

Secondly, the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 111 (Memoir of Gongsun He 公孫賀) says, "The present prefecture of Qing 慶 was originally the state of the Rong 戎 of Yiqu 義渠. It was the Northern Circuit of Yiqu 義渠 as seen in the "Records on Geography" [of the *Hanshu* 漢書]. In other words, Gongsun He's 公孫賀 being of the Yiqu 義渠 people in fact refers to his coming from Yiqu 義渠 Circuit. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28B, it is recorded that there was an "Yiqu 義渠 Circuit" in Beidi 北地 Prefecture.

Hunxie 渾邪, the father of He 賀, is also noted as "Kunxie 昆邪". According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 11, 109, and so on, during the reign period of Emperor Jing 景, he successively held the posts of the Supervisor of the Dependent States and the Governor of Longxi 隴西 Prefecture. In the sixth year of the former part of the reign period of Emperor Jing 景 (151 B.C.), he was invested with the title of Marquis Pingqu 平曲, owing to his contributions in the attack on Wu 吳 and Chu 楚. In Fu Qian's 服虔 commentary, it is noted that Hunxie 渾邪 was a person of the Middle States. But according to his name, "Hunxie 渾邪", it is possible that he was a descendant of the Kunwu 昆吾 people.<sup>[17]</sup> In other words, he must have been a sinicized Kunwu 昆吾 people (the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 30 records that a book called *Gongsun Hunxie* 公孫渾邪 in fifteen chapters), and had nothing to do with the Yiqu 義渠 directly. It may be possible that the ancestral home of Hunxie 渾邪, as a descendant of the Kunwu 昆吾 people, was in Yiqu 義渠 Circuit of Beidi 北地 Prefecture in Western Han 漢 times. Therefore, He 賀, his son, became an Yiqu 義渠 [Circuit] person.

Since the Yiqu 義渠 were different from the Xiongnu 匈奴, the theory about Yiqu 義渠-Di 狄 identity loses its foundation.

## F

The Yiqu 義渠 and the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允姓之戎 probably came from the same origin.

1. "Yunxing 允姓" (the surname Yun 允) were the descendants of the Yunge 允格.<sup>[18]</sup> "Yiqu 義渠" [*ngiai-gia*], "Yunxing 允姓" [*jiuən-sieng*], and "Yunge 允格" [*jiuən-keak*] can be regarded as different transcription of the same name.

2. Yunge 允格 were a descendants of Shaohao 少昊. In the commentary on the "Yandiji 炎帝紀" sections of the "Houji 後紀 D" chapter of the *Lushi* 路史 it is recorded that, "the Yiqu 義渠, the Dali 大荔 and the Rong 戎 of Li 驪 were the descendants of Shaohao 少昊. This shows that Shaohao 少昊 was the ancestor of both the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 and the Yiqu 義渠.

3. The settlement of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 was located at Guazhou 瓜州, i.e., the upper reaches of the Jing 涇 River in the present Pingliang 平涼-Guyuan 固原 region. The settlement was located north of the Jing 涇 River. Both were very close. Therefore, the possibility can not be ruled out that the so-called Yiqu 義渠 were in fact a branch of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允.

4. The Yiqu 義渠 and the Wushi 烏氏 both derived from the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, but then divided into several independent tribes; thus both are listed in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110 at the same time.

5. The Yanqi 焉耆 people and the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 came from the same origin, thus they and the Yiqu 義渠 came also from the same origin. The names "Yanqi 焉耆" [*ian-tjiei*], "Yuanqu 員渠" [*hiuən-gia*] (the name of the seat of the king's government), and "Yiqu 義渠" can be regarded as different transcriptions of the same name. However, there were great differences between the Yiqu 義渠 and the Yanqi 焉耆 (who founded their state later in the Western Regions) both in terms of customs and physical characteristics. Owing to their going different ways for a long time, one can not draw a simple analogy. For example, the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, and the *Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 50, both records that "All the dead were burned and then interred" in the state of Yanqi 焉耆. There must have been some differences between this custom and the above-mentioned custom of cremation of the Yiqu 義渠 people. Thus the Yanqi 焉耆 must not have followed the pattern of the Yiqu 義渠.

[1] On the discussions in the section, cf. Chen, P. (1982), 143-151; and Wang, Z., esp. 22-36.

[2] In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 5, it is recorded that "In the thirty-third year of Duke Ligong 厲共 (444 B.C.) [Qin 秦] attacked Yiqu 義渠 and captured its king".

- [3] In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 5, it is recorded that "In the thirteenth year of Duke Zao 躁 (430 B.C.) the Yiqu 義渠 invaded and reached as far as the southern bank of the Wei 渭 River". The south of a river is called "yin 陰", hence "渭陽 (north of the Wei 渭 River)" in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 15, must have been an error for "渭陰 (south of the Wei 渭 River)".
- [4] In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 5, it is recorded that in the eleventh year of King Huiwen 惠文 (327 B.C.) "[Qin 秦] established a county at the land of Yiqu 義渠.... The lord of the Yiqu 義渠 was subject to Qin 秦.... In the tenth year of the later reign period (315 B.C.) Qin 秦 attacked and captured twenty-five towns from Yiqu 義渠". In my opinion, the tenth year may be a mistake for the eleventh year". According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110, "After this the Rong 戎 of Yiqu 義渠 began to build walls and fortifications to protect themselves, but Qin 秦 gradually ate into their territory and, under King Hui 惠, finally seized twenty-five of their towns". The *Shiji Zhiyi* 史記志疑, pp. 142-143, considers that "縣義渠 ([Qin] established a county at the land of Yiqu 義渠)" are redundant characters.
- [5] There is roughly the same reference in the "Qince 秦策 B" chapter of the *Zhanguoce* 戰國策: "When the lord of the Yiqu 義渠 came to Wei 魏, Gongsun Yan 公孫衍 said to him, 'The road is long and it is not likely I shall see you pass this way again. Allow me, then, to tell you how matters stand'. 'I wish to hear', replied the lord of the Yiqu 義渠. 'When the Middle States are not warring against Qin 秦 then Qin 秦 is plundering and burning your country. When the Middle States are at war with Qin 秦, the Qin 秦 will speedily send envoys heavy with wealth to prove that she serves your state'. 'I listen to your commands with respect', said the lord of the Yiqu 義渠. Very little time passed before the five states attacked Qin 秦. Chen Zhen 陳軫 said to the king of Qin 秦, 'The lord of Yiqu 義渠 is a worthy lord among the barbarians; your majesty should bribe him to mollify him'. 'Good advice', said the king and sent a thousand bolts of embroidered silk and a hundred fine women to the lord of the Yiqu 義渠. The lord of the Yiqu 義渠 in turn called together his ministers and gave them his plan. 'This is what Gongsun Yan 公孫衍 spoke of,' he said, and raising his troops he attacked Qin 秦 and heavily defeated her below Libo 李帛".
- [6] *Shiji Zhiyi*, vol. 4, pp. 142-143, cites the "*Dashiji* 大事記 (Chronicle of Events)" and suggests that it took place in the forty-fourth year of King Nan 赧 of Zhou 周 (271 B.C.). It is suggested that the time that Qin 秦 destroyed the Yiqu 義渠 is the thirty-sixth year of King Zhaoxiang 昭襄 (271 B.C.); see Guo.
- [7] The two cited references of the *Kuodizhi* 括地志 are collated and exchanged; see the *Kuodizhi Jijiao*, p. 42.
- [8] The *Hou Hanshu Jijie*, vol. 87, suggests that 涇 (jing) is a textual error for 經 (jing). Li Zhaoluo 李兆洛 considers that it was in Shanxi 山西 Province.
- [9] See Huang Shan's 黃山 *Hou Hanshu Jijie Jiaobu* 後漢書集解校補 (Collation and Addendum of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書) attached to *Hou Hanshu Jijie*, vol. 87.
- [10] Cf. Ma, Ch., pp. 95-96, and Wang, Z.
- [11] Cen (1958), pp. 178-180, 339.
- [12] Cf. the *Mozi Jiangu*, pp. 171-172; *Liezi Jishi*, pp. 167-168.
- [13] Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 37-40, 210-215.
- [14] Meng; Ma, Ch., pp. 96-97.
- [15] For details, see Wang, Z.

