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The Communication Lines between East and West as Seen in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*

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The Communication Lines between East and West

as Seen in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*

By YU Taishan

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《穆天子傳》於西晉太康二年（281 年）出土於汲縣戰國魏襄王墓，因係盜掘，原簡散亂，經荀勗、和嶠等人整理，以隸字寫定爲五卷，卷一至四已有殘缺，卷五則全爲燼簡斷札。五卷所述皆巡遊事，前四卷與卷五似非出諸一人之手。竹書無名，今名乃整理者所定。《隋書·經籍二》始載“《穆天子傳》六卷”。卷六載盛姬死事，亦同時出土竹書。晉人編定時，列爲“雜書十九篇”之一（《晉書·束皙傳》）。

The *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* (The travels of Mu, the Son of Heaven) was excavated from the tomb of King Xiang of Wei (318–296 B.C.) during the period of the Warring States in Ji County, in the second year of the Taikang reign period (A.D. 281) of the Western Jin Dynasty. The original bamboo slips were scattered because the tomb had been broached by thieves. The substance of the slips was rewritten in official script, after they had been put in order, by Xun Xu, He Qiao, and others. Chapters 1 to 4 were already incomplete, and Chapter 5 was fragmentary. The five chapters record the travels of Mu, the Son of Heaven, but the first four chapters and Chapter 5 appear not to have been compiled by the same people. There are no names on the bamboo slips, and the present title was given by the editors. The first mention of it indicates that “the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* has six chapters” in the “Records on Classics B” of the *Suishu*. The sixth chapter, which was unearthed in the same period, describes affairs at the time that Lady Sheng

died. This chapter was described as "one of nineteen composite books" when it was edited by the Jin scholars. (See "Biography of Shu Xi" of the *Jinshu*.)

《穆天子傳》前四卷敘述穆王西征事，這是本文討論的主要依據。一般認為，這四卷可能成書於戰國後期燕、趙人之手，當為傳說而附會於穆天子者，但可能包含早至西周的史料。其現實背景主要為至遲在前七世紀末業已存在的東西交通路線，書中有關穆天子西征行程的記載不失為中國最早的絲路文獻。

The first four chapters of the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* describe the western travel of Mu, the Son of Heaven, and this is the main concern of this paper. It is generally considered that these four chapters were compiled by people from the Yan or Zhao states during the later period of the Warring States. The contents of the book as a whole must have been concerned with traditions under the name of Mu, the Son of Heaven, but it is possible that it contains historical data from as early as the Western Zhou. What it reveals of history is mainly the lines of communication between East and West that had come into existence no later than the seventh century B.C. The records on the route of western travel of Mu, the Son of Heaven, in this book can be regarded as the earliest literature about the Silk Road in China.

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《穆天子傳》蘊涵著豐富的古代傳說和神話的素材，有很高的認知價值。本文所關注者僅僅是此書假託穆天子西征所描述的東西交通路線，而解明這一路線走向的關鍵在於搞清昆侖山的位置。蓋據《穆天子傳》卷一：

The *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*, which includes abundant ancient traditions and source materials from mythology, has a high informational value. This paper is exclusively devoted to examining, in this book, the communication lines between East and West as recorded in the western travel of

Mu, the Son of Heaven. The key to recognizing the route is ascertaining the location of Mount Kunlun. In chapter 1 of the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*, it is recorded:

天子授河宗璧，河宗柏天受璧，西向沈璧于河，再拜稽首。祝沈牛馬豕羊。河宗□命于皇天子，河伯號之：“帝曰：穆滿，女當永致用豈事”。南向再拜。河宗又號之：“帝曰：穆滿，示汝春山之瑤，詔女昆侖□舍四、平泉七十，乃至于昆侖之丘，以觀春山之瑤。賜女晦”。天子受命，南向再拜。