[16] Li; Wang, Z.; and Yang, M.

[17] Cf. Appendix 3.

[18] Cf. the third chapter of this book. For details on the following discussions about the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允, see the third chapter.

## APPENDIX 3 On the Kunwu

### A

In the "Dixi 帝繫" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記 it is recorded that "Zhuanxu 顓頊 took a wife from the Teng 滕. The daughter of Ben 奔, [the lord of] the Teng 滕, who was called Nülu 女祿, begot Laotong 老童. Laotong 老童 took a wife from the Jieshui 竭水. The daughter of [the lord of] the Jieshui 竭水, who was called Gaogua 高緡, begot Zhongli 重黎 and Wuhui 吳回. Wuhui 吳回 begot Luzhong 陸終, who married into the Guifang 鬼方. The younger sister of [the lord of] the Guifang 鬼方 was known as Nükui 女隕, who begot six sons. She was pregnant and did not give birth for three years, then the left side of her body was opened up, from the armpit to the waist, and six men came out. Of them, one was called Fan 樊, who was Kunwu 昆吾". This shows that Kunwu 昆吾 was one of the six sons of Luzhong 陸終.<sup>[1]</sup> And according to the "Dahuang Beijing 大荒北經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing*,

The Yellow Emperor begot Miaolong 苗龍, who begot Rongwu 融吾. Rongwu 融吾 begot Nongming 弄明, who begot White Dog. The White Dog had both male and female [qualities]. [Its offspring] became the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬. They eat meat.

Of them, "Rongwu 融吾" must have been the combination of both Zhurong 祝融 and Kunwu 昆吾.<sup>[2]</sup> "Zhurong 祝融" here refers to Luzhong 陸終. This is in conformity with the following account in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 40:

The ancestors of Chu 楚 derived from Emperor Zhuanxu 顓頊, i.e., Gaoyang 高陽. Gaoyang 高陽 was the grandson of the Yellow Emperor and the son of Changyi 昌意. Gaoyang 高陽 begot Cheng 稱, who begot Juanzhang 卷章. Juanzhang 卷章 begot Zhongli 重黎. Zhongli 重黎 occupied the position of the Director of Fire for Emperor Ku 嚳, i.e., Gaoxin 高辛, he rendered him great service, and could brighten the land under heaven. Emperor Ku 嚳 called him Zhurong 祝融. When [the Lord of] the Gonggong 共工 revolted, Emperor Ku 嚳 made Zhongli 重黎 kill him and his relatives

but not totally. Thereupon, Emperor Ku 嚳 killed Zhongli 重黎 on the day of *gengyin* 庚寅, and ordered Wuhui 吳回, his younger brother, to be the successor of Zhongli 重黎. Wuhui 吳回 also occupied the position of the Director of Fire, and was known as Zhurong 祝融. Wuhui 吳回 begot Luzhong 陸終. Luzhong 陸終 begot six sons, who were born by cutting open [the armpit]. ...The eldest was called Kunwu 昆吾. ...The sixth son was called Jilian 季連, whose surname was Mi 牟. [The people of] Chu 楚 were his descendant.

This shows that Luzhong 陸終 possibly had succeeded Wuhui 吳回 and occupied the position of the Director of Fire, and also was known as "Zhurong 祝融". Furthermore, the name "Luzhong 陸終" [*liuk-tjiuəm*] itself precisely is a different transcription of "Zhurong 祝融" [*tjiuk-jiuəm*].<sup>[3]</sup> And one edition of the above-cited reference from the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 notes that "The Yellow Emperor begot Miao 苗, who begot Long 龍. Long begot Rong 融, who begot Wu 吾. Wu 吾 begot Bingming 并明, who begot Bai 白. Bai begot Quan 犬 (Dog). Quan 犬 has two males, who are the Rong 戎 of Quan 犬".<sup>[4]</sup> It would seem that this is further evidence.

Kunwu 昆吾 was the descendant of Luzhong 陸終. Jilian 季連, the ancestor of Chu 楚, who was the elder brother of Kunwu 昆吾, was also the descendant of Luzhong 陸終. Thus King Ling 靈 of Chu 楚 called Kunwu 昆吾 "the eldest brother of our remote ancestor" in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twelfth of Duke Zhao 昭).

In the "Zhengyu 鄭語" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 it is recorded that "Kunwu 昆吾 was the count of Xia 夏, while Dapeng 大彭 and Shiwei 豕韋 were the counts of Shang 商. There were no longer these marquises and counts during Zhou 周 times. Kunwu 昆吾, Su 蘇, Wen 溫, Gu 顧, Dong 董 of the surname Ji 己, and Zongyi 鬻夷, and Huanlong 豢龍 of the surname Dong 董 became extinct during Xia 夏 times". Wei's 韋 commentary says, "Kunwu 昆吾 was the grandson of Zhurong 祝融 and the first son of Luzhong 陸終. His name was Fan 樊, and his surname was Ji 己. He was granted at Kunwu 昆吾. Kunwu 昆吾 was the same as Wei 衛". Wei's 韋 commentary on the statement "Kunwu 昆吾, Su 蘇, Wen 溫, Gu 顧, Dong 董" says, "The five states were the descendants of the Kunwu 昆吾 who were separately enfeoffed". From this, it can be seen that Kunwu's 昆吾 surname was Ji 己.