The Son of Heaven presented the *bi* to the Hezong [tribe]. Po Yao, [the chief of] the Hezong [tribe], received it from him, turned to the west, and submerged the present in the River. After performing this he knelt before the Son of Heaven and touched his head to the earth many times. With a blessing he submerged the sacrificial animals ... the ox, the horse, the pig, and the sheep. Then [the chief of] the Hezong [tribe] addressed the Great Son of Heaven, saying: "the God of the River says 'Mu Man, be thou forever on the throne!'" To the south the emperor bowed many times. [The chief of] the Hezong [tribe] continued: "the God of the River says 'Mu Man, let me show thee the precious articles of Mount Chong and Mount Kunlun, where there are four houses, from which flow seventy springs. Proceed, then, to the Kunlun Hills, and behold the precious articles of Mount Chong. Bestow these treasures on thyself.'" The Son of Heaven received the decree, and to the south he bowed again.

這表明穆天子西征的目的地是“昆侖之丘”，足見祇要昆侖山的位置搞清了，穆天子西征路線的大方向就明確了。

This shows that the destination of western travel of Mu, the Son of Heaven, was Mount Kunlun, which indicates that if the location of Mount Kunlun is ascertained, the general orientation of the travel of Mu, the Son of Heaven, can be confirmed.

關於先秦古籍中所見昆侖山的地望可謂衆說紛紜¹，其基礎是不同時期形成的傳說體系。今案：《穆天子傳》所見昆侖山應即今阿爾泰山，尤指其東端：

On the geographical situation of Mount Kunlun as it appeared in pre-Qin records and books, opinions are quite divided.¹ The bases of these beliefs are the systems of traditions that formed during the different periods. In my opinion, Mount Kunlun must have been the present Altai Mountains, especially their eastern end.

一 由於歐亞草原遊牧部族的活動，最早開闢的東西交通路線應該是橫貫歐亞大陸的所謂草原絲綢之路，亦即從蒙古高原，沿阿爾泰山南北麓，穿越南西伯利亞，再往西到達當時居住在黑海北岸的斯基泰人地區。希羅多德《歷史》（IV, 17-32）的記載表明，上述斯基泰貿易之路遲至前七世紀末已經存在。²

Firstly, the communication lines between East and West that were the earliest to be opened must have been the so-called Steppe Silk Road that traverses Eurasia, because of the activities of nomadic tribes in the Eurasian steppe. The road started on the Mongolian plateau, went along the northern or southern foot of the Altai Mountains, passed through southern Siberia, and, going westward, arrived in the region of the Scythians on the northern shore of the Black Sea. The record of Herodotus' *History* (IV, 17-32) shows that this road for trade by the Scythians already existed by the end of the seventh century B.C. at the latest.²

二 希羅多德《歷史》的有關描述有不少可以和中國典籍相印證。

Secondly, many related descriptions in Herodotus' *History* and the records in the Chinese ancient texts confirm each other.

例如：希羅多德《歷史》（IV，13）提到位於今哈密附近的伊賽多涅斯人（Issedones）之東有“獨眼族”即阿里瑪斯波伊人（Arimaspians）。無獨有偶，《山海經·海內北經》也有類似的記載：“鬼國在貳負之尸北，爲物人面而一目。一曰貳負神在其東，爲物人面蛇身”。

3

For instance: Herodotus' *History* (IV, 13) refers to Arimaspians (one-eyed people), who lived to the east of the Issedones, the latter living near the present Hami. It happens that there are similar records in the "Hainei Beijing" of the *Shanhai Jing*: "Gui (ghost) State is north of Erfu's Corpse. These things have a human face and one eye. Some say Erfu Spirit is to the east, and that these things have a human face and snake body."³

又如：希羅多德《歷史》（IV，23）記載在今阿爾泰山地區居有禿頭人。⁴《莊子·逍遙遊》亦提到極北有國，名爲“窮髮”。“窮髮”，當即禿頭之意。

Also, Herodotus' *History* (IV, 13) records that the Argippaei (bald-headed people) lived in what is now the Altai Mountains.⁴ The "Xiaoyaoyou" of *Zhuangzi* also refers to the state of Qiongfa (bald) in the far north.

又如：希羅多德《歷史》（IV，7）在敘述斯基泰人起源時說：“斯基泰上方居民的北邊，由於有羽毛自天降下的緣故，沒有人能夠看到那裏和進入到那裏去。大地和天空到處都是這種羽毛，因而這便使人不能看到那個地方了”。⁵這裏所說大地和天空充滿羽毛的地方，也見於《竹書紀年》：“穆王北征，行流沙千里，積羽千里”（《山海經·大荒北經》注引）。

Also, when it narrates the source of the Scythians, Herodotus' *History* (IV, 7) records that "the country of those that neighbor Scythia to the northward and above them — beyond this, none can see or penetrate, they say, by reason of the showers of feathers; the earth and the air are full of feathers, and these shut off the view."⁵ The country where "the earth and the air are full of feathers" also occurs in the *Zhushu Jinian* (Bamboo Annals): "The King Mu (Mu, the Son of

Heaven) proceeded northward, crossing the flowing sands, 1,000 *li*, and piles of feathers, 1,000 *li*" (cited by Guo Pu's commentary).

這些傳說正是通過上述東西交通道傳到中國內地的。而先秦時期的中國人對西北地區的瞭解偏重於新疆地區的北部，即阿爾泰山區和準噶爾沙漠以北的草原，似乎也說明草原之路的開闢要早於後來所謂的西域南北道。

These traditions were spread to the interior of China along exactly the above-mentioned communication lines between East and West. The knowledge about the Northwest that the Chinese gained during the pre-Qin period laid particular stress on the northern part of the present Xinjiang Province, i.e., from the steppe to the Altai Mountains and the Zhunge'er desert. This seems to show that the opening of the Steppe Road had preceded the establishment of the so-called Northern and Southern Routes.

三 考古資料也提供了證據。俄國阿勒泰省巴澤雷克（Pazyryk）公元前五一四世紀墓葬中曾出土了精緻的絲織品和刺繡著鳳凰圖案的繭綢、漆器以及“山”字紋青銅鏡。⁶這說明中國的絲綢最早確實是從這裏往西傳至歐洲的。

Thirdly, archaeological materials provide evidence: from tombs (dating to the fifth or fourth century B.C.) in the Altai Province of Russia, fine silk fabrics, pongee with a phoenix pattern, lacquerware, and bronze mirrors with a “山 (hill)” pattern have been unearthed.⁶ This shows that the earliest Chinese silk was indeed transported westwards to Europe along this route.

《穆天子傳》提到昆侖山上有“黃帝之宮”和某種墓葬（“豐隆之葬”），山中還有沼澤、泉水，有虎、豹、熊、狼、野馬、野牛、山羊、野豬和能夠攫食羊、鹿的大雕。而只有阿爾泰山才有許多古代部落留下的文化遺跡，如在青河縣花海子海拔 3,500 米的高山上分佈着年代為前 7 世紀至前 5 世紀的的大型石冢，其中最大一座石冢高達 10—15 米，周長 230 多米。周圍有石塊環繞，圍寬 5 米，直徑達 210 多米，規模宏偉。這表明當時這裏居

民的文明水準已經很高。質言之，關於昆侖山的神話的素材乃是阿爾泰山區的古文明。至於今天的昆侖山或祁連山等迄未發現任何足以構成神話基礎的古文明遺跡。⁷

In the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* it is recorded that "the palaces of the Yellow Emperor" and a certain tomb ("the burial place of Fenglong") were in Mount Kunlun, and there were marshes, spring waters, tigers, leopards, bears, wolves, wild horses, wild oxen, goats, boars, and a kind of great vulture that could seize sheep and deer in the mountains. However, there were traces of civilization left by ancient tribes only in the present Altai Mountains. One instance is the large stone tumulus dated seventh-fifth century B.C. that is spread out near Huahaizi in Qinghe Province. The largest example of this type of tumulus has a circumference of 230 m, encircled by a ring of stones; the ring is 5 m in breadth, and its diameter is 210 m wide. This shows that at that time the level of civilization of the local residents was very high. In other words, the source materials of mythology for Mount Kunlun indicate that there was an ancient civilization in the Altai Mountains. However, up to the present, no remains of an ancient civilization that can constitute the foundation of such a mythology have been found in the present Kunlun or Qilian Mountains.⁷