In the *Shiben* 世本 cited by the *Yuanhe Xingzuan* 元和姓纂, ch. 4, it is said that "Kunwu 昆吾 was an ancient state whose surname was Ji 己, and were marquises and counts in Xia 夏 times, and the descendants of the Zhurong 祝融". The *Shiji* 史記, ch. 40, says, "Luzhong 陸終 begot six sons, who were born by cutting open [her side]. ...The eldest was called Kunwu 昆吾". Song Zhong's 宋衷 commentary, cited by the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 40, says, "Kunwu 昆吾 was the name of a state. The surname Ji 己 derived from it". The *Shiji* 史記, ch. 27,

says, "Anciently, of those who transmitted heavenly predestination, ...there was Kunwu 昆吾 in Xia 夏 times". The *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 27, says, "Kunwu 昆吾 was the son of Luzhong 陸終. Yu Fan 虞翻 states that, Kunwu's 昆吾 name was Fan 樊. His surname was Ji 己, and he was granted at Kunwu 昆吾. The *Shiben* 世本 states that Kunwu 昆吾 was the same as Wei 衛". All hold that Kunwu's 昆吾 surname was Ji 己. Only Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentary on the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 20, says "[Kunwu 昆吾] was a state which was surnamed Si 姒". It is suggested that "There was no Kunwu 昆吾 among the states which were surnamed Si. The *si* 姒 character in Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentary must have been an error for the character *ji* 己".<sup>15</sup> In my opinion, it is easy to confuse "己" and "巳", owing to their likeness in appearance, and the old pronunciation of "巳" [ziə] was the same as "姒" [ziə], which may be the reason for the difference between the two theories.

## B

Some suggest that the former land of Kunwu 昆吾 can be traced back to Wei 衛, i.e., Diqiu 帝丘 (Puyang 濮陽). Others suggest that it can be traced to Xu 許 (Old Xu 許 i.e., Xuchang 許昌).

In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the seventeenth year of Duke Ai 哀) it is recorded that "The Marquis of Wei 衛 dreamt in the north palace that he saw a man mounting the tower of Kunwu 昆吾. His hair was dishevelled; with his face to the north, he cried out, 'I climb here at the ruins of Kunwu 昆吾; the gourds are only commencing their growth". Du's 杜 commentary says, "There was a tower in the ruins of the Kunwu 昆吾 in ancient times, which is in the present town of Puyang". The *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, ch. 40, cites this reference and states, "There is a platform of Kunwu 昆吾 in the present town of Puyang 濮陽". The *Shiben* 世本, cited by the *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 40 states, "Kunwu 昆吾 was the same as Wei 衛". The *Kuodizhi* 括地志, cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 40, also states, "Puyang 濮陽 County was the state of Kunwu 昆吾 in ancient times. The former town of Kunwu 昆吾 was a distance of thirty *li* 里 to the west of the county seat. The platform is a distance of one hundred steps to the west of the county seat, which is the ruins of Kunwu 昆吾". Also, the "Dongjun 東郡" section of the "Junguo 郡國 C" chapter of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 records that "Puyang 濮陽 was the state of Kunwu 昆吾 in ancient times". Du Yu's 杜預 words, cited by the commentary, states that "[Puyang 濮陽] is the state of Wei 衛 in ancient times". These references show that the Kunwu 昆吾 had dwelt in Diqiu 帝丘 of Wei 衛.

In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twelfth year of Duke Zhao 昭) it is recorded that King Ling 靈 of Chu 楚 had declared Kunwu 昆吾 to be the eldest brother of his remote ancestor who "dwelt in the old territory of Xu 許". Du's 杜 commentary states, "Kunwu 昆吾 had dwelt in the land of Xu 許, thus the king of Chu 楚 said

he dwelt in the old territory of Xu 許". This shows that Kunwu 昆吾 had dwelt in Xu 許.

It is suggested that the Kunwu 昆吾 people moved to Xu 許 after they dwelt in Wei 衛. In the "Zhengyu 鄭語" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 it is said that "Kunwu 昆吾 was the Count of Xia 夏". Wei's 韋 commentary states "Kunwu 昆吾 was the grandson of Zhurong 祝融, and the first son of Luzhong 陸終. His name was Fan 樊 and his surname was Ji 己. He was granted at Kunwu 昆吾. Kunwu 昆吾 was the same as Wei 衛. When the Xia 夏 Dynasty declined, [the lord of] the Kunwu 昆吾 was the Count of Xia 夏 and moved to old Xu 許. Thus the *Chunqiu* 春秋 傳 states that the eldest brother of Chu's 楚 remote ancestors dwelt in the old territory of Xu 許". The *Jinben Zhushu Jinian* 今本竹書紀年 records that "In his sixth year [Emperor Zhongkang 仲康] conferred on [the lord of] Kunwu 昆吾 the appointment of count". It also records that "In the fourth year [of Emperor Jin 廩] ...the Kunwu 昆吾 removed to Xu 許". These records may be based on Wei's 韋 commentary.

It is suggested that Diqu 帝丘 of Wei 衛 was where Xiang 相, the emperor of the Xia 夏 Dynasty, dwelt. Xiang 相 was destroyed by the son of Hancu 寒怛. The time when Kunwu 昆吾 was the count must have been after Xiang 相 had been destroyed. The time when Kunwu 昆吾 dwelt at Wei 衛 must also have been after Xiang 相 was destroyed. In other words, Kunwu 昆吾 dwelt at Wei 衛 after having dwelt at Xu 許.<sup>[6]</sup>

In my opinion, on the basis of the "Dixi 帝繫" of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記, the ancestor of Kunwu 昆吾 was Wuhui 吳回. And on the basis of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 40, Zhongli 重黎, the elder brother of Wuhui 吳回, occupied the position of the Director of Fire under [the lord of] the Gaoxin 高辛 (Emperor Ku 嚳). Since the ancestor of Kunwu 昆吾 and Emperor Ku 嚳 lived at the same time, Kunwu 昆吾 -- who was the count of Xia 夏 -- must not have been Fan 樊, the eldest son of Luzhong 陸終. He might have been a prince of Kunwu 昆吾 belonging to a certain generation after Fan 樊. Therefore, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the man who dwelt at Wei 衛 was Fan 樊, while the man who dwelt at Xu 許 was Kunwu 昆吾, who was the count of Xia 夏. (On the basis of the *Jinben Zhushu Jinian* 今本竹書紀年, in his sixth year Emperor Zhongkang 仲康 conferred on [the prince of] Kunwu 昆吾 the appointment of count.)<sup>[7]</sup> In other words, the Kunwu 昆吾 who was appointed count of Xia 夏 did not move to Xu 許 until Emperor Xiang 相 of Xia 夏 dwelt Diqu 帝丘.