四 《穆天子傳》所載自然景觀和人文、物產和歐亞草原正相符合。⁸

Fourthly, natural landscapes and human affairs and products recorded in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* tally exactly with those in the Eurasian Steppe.⁸

1 自然景觀，如卷三所述：

1. Of natural landscapes, e.g., in the third chapter, it is recorded:

天子乃遂東征，南絕沙衍。辛丑，天子渴于沙衍，求飲未至。七萃之士高奔戎刺其左驂之頸，取其清血以飲天子。

The Son of Heaven proceeded eastward, crossing the desert on the south. On the day *xinchou*, the Son of Heaven was thirsty, and water could not be obtained

in the desert, so Gao Benrong, a member of the seven regiments, stabbed the left horse of his chariot in the neck and presented a drink of pure blood to the Son of Heaven.

“沙衍”當在阿爾泰山南緣。天子取馬血解渴，沙漠生活的情景躍然紙上。

“The desert” must have been located at the southern end of the Altai Mountains. The Son of Heaven had horse blood to quench his thirst, and a scene of desert life stands vividly revealed on the paper.

2 人文、物產，如卷二有載：

2. Of human affairs and products, e.g. in the second chapter, it is recorded:

赤烏之人其獻酒千斛于天子，食馬九百，羊牛三千，櫟麥百載。

The Chiu people presented to the Son of Heaven one thousand *hu* of wine, nine hundred horses for food, three thousand cattle, and one hundred carts fully loaded with millet and wheat.

曹奴之人戲觴天子于洋水之上，乃獻食馬九百，牛羊七百，櫟米百車。

The Caonu people entertained the Son of Heaven at a banquet on the bank of the Yang River, offering as presents nine hundred horses for food, seven thousand cattle, and one hundred cartfuls of millet and rice.

鄆韓之人無鳧乃獻良馬百匹，用牛三百，良犬七十，犢牛二百，野馬三百，牛羊二千，櫟麥三百車。

Wufu, of the Zhenhan people, offered to him one hundred good horses, three hundred draught cows, seventy good dogs, two hundred camels, three hundred wild horses, two thousand cattle, and three hundred cartfuls of millet and wheat.

以數量如此巨大的馬、牛和羊貢獻，符合歐亞草原遊牧部落或部族的情況。

The ability to contribute such an immense number of horses and cattle is evidence of the circumstances of nomadic tribes in the Eurasian Steppe.

二

《穆天子傳》載穆天子往返途中均遇見一些部落或部族，其中若干似可與中西史籍相印證：

The *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* records some tribes that Mu, the Son of Heaven, met on his journey to and fro. Some of these records and the Eastern or Western historical records may confirm each other.

1.1 犬戎（亦見卷四），應卽卜辭所見犬方，亦卽《山海經·海內北經》所見“犬封”、《逸周書·王會解》附“伊尹朝獻篇”所見狗國。與金文、文獻（如《詩經·小雅》）所見玁狁以及後世所見匈奴同源。⁹

1.1 “Quan Rong” (see also the fourth chapter) must have been “Quan Fang” as seen in the oracle inscriptions. It also refers to “Quan Feng” as seen in the “Hainei Beijing” of the *Shanhai Jing*, “Dog State,” as seen in the “Yiyin Chaoxian” section attached to the “Wanghuijie” chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu*. The Quan Rong [tribe] and the Xianyun are noted in the written documents (e.g., “Xiao Ya” of the *Shi Jing*) and the inscriptions on ancient bronze objects. The Xiongnu who appeared in later ages possibly came from the same origin.⁹

1.2 焉居，很可能與西史所見 Sakā 四部之一 Asii 同源。蓋“焉居”[ian-kia]得視爲 Asii 之對譯。

1.2 “Yanju” and the Asii, one of the four tribes of the Sakās as seen in the Western historical records, possibly came from the same origin. “Yanju” [ian-kia] can be regarded as a transcription of “Asii.”

1.3 禺知，或與《逸周書·王會解》附“伊尹朝獻篇”所見月氏同源，也很可能與西史所見 Sakā 四部之一 Gasiani 同源。蓋“禺知”[ngio-tie]得視為 Gasiani 之對譯。¹⁰

1.3 “Yuzhi” and “Yuezhi” as seen in the “Yiyin Chaoxian” section attached to the “Wanghuijie” chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu*, and the Asii, one of the four tribes of the Sakās, as seen in the Western historical records, possibly came from the same origin. “Yuzhi” [ngio-tie] can be regarded as a transcription of “Gasiani.”¹⁰

1.4 酈人、卽同卷所見“無夷”。酈人或無夷應卽馮夷。¹¹《水經·洛水注》引《竹書紀年》：“洛伯用與河伯馮夷鬪”。雷學淇《竹書紀年義證》卷九：“河、洛，二國名，卽西河有洛之類。《周禮》所謂澤國也。用與、馮夷，二君名”。胡應麟《少室山房筆叢·三坟補逸上》：“洛伯、河伯，皆國名也。用與、馮夷，諸侯名也”。馮夷死而爲河神。《莊子·大宗師》；“馮夷得之，以遊大川”。成疏：“大川，黃河也”。

1.4 “Peng people” is the same as “Wuyi” seen in the same chapter. “Peng people” or “Wuyi” must have been “Fengyi.”¹¹ In the *Zhushu Jinian*, cited by the “Luoshui Zhu” of the *Shuijing Zhu*, it is recorded that “Luo Bo (the Earl of the Luo River), Yongyu, struggles with He Bo (the Earl of the River), Fengyi.” Lei Xueqi’s *Zhushu Jinian Yizheng*, ch. 9: “Both He and Luo are the names of the state, just as are Xihe and Youluo. This is the so-called “Ze Guo” (a land that abounds in rivers and lakes) in the *Zhouli*. Both Yongyu and Fengyi are names of monarchs. In the chapter “Sanfen Buyi A” of the *Shaoshi Shanfang Bicong* of Hu Yinglin, it is stated that “Both Luo Bo and He Bo are the names of states. Both Yongyu and Fengyi are names of feudal princes.” Fengyi became a God of the River after he died. In the “Da Zongshi” of the *Zhuang Zi*, it is said that “Fengyi gained it (the doctrine or Daoism) and then can swim in the Great River.” Cheng’s commentary: “Great River refers to the Yellow River.”

1.5 河宗氏，封以司河伯之祭政者。¹²《史記·趙世家》：“奄有河宗”。“正義”：“河宗，蓋在龍門河之上游，嵐、勝二州之地也”。

1.5 "Hezong tribe" was given this title in order that it could take charge of the memorial ceremony for the Earl of He (the River).¹² In the *Shiji*, ch. 43, it is recorded that it was "to conquer [the land] of the Hezong [tribe]." The *Shiji Zhengyi*, ch. 43, says that "the Hezong tribe can be located in Longmen, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River, i.e., the lands of both Lan and Sheng prefectures."

(以上卷一)

(The above is in chapter 1.)

2.1 曷□之人，即卷三所見曷余之人。

2.1 "Shou... people," i.e., Shouyu people as seen in chapter 3.

2.2 赤烏之人或赤烏氏（亦見卷四），可能與《逸周書·王會解》附“伊尹朝獻篇”所見莎車或西史所見 *Sakā* 四部之一 *Sacarauli* 同源。蓋“赤烏”[thjyak-a]得視為“莎車”[sai-kia]之異譯。而兩者又得視為 *Sacarauli* 之對譯。“伊尹朝獻篇”所見乃此部在東方之一枝，《穆天子傳》所見乃西徙之一部。

2.2 "Chiwu people" or "Chiwu tribe" (seen also in the fourth chapter) and "Suoju" as seen in the "Yiyin Chaoxian" section attached to the "Wanghuijie" chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* or *Sacarauli*, one of the four tribes of the *Sakās*, as seen in the Western historical records, possibly came from the same origin. "Chiwu" [thjyak-a] can be regarded as a transcription of "Suoju" [sai-kia], and both "Chiwu" and "Suoju" can be regarded as transcriptions of *Sacarauli*. Those seen in the "Yiyin Chaoxian" were a branch in the east, and those seen in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* were a part of the group that moved westwards.