Also, in the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, ch. 38, it is recorded that "In the second year of the reign-period *Wude* 武德, Fan 范 Prefecture was established. The seat of the government was the town of Kunwu 昆吾. In the fifth year, the prefecture was abolished. Fan 范 County belonged to Ji 濟 Prefecture". Fan 范 County in Tang 唐 times was a distance of twenty *li* 里 to the southeast of the present county of Fan 范, which is a distance of one hundred and thirty *li* 里 or more from the former town



of Kunwu 昆吾 in Puyang 濮陽. Kunwu 昆吾 at his prime was the count of Xia 夏. Thus the area under his jurisdiction may have extended east as far as Fan 范 County, and his remains are also in Fan 范 County.<sup>[8]</sup>

## C

The "Zhangfa 長發" poem of the "Shangsong 商頌" section of the *Shijing* 詩經 reads, "Having smitten Wei 衛 and Gu 顧, / He dealt with [the lord of] Kunwu 昆吾, and with Jie 桀 of Xia". Zheng's 鄭 commentary says that Wei 衛, Gu 顧 and Kunwu 昆吾 "were all of the surname Ji 己. The three states sided with the evil Jie 桀, thus Tang 湯 first attacked Wei 衛 and Gu 顧 and defeated them. Kunwu 昆吾 and Jie 桀 of Xia 夏 were put to death at the same time". In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (in the twelfth year of Duke Zhao 昭) it is recorded that "In the king's second month, on day of *yimao* 乙卯, Mao De 毛得 of Zhou 周 killed Guo 過, Count of Mao 毛, and took his place. Chang Hong 萇弘 said, 'Mao De 毛得 is sure to become a fugitive'. It was on this day that [the wickedness of] Kunwu 昆吾 reached its height - - in consequence of his extravagance". Du's 杜 commentary states, "Kunwu 昆吾 was the count of Xia 夏. ... He and Jie 桀 were both put to death on the day of *yimao* 乙卯".

In the *Jinben Zhushu Jinian* 今本竹書紀年 it is recorded that in the twenty-eighth year of Emperor Gui 癸, "the lord of Kunwu 昆吾 attacked Shang 商". In the thirtieth year, "the forces of Shang 商 marched to punish Kunwu 昆吾". In the thirty-first year, "[the forces of Shang 商] defeated Kunwu 昆吾". On the basis of these references it seems that Kunwu 昆吾 had attacked Tang 湯 of Shang 商 on the eve of its being destroyed, thus bringing disaster upon itself.<sup>[9]</sup>

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 3, it is recorded that "Jie 桀 of Xia 夏 ruled tyrannically and his political affairs were a shameless dissipation. Thus the prince of Kunwu 昆吾 staged an armed rebellion". The statement "staged an armed rebellion" may refer to the words "attacked Shang 商" in the *Jinben Zhushu Jinian* 今本竹書紀年.

It is suggested that the Kunwu 昆吾 were dwelling in Anyi 安邑 when they was destroyed.

1. Huangfu Mi's 皇甫謐 commentary, cited by the *Shangshu Zhengyi* 尚書正義 (the "Tangshi 湯誓" chapter), says, "There are a Mingtiao 鳴條 Street and a Kunwu 昆吾 Pavilion at present in Anyi 安邑. The author of the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 considers that the lord of the state of Kunwu 昆吾 and Jie 桀 were destroyed on the same day *yimao* 乙卯, and so were Wei 衛 and Gu 顧. Thus the *Shijing* 詩經 says, "Having smitten Wei 衛 and Gu 顧, / He dealt with [the lord of] Kunwu 昆吾, and with Jie 桀 of Xia".

2. In the "Hedongdao 河東道 G" chapter of the *Taiping Huanyuji* 太平寰宇記 (vol. 45) it is recorded that "Kunwu 昆吾 Pavilion, according to the *Jiutujing* 舊圖

經, is west of the county [of Anyi 安邑] ...The *Song Yongchu Shanchuanji* 宋永初山川記 says that there is a Kunwu 昆吾 Pavilion in Anyi 安邑, which was the state of Kunwu 昆吾 in ancient times". In my opinion, the former town of Anyi 安邑 in Jin 晉 and Song 宋 times is to the north of the present county of Xia 夏, in Shanxi 山西.

The basis of the theory is that Jie 桀 established his capital at Anyi 安邑.<sup>[10]</sup> In the "Tangshi 湯誓" chapter of the *Shangshu* 尚書 it is recorded that "Yiyin 伊尹 acted as minister to Tang 湯, and advised him to attack Jie 桀. They went up from Er 陟, and fought with him in the wilderness of Mingtiao 鳴條". Kong's 孔 commentary says, "Jie 桀 established his capital at Anyi 安邑. Tang 湯 went up from Er 陟 in order to take Jie 桀 by surprise. Er 陟 was to the south of the bend of the River". It is also said that the wilderness of Mingtiao 鳴條 "was located to the west of Anyi 安邑, where Jie 桀 met Tang 湯 head-on". In the *Shangshu Zhengyi* 尚書正義 it is said that "If the legend that Jie 桀 established his capital at Anyi 安邑 is true, it would be located in Anyi County of Hedong 河東 Prefecture". It is also said that "Mingtiao is to the west of Anyi 安邑. Jie 桀 came out west to resist Tang 湯; thus they fought in the wilderness of Mingtiao 鳴條". Besides, in the *Diwang Shiji* 帝王世紀 cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 194, it is recorded that "Jie 桀 was defeated in the wilderness of Mingtiao 鳴條. According to the *Mengzi* 孟子, Shun 舜 died at Mingtiao 鳴條, which was the land of the Eastern Yi 夷. It is suggested that Mingtiao 鳴條 was in Pingqiu 平丘 of Chenliu 陳留. The present pavilion of Mingtiao 鳴條 is to the west of Anyi 安邑". And the *Kuodizhi* 括地志, cited by the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義 ch. 3, says, "Gaoya 高涯 Plain is in Nanban 南阪 Entrance, which is a distance of thirty *li* 里 north of Anyi 安邑 County, Pu 蒲 Prefecture. It was Mingtiao 鳴條 Street in ancient times. Mingtiao 鳴條 was a battlefield, which is west of Anyi 安邑". Today, the hilly country between the Su 涑 and Qinglong 青龍 rivers is still known as Mingtiao 鳴條 Ridge.<sup>[11]</sup>