2.3 曹奴之人，很可能是《史記·匈奴列傳》所見匈奴北方部族丁零。蓋“曹奴”[dzô-na]得視為“丁零”[tyeng-lieng]之對譯。

2.3 "Caonu people" may be "Dingling" as seen in the *Shiji*, ch. 110 ("The Account of the Xiongnu"), a tribe that was located to the north of the Xiongnu. "Caonu" [dzô-na] can be regarded as a transcription of "Dingling"[tyeng-lieng].

2.4 容□氏，《太平御覽》卷六一八引作“容成氏”，說者多以為當據改。案：此改並無確據，不如保留原狀。¹³

2.4 “Rong...,” in the *Taiping Yulan*, ch. 618, is cited as “Rongcheng.” Many scholars suggest that the original should be rectified at the base of the *Taiping Yulan*. In my opinion, it would be better to retain the status quo ante owing to lack of essential evidence.¹³

2.5 剗閭氏，似與《逸周書·王會解》附“伊尹朝獻篇”所見嬭犁同源。“嬭犁”亦即《史記·匈奴列傳》所見匈奴北方部族薪犁。蓋“剗閭”[giai-lia]、“嬭犁”[siam-lyei]和“薪犁”[sien-lyei]得視為同名異譯。而剗閭氏應為游牧於較西方的一枝。希羅多德《歷史》（IV，13）曾提到在草原之路上有看守黃金的格里芬（griffins）。¹⁴他提到的格里芬可能是附會“剗閭”一名所致，也可能剗閭氏是一個以格里芬為圖騰的部落。¹⁵

2.5 “Jiyu” and “Qianli” as seen in the “Yiyin Chaoxian” section attached to the “Wanghuijie” chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu*. The Qianli are the Xinli seen in the *Shiji*, ch. 110 (“The Account of the Xiongnu”), a tribe that was located to the north of the Xiongnu. “Jiyu”[giai-lia], “Qianli”[siam-lyei], and “Xinli”[sien-lyei] can be different transcriptions of the same name. The Jiyu must have been a branch that moved further west. Herodotus’ *History* (IV, 13) refers to griffins that guard the gold on the Steppe Road.¹⁴ The griffins may be a strained interpretation for “Jiyu.” It is also possible that the Jiyu was a tribe that made griffins as a totem.¹⁵

2.6 鄯韓之人，應該就是《史記·匈奴列傳》所見匈奴北方部族鬲昆。蓋“鄯韓”[kiwən-hean]得視為“鬲昆”[kek-kuən]之對譯。

2.6 “Juanhan people” must have been the “Gekun” in the *Shiji*, ch. 110 (“The Account of the Xiongnu”), a tribe that was located to the north of the Xiongnu. “Juanhan”[kiwən-hean] can be regarded as a transcription of “Gekun” [kek-kuən].

2.7 西王母，一般認為，傳文所見西王母亦一部落首領。案：根據比較可信的研究，所謂西王母的原型可能是 Anatolia 的大神母 Koubaba 即 Cybele，而與前 14 至前 12 世紀存

在於叙利亞地中海沿岸的都市國家 Ugarit 所崇拜的 Anat 等神祇亦有淵源。最初 Cybele 祇是諸神之一，前 1180 年左右赫梯帝國滅亡之後，被 Anatolia 新的征服者腓尼基人接受為族神，地位開始尊顯，影響漸及整個地中海地區，為希臘、羅馬世界接受。¹⁶ 果然，則西王母可視為地中海文化東傳在漢文典籍中留下的痕跡。

2.7 "Xi Wangmu" (the Queen Mother of the West): it is generally believed that the Queen Mother of the West as seen in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* was a tribal chief. In my opinion, the prototype of the so-called Queen Mother of the West is Koubaba (Cybele, Κυβέλη), the Earth Mother ("Great Mother") in Anatolia, who also was closely connected with Anat and others who were worshipped in the city-states in Syria and the littoral countries of the Mediterranean, such as Ugarit during fourteenth-twelfth centuries B.C. At first, Cybele was one of the gods. After the Hittite empire was destroyed about 1180 B.C., she was accepted as a tribal goddess by the Phrygians, the new conquerors, at which time her position gained respect, her influence gradually extended to the whole of Mediterranean, and she then was accepted by the Hellenic and Roman world.¹⁶ If this is correct, the Queen Mother of the West can be regarded as a mark that the Mediterranean culture left behind when it spread eastwards.