Another suggestion is that Kunwu 昆吾 dwelt in Xu 許 at that time. In the *Jinben Zhushu Jinian* 今本竹書紀年, it is recorded that in the thirty-first year of Emperor Gui 癸, "Shang 商 proceeded, by way of Er 陟, against the capital of Xia 夏, and he overcame Kunwu 昆吾. Amid great thunder and rain a battle was fought in Mingtiao 鳴條, when the army of Xia 夏 was defeated. Jie 桀 fled to Sanzong 三朥, against which the army of Shang 商 proceeded. A battle was fought at Cheng 郟, and Jie 桀 was captured at Jiaomen 焦門. He was then banished to Nanchao 南巢". It is suggested that Mingtiao 鳴條, which was to the northwest of the present county of Chenliu 陳留, borders on Kunwu 昆吾 (which was in Xu 許), and that the capital of Xia 夏 was a distance of one hundred and several tens of *li* 里 to the west of Old Xu 許. It is possible that Tang 湯 went west from Er 陟 to attack the capital of Xia 夏. Kunwu 昆吾 and Jie 桀 both dispatched troops to meet Tang 湯

head-on, thus the battle was fought in Mingtiao 鳴條.<sup>[12]</sup> The basis of the theory is that Jie 桀 established his capital in Henan 河南.

In my opinion, since the theory that Jie 桀 had established his capital at Anyi 安邑 is unbelievable,<sup>[13]</sup> it seems that there is no possibility that Kunwu 昆吾 dwelt at Anyi 安邑 when the Xia 夏 Dynasty was destroyed.

## D

After the Xia 夏 Dynasty had been destroyed, a part of the Kunwu 昆吾 people gradually moved west step by step via Shanxi 山西 and Shanxi 陝西.

1. The *Diwang Shiji* 帝王世紀, cited by Liu's 劉 commentary on the "Hedongjun 河東郡" section of the "Junguo 郡國 A" chapter of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, states, "There is a Mingtiao 鳴條 Street west of [Anyi 安邑] County. Tang 湯 attacked Jie 桀, and the battle was fought near Kunwu 昆吾 Pavilion". As mentioned above, the state of Kunwu 昆吾 was not to the west of Anyi 安邑 when Tang 湯 attacked Jie 桀. Thus it is possible that there was a Kunwu 昆吾 Pavilion at Anyi 安邑 suggests that the Kunwu 昆吾 who moved west after the Xia 夏 Dynasty had been destroyed left behind their traces.

In the "Zhongshanjing 中山經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 it is recorded that "Two hundred *li* 里 farther west from [Mount Yang 陽] is Mount Kunwu 昆吾 where red copper is plentiful higher up". Mount Kunwu 昆吾 here is a distance of two hundred *li* 里 to the west of Mount Yang 陽. On the basis of the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. 30, "there is a Mount Yang 陽" in the Luhun 陸渾 County of Henan 河南 Prefecture. The former town of Luhun 陸渾 County in Sui 隋 times is a distance of more than thirty *li* 里 to the north of the town of Fuliu 伏流, which was to the northeast of the present county of Song 嵩 in Henan 河南. This shows that Mount Kunwu 昆吾 was roughly located in the present county of Xia 夏 in Shanxi 山西.<sup>[14]</sup>

3. Yang Xiong's 揚雄 "Preface to the 'Rhapsody on the Imperial Hunt'" cited by the *Wenxuan* 文選, vol. 8, states, "Emperor Wu 武 had the Shanglin 上林 [Park] enlarged and extended it southeast as far as Lake Ding 鼎 of Yichun 宜春. Thereupon the emperor lodged for the night in Kunwu 昆吾". Jin Zhuo's 晉灼 commentary states, "Kunwu 昆吾 is a place name where there is a pavilion". Also, Song Minqiu's 宋敏求 *Changanzhi* 長安志, vol. 16, says, "Kunwu 昆吾 Pavilion is on the border of the county. The Empress, Huo 霍, of Emperor Xuan 宣 of Han 漢 is buried to the east of the pavilion". This shows that there is also a Kunwu 昆吾 Pavilion in Lantian 藍田 County, Shanxi 陝西.

4. In the "Yizhou 伊州" section of the "Longyoudao 隴右道" chapter of the *Yuanhe Junxian Tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志, vol. 40, it is recorded that "Beyond Jiuzhou 九州 as seen in the 'Yugong 禹貢' [of the *Shangshu* 尚書] was the ancient land of the

Rong 戎, which was known as Kunwu 昆吾. When King Mu 穆 of Zhou 周 attacked the Western Rong 戎, Kunwu 昆吾 offered a red sword. 'Kunwu 昆吾' later became Yiwu 伊吾 and, when the Zhou 周 weakened, the Rong 戎 and the Di 狄 dwelt together north of the Jing 涇 and Wei 渭 rivers, the land of Yiwu 伊吾". There are many estimations and various inaccuracies in this record, probably because the Yiwu 伊吾 area was known as "Kunwu 昆吾" at ancient times. However, it is acceptable to regard this record as evidence that a branch of the Kunwu 昆吾 moved west of the Yang 陽 Barrier.

In the "Dahuang Xijing 大荒西經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 it is recorded that "In the Great Beyond is Mount Long 龍, where the sun and the moon set. There is a Sanze 三澤 River here, called Sannao 三淖 (three muds), where Kunwu 昆吾 made a living". Since Mount Long 龍 is where the sun and the moon set, it must have been located in the extreme west.<sup>[15]</sup> Although this is a legend, it reflects that the route by which the Kunwu 昆吾 moved west was remote.

6. Of the tribes of the Xiongnu 匈奴 as seen in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110, there was a Hunyu 渾庾 and a Hunxie 渾邪, which may have derived from the Kunwu 昆吾. This is because Hunyu 渾庾 [*kuən-jio*], Hunxie 渾邪 [*kuən-zya*] and Kunwu 昆吾 [*kuən-nga*] can be regarded as different transcriptions of the same name. This seems to indicate that there was a branch of the Kunwu 昆吾 that had moved north.

7. In addition, it seems that there was a branch of the Kunwu 昆吾 that moved south. The statement "The Yellow Emperor will go to Kunyu 昆虞 Hill" in the *Fuzi* 苻子 cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 79, is noted as "...to Kunwu 昆吾 Hill" in the *Beitang Shuchao* 北堂書鈔, vol. 16. "Kunwu 昆吾 Hill" also appears in the 'Dixingxun 墜形訓' chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子: "Kunwu 昆吾 Hill is in the south. Xuanyuan 軒轅 Hill is in the west. Wuxian 巫咸 is in the north, and there is a Mount Dengbao 登保. Yang 陽 Valley and Fusang 搏桑 are in the east". Yang 陽 Valley and Fusang 搏桑 are both in the extreme east; therefore, Kunwu 昆吾 Hill in the south would be in an extremely remote place.

Also, in the *Shiyiji* 拾遺記, vol. 10, it is said, "Goujian 句踐, the king of Yue 越, made his workmen offer a white horse and a white ox to the god of Kunwu 昆吾, then selected gold to cast in order to form the essence of the eight swords". This also shows the influence of the migration of the Kunwu 昆吾 to the south.

## E

The Kunwu 昆吾 people were good at smelting metal.

1. In the "Dajujie 大聚解" chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書 it is recorded that "King Wu 武 thereupon summoned Kunwu 昆吾 to smelt and engrave it on a gold plate". Kong's 孔 commentary says, "Kunwu 昆吾 was a man who was good at smelting metal in ancient times". According on the "Gengzhu 耕柱" chapter of the

*Mozi* 墨子, "Anciently, the emperor of the Xia 夏 Dynasty made Feilian 蜚廉 mine gold in the mountains and rivers, and had it smelted in Kunwu 昆吾". This shows that [the lord of] the Kunwu 昆吾 was in charge of smelting metal.

Guo's 郭 commentary on the name "Kunwu 昆吾 Hill" as seen in the "Haineijing 海内經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 says, "The hill produces fine gold. The *Shizi* 尸子 refers to the gold of Kunwu 昆吾". A similar record appears in the *Shiyiji* 拾遺記, vol. 10: "On Mount Kunwu 昆吾 there is much red gold, whose color is like fire. The Yellow Emperor had massed his troops there when attacking Chiyou 蚩尤. They excavated to a depth of one hundred *zhang* 丈, but did not reach the spring. They only saw the firelights like stars. There was a large amount of cinnabar in the ground. The stones could be smelted into copper. The copper's color was blue, and the swords made from the copper were sharp".

In my opinion, it is possible that "Kunwu 昆吾 Hill" is a vestige of the Kunwu 昆吾 who moved, but it is also not impossible that the places where fine gold or copper were produced were known as "Kunwu 昆吾", since the Kunwu 昆吾 people were good at smelting metal.

3. In the "Quanxue 勸學" chapter of the *Shizi* 尸子 it is said that "Learning is like whetting. Here are the gold of Kunwu 昆吾 and the tin of Zhufu 銖父, which are cast into swords by craftsmen from Gan 干 (i.e., Wu 吳) and Yue 越. If the sword one does not sharpen it with a whetstone, it will not pierce when one stabs nor will it cut when one strikes with it". This shows that fine gold or copper were also named "Kunwu 昆吾".

4. In the "Tangwen 湯問" chapter of the *Liezi* 列子 it is said, "King Mu 穆 of Zhou 周 attacked the Western Rong 戎 in force, and the Western Rong 戎 offered a sword of Kunwu 鍬鍬 and fire-washed cloths. The sword had a length of one *chi* 尺 and eight *cun* 寸. It was made of tempered steel with a red edge. The sword could be used to cut through jade as if it were mud". Since fine gold or copper are christened "Kunwu 昆吾", it is quite natural that sharp sword were known as "swords of Kunwu 鍬鍬 (i.e., 昆吾)".

5. In the *Hetu* 河圖, cited by *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 117, it is said, "There are a lot of piled-up stones on Flowing Islet, which are known as Kunwu 昆吾 Stones. The stones are smelted into iron, and swords which are made of the iron give off light as brightly as crystal".<sup>[16]</sup> This shows that the swords of Kunwu 鍬鍬 are made of smelted Kunwu 昆吾 Stones. Kunwu 昆吾 Stones are so-called because the Kunwu 昆吾 people were good at smelting metal.

6. Guo's 郭 commentary on the name "Mount Kunwu 昆吾" as seen in the "Zhongshanjing 中山經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 says, "The mount produces fine copper. Its color is as red as fire. A knife that is made of this copper cuts through jade as if it were mud. The Western Rong 戎 offered up such a knife at the time of King Mu 穆 of Zhou 周". A similar record appears in the *Zhoushu* 周書 cited by the *Bowuzhi* 博物志, vol. 2: "The Western Regions offered fire-washed

cloths, and the Kunwu 昆吾 offered a jade-cutting knife. Dirty fire-washed cloths would be come clean if they were burned. The knife cut through jade as if it were grease".<sup>[17]</sup> This shows that a sharp knife that could cut jade was also known as "Kunwu 昆吾".<sup>[18]</sup>

7. The "Quanxue 勸學" chapter of the *Shizi* 尸子 refers to the "gold of Kunwu 昆吾", which is noted as "gold of Kunwu 琨瑀" under the "Yu 玉" radical of the Yupian 玉篇, vol. 1. It is suggested that the radical of 琨瑀 is 王, since 文王 and 武王 are noted as 玟王 and 珣王 in the Quanyuding 全孟鼎 inscription.<sup>[19]</sup> In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. The lord of the Kunwu 昆吾 was the count of Xia 夏, and there is no definite record that the lord of the Kunwu 昆吾 proclaimed himself king. Guo's 郭 commentary on the "Dahuang Nanjing 大荒南經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經 says, "Kunwu 昆吾 was the term for the ancient king". The evidence for Guo's 郭 commentary is unknown. The *Shiji* 史記, ch. 117, refers to "linmin 琳瑀 and Kunwu 琨瑀". The *Hanshu Yinyi* 漢書音義, cited by the *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, says, "Kunwu 昆吾 is the name of a mountain". Sima Biao's 司馬彪 commentary, cited by *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, says, "[Kunwu 昆吾] is a kind of stone which is second-class jade". This shows that the left (radical) part of 琨瑀 is 玉. This is the reason why "Kunwu 昆吾" was used to refers to the mountain that produced fine gold, or why the "sword of Kunwu 昆吾" which was made of smelted Kunwu 昆吾 Stones cut through jade as if it were mud. In other words, the radical of these characters is not 王, but 玉.

The Kunwu 昆吾 people were good at making pottery.