(以上卷二)

(The above is in chapter 2.)

3.1 智氏之人，迄無令人信服的解釋。¹⁷

3.1 "Zhi people": there is no convincing interpretation for this.¹⁷

3.2 闕胡氏，原作“闕氏胡氏”，前“氏”字衍。¹⁸ 可能就是《史記·匈奴列傳》所見“烏揭”人。蓋“闕胡”[at-ha]與“烏揭”[a-kiat]得視為同名異譯。烏揭又可與希羅多德《歷史》(IV, 23) 所載 Argippaei 人勘同。¹⁹

3.2 "Ehu Shi" appears as "E Shi Hu Shi" in the original; the first "Shi" was a redundancy.¹⁸ "Ehu" is just possibly "Wujie" as seen in the *Shiji*, ch. 110 ("The Account of the

Xiongnu"). "Ehu" [at-ha] can be regarded as a transcription of "Wujie" [a-kiat]. Also, the Wujie can be identified with the Argippaei as seen in Herodotus' *History* (IV, 23).¹⁹

3.3 曷余之人，穆天子歸途所遇。一說應即卷二去途所遇曷□之人，亦即卷四提及的“珠余氏”。²⁰ 今案：曷余之人可能就是曷□之人，而“曷余”[zjiu-jia]與“珠余”[tjio-jia] 亦無妨指為同名異譯。蓋“曷”即壽字。²¹ 但三者未必同處一地。

3.3 "Shouyu people," who were met by Mu, the Son of Heaven. It is suggested that they must have been the "Shou... People," seen in the second chapter, who were met by Mu, the Son of Heaven, on his westward journey, who also are referred to as just the "Zhuyu tribe" in the fourth chapter.²⁰ In my opinion, it is possible that "Shouyu people" is simply "Shou... people," and there is no harm in considering that "Shouyu" [zjiu-jia] and "Zhuyu" [tjio-jia] are different transcriptions of the same name, since "曷" is an ancient form of "壽."²¹ However, the three may not have lived in one place.

案：“珠余”與後來出現於《漢書·西域傳》中的“精絕”[dzieng-dziuat]、“鄯善”[zjian-zjian] 得視為同名異譯。既然精絕和鄯善人很可能和 Sacaraucae 即 Sakā Rawaka 同源，²² 珠余之人或曷余之人也可能是 Sacaraucae 即 Sakā Rawaka 之一枝。果然，其人與赤烏之人也同出一源。

Also, "Zhuyu" and "Jingjue" [dzieng-dziuat], "Shanshan"[zjian-zjian], which appear later in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, can be regarded as different transcriptions of the same name. Since the Jingjue and Shanshan people and the Sacaraucae (Sakā Rawaka) may have had the same origin,²² the Zhuyü people were possibly a branch of the Sacaraucae (Sakā Rawaka). If this is true, they and the "Chiwu people" also had the same origin.

(以上卷三)

(The above is in the third chapter.)

4.1 濁繇氏，應即《山海經·海內東經》所見“居繇”，後者當據《魏略·西戎傳》改正為“屬繇”。“濁繇”[deok-jio]或“屬繇”[zjiuok-jio]得視為 Sugda 之對譯。Sugda 人之本土在阿姆河與錫爾河之間，其人擅長經商，足跡遍布各地，《穆天子傳》中出現的濁繇氏為其人東來之一枝。

4.1 “Zhuoyao Shi” must have been “Juyao” as seen in the “Hainei Dongjing” of the *Shanhai Jing*. The latter should be corrected to “Shuyao” on the basis of the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*. “Zhuoyao” [deok-jio] or “Shuyao” [zjiuok-jio] can be regarded as a transcription of Sugda. The territory of the Sugda people lay between the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya; they were expert in business, and their traces could be found all over the world. The Zhuoyao, as seen in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*, were a branch that moved eastward.