1. In the "Junshou 君守" chapter of the *Lishi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 it is said that "Xizhong 奚仲 invented wheeled vehicles, Cangjie 蒼頡 invented characters, Houji 后稷 invented farming, Gaotao 皋陶 invented punishments, Kunwu 昆吾 invented pottery, and Gun 鯀 of Xia 夏 invented the city wall. The inventions of the six men are all proper, but they are not what a lord should do".<sup>[20]</sup>

2. In the "Hu 壺" radical of the *Shuowen* 說文 (vol. 10B), it is said, "Hu 壺 (pot) means a round utensil of Kunwu 昆吾". This shows that a pot is a kind of pottery which was invented by the Kunwu 昆吾 people. Thus "Kunwu 昆吾 invented pottery" refers to making pots. The combined pronunciation formed by reading *kun-wu* rapidly is like *hu* 壺. *Hu* 壺 was in fact named after its inventor. The "Shi Qi 釋器" chapter of the *Erya* 爾雅 says, "Kanghu 康瓠 is called *qi* 甌". Guo's 郭 commentary says, "Hu 瓠 means pot". "Kanghu 康瓠" is also a phonetic transform of "Kunwu 昆吾".<sup>[21]</sup>

## F

Lastly, as recorded the above-mentioned "Dixi 帝繫" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記, Luzhong 陸終 married the younger sister of the lord of the Guifang 鬼方,

i.e., Nütui 女隤. "She was pregnant and did not give birth for three years, then the left side of her body was opened up from the armpit to the waist, and six men came out. Of them, one was called Fan 樊, who was Kunwu 昆吾". Research shows that the legend of children coming out from the armpit is unique to Indo-European fables. For example, in the "Xirongzhuàn 西戎傳" chapter of the *Weilüe* 魏略 it is recorded:

In the state of Lini 臨兒 (Lumbinī), the *Futujing* 浮屠經 (Buddhist sutra) says, its king begot Futu 浮屠 (Buddha). Futu 浮屠 was the crown prince. His father was called Xietouxie 屑頭邪 (Śuddhodana), and his mother, Moxie 莫邪 (Māyā). Futu 浮屠 wore yellow clothes. His hair was as black as black thread and had black hair on his chest. His claws [sic] are as red as copper. At that time, Moxie 莫邪 dreamed of a white elephant and become pregnant. When he was born, the prince came out of the left armpit of his mother, with a natural hair coil. As soon as he fell to the earth, he could walk seven steps.

Also, in the *Foshuo Taizi Ruiying Benqijing* 佛說太子瑞應本起經 (*Kumāra-kusālahala-nidāna-sūtra*), vol. A, translated by Zhi Qian 支謙 in Wu 吳 times, it is recorded that:

When he first descended, the bodhisattva was transformed as he rode a white elephant, and, crowned in sunny brilliance, appeared in his mother's dream while she slept in the daytime. He entered from her right side. Her ladyship thereupon awoke. ...On the eighth day of the fourth month, the prince transformed and came out from her right side when the night-luminescent star rose. As soon as he fell to the earth, he walked seven steps".<sup>[22]</sup>

There were no others who were born from their mother's flank from the Yellow Emperor to Luzhong 陸終. Therefore, the legend undoubtedly derived from the state of Guifang 鬼方, a member of which married Luzhong 陸終. Since the suspicion cannot be ruled out that the Guifang 鬼方 belonged to the Indo-European family, the Kunwu 昆吾, as descendants of Luzhong 陸終, are also suspected of belonging to the Indo-European family.<sup>[23]</sup>

[1] Cf. Li, X. (1989-1).

[2] The foundation of the theory is Ding, S., pp. 80-81.

[3] Cf. the 4th chapter of this book, note 49.

[4] Cited from the *Shanhaijing Jianshu*, vol. 17, 1985.

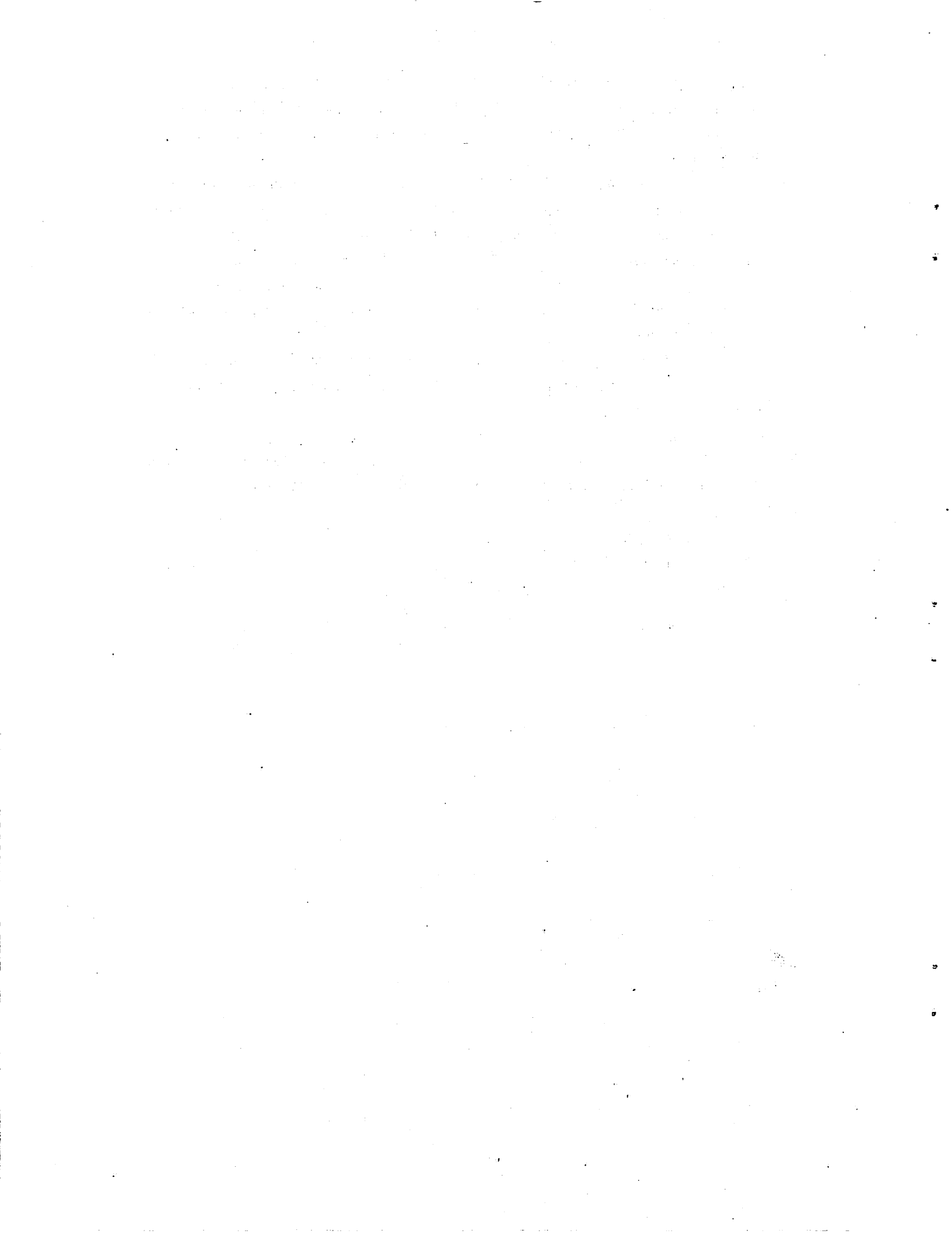
[5] The *Renbiaokao*, esp. 816.

[6] Cf. *Shimaoshizhuan Shu*, vol. 30; Wang, G. (1981), esp. 210; and Xu (1985-2), pp. 116-117; Zou (1980-1).

- [7] The *Shiji Zhengyi*, ch. 91, says Kunwu 昆吾 was the eldest son of Luzhong 陸終 in the time of Emperor Ku 嚳. In my opinion, this is not exact. Wuhui 吳回, the father of Luzhong 陸終, and Emperor Ku 嚳 lived at the same time.
- [8] Cf. Chen, P. (1988), pp. 1337-1338.
- [9] According to the *Zhushu Jinian Tongjian*, vol. 4, the state which attacked Shang 商 is not the Kunwu 昆吾 in Puyang 濮陽, but the Kunwu 昆吾 of the surname Si 姒. The surname of the latter was the same as Jie 桀, therefore it attacked Shang 商 for Jie 桀. In my opinion, the theory is inadequate.
- [10] Huangfu Mi's 皇甫謐 commentary, cited in the "Tangshi 湯誓" chapter of the *Shangshu Zhengyi* 尚書正義, states, "According to the *Zuozhuan* 左傳, Kunwu 昆吾 was in Wei 衛, i.e., Puyang 濮陽, thus it is impossible that it was destroyed on the same day together with Jie 桀 because of their different geographical locations. This shows that the lord of the Kunwu 昆吾 reached Anyi 安邑 to defend Jie 桀, thus he was destroyed on the same day together with Jie 桀. Therefore, there is a Kunwu 昆吾 Pavilion in Anyi 安邑". This seems to say that the state of Kunwu 昆吾 was not in Anyi 安邑, but the lord of Kunwu 昆吾 was destroyed because he went to help save Jie 桀 from danger. The *Renbiaokao*, esp. 816, considers that "The state of Kunwu 昆吾 was in Wei 衛, which was in a different place from Jie 桀 but was destroyed on the same day together with Jie 桀 because the lord of the Kunwu 昆吾 must have been in the Xia 夏 court as a minister. Therefore, there is a Kunwu 昆吾 Pavilion in Anyi 安邑".
- [11] Zhong, esp. 474, plate, no.1.
- [12] The *Zhushu Jinian Yizheng*, vol. 10, p. 64. The basis for the theory that Mingtiao 鳴條 was Pingqiu 平丘 of Chenliu 陳留 is Xu Shen's 許慎 commentary on the "Zhushuxun 主術訓" chapter of the *Huinanzi* 淮南子 cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 82. But "Chenliu 陳留" is noted as "Chenzhou 陳州" in the present *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽 (p. 387). "Chenzhou 陳州" is incorrect.
- [13] On the geographical location of Jie's 桀 capital, see Lei Xueqi's 雷學淇 "Xiadu Kao 夏都考 (On the capital of the Xia 夏 Dynasty)" in the *Jiean Jingshuo*, vol. 2, Jin E's 金鶚 "Jiedu Anyi Bian 桀都安邑辨 (Discussion on the capital of Jie 桀 at Anyi 安邑)" in the *Qingulu Lishuo*, vol. 8, Sun Xingyan's 孫星衍 "Shangshu Xushu 商書序疏 (The Subcommentary on the Preface of the "Shangshu 商書")" in the *Shangshu Jinguwen Zhushu*, and Zou (1980-1), and the others.
- [14] Chen, P. (1988), p. 1339.
- [15] Cen (1958-1) considers that the place where Kunwu 昆吾 made a living was near Yutian 于闕. In my opinion, this theory lacks evidence.
- [16] Dongfang Shuo's 東方朔 *Hainei Shizhouji* 海內十洲記, cited by the *Shuofu* 說郛, vol. 66, states, "Flowing Islet is in the Western Sea. It is three thousand *li* 里 square and a distance of one hundred and ninety thousand *li* 里 from the eastern bank. There are many mountains and rivers on the Flowing Islet. The piled-up stones on it are known as Kunwu 昆吾 Stones. The stones are smelted into iron, and swords which are made of the iron give off light as bright as crystal, and cut through jade as if it were mud". See the *Shuofu Sanzhong*, p. 3075. This reference appears also in the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 344, but has a slight discrepancy.



- [17] In the *Bowuzhi* 博物志 cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 345, the reference is noted as "The Western Regions offered fire-washed cloths, and the Kunwu 昆吾 offered a jade-cutting knife. The dirty fire-washed cloths would be clean if they were burned. The knife cut through jade as if it were mud (as 'honey' in one edition)".
- [18] Cao Zhi's 曹植 "Bian Dao Lun 辯道論" cited by Pei's 裴 commentary on the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 29, referred to the word of Gan Shi 甘始, the necromancer, "The Hu 胡 in the Western Regions came and offered fragrant woollen belts and jade-cutting knives". The "Lun Xian 論仙" chapter of the *Baopuzi Neipian* 抱朴子內篇 says, "Emperor Wen 文 of Wei 魏, well read and broadly learned, considered that there was nothing which he had not seen. He claimed that there were no jade-cutting knives and fire-washed cloths in the world. He had mentioned this view when he wrote the 'Dianlun 典論'. But less than a year later, both things were offered [to the court]. The emperor heaved a sigh and destroyed the text [in which he claimed that they didn't exist]". The "jade-cutting knife" may refer to sword of Kunwu 昆吾.
- [19] Chen, P. (1988), pp. 1332-1333.
- [20] "Kunwu 昆吾 invented pottery" is also recorded in the *Shiben* 世本 cited by the *Shiji Jijie* 史記集解, ch. 128, and the *Shizi* 尸子 cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 833.
- [21] Wang, X., pp. 94, 201.
- [22] The *Dazhengzang*, vol. 3, p. 473.
- [23] Cf. the fourth chapter of this book.



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