4.2 骨飢氏，應即《山海經·海內東經》所見“豎沙”，後者當據《魏略·西戎傳》改正為“堅沙”。蓋“骨飢”[kuət-kan]得視為“堅沙”[kyen-shea]之異譯，而兩者均得視為 Gasiani 之對譯。果然，則與卷一所見“禺知”同源。

4.2 “Gugan Shi” must have been “Shusha,” as seen in the “Hainei Dongjing” of the *Shanhai Jing*. The latter should be corrected to “Jiansha” on the basis of the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*. “Gugan” [kuət-kan] can be regarded as a variant transcription of “Jiansha” [kyen-shea]. Both can be recorded as variant transcriptions of “Gasiani.” If this is true, “Gugan” and “Yuzhi,” seen in chapter 1, had the same origin.

4.3 重譚氏，應即《山海經·海內東經》所見“大夏”。重譚氏可能與《逸周書·王會解》²³及所附“伊尹朝獻篇”所見大夏或西史所見 Sakā 四部之一 Tochari 同源。蓋“重譚”[diong-iong]不妨視為“大夏”[dat-hea]之對譯。²⁴

4.3 “Zhongyong Shi” must have been “Daxia,” as seen in the chapter “Hainei Dongjing” of the *Shanhai Jing*. “Zhongyong Shi” and “Daxia,” seen in the “Wanghuijie” chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* ²³and the “Yiyin Chaoxian” section attached to this chapter, or Tochari, one of the four

tribes of the Sakās, possibly came from the same origin. There is no harm in considering that "Zhongyong" [diong-iong] and "Daxia" [dat-hea] are different transcriptions of the same name.²⁴

又，同卷提及的“西夏”，一般認為指大夏。蓋據《呂氏春秋·古樂篇》，“昔黃帝令伶倫作為律。伶倫自大夏之西，乃之阮隃之陰”。阮隃即昆侖；《說苑·修文篇》、《風俗通義·聲音篇》引此皆作“崑崙”。西夏與大夏均在昆侖之東，係赴昆侖所必由，故可以認為西夏即大夏。果然，西去昆侖之丘（阿爾泰山）二千又二百里的“西夏”，當在河西地區。之所以稱河西之大夏為“西夏”，很可能是因為大夏之故地更在其東。

Also, it is generally the case that "Xi Xia" (Western Xia), seen in the same chapter, refers to "Daxia." In the chapter "Guyue" of the *Lüshi Chunqiu*, it is recorded: "Formerly, the Yellow Emperor ordered Ling Lun to make a pipe with standard pitches. Ling Lun went westwards from the Daxia to the northern foot of Mount Ruanyu...." It is generally accepted that "Ruanlun" is just "Kunlun," because it appears as such in the parallel passage in the chapter "Xiuwen" of the *Shuoyuan* and in the chapter "Yinsheng" of the *Fengsutong*. Since both "Xi Xia" and "Daxia" were located to the east of Mount Kunlun, and were the only way to go there, it is appropriate to consider that "Xi Xia" can be identified with "Daxia." If this is true, "Xi Xia," whose distance westward to the Kunlun Hills (the Altai Mountains) was 2,200 *li*, must have been located in the He Xi region. The reason it is titled "Xi Xia" (the Western Xia) is possibly that the former lands of the Daxia were farther east.

既然“西夏”即大夏，則與同卷所見重譚氏族屬相同，但不在一地。

Since the "Xi Xia" can be identified with the "Daxia," they and the Zhongyong tribe in that chapter had the same origin, but they did not live in the same place.

4.4 巨蒐氏，《尚書·禹貢》作“渠搜”，西戎部落之一。案：巨蒐，與西史所見 Sakā 四部之一 Asii 同源。蓋“巨蒐”[gia-shiu]得視為 Asii 之對譯。²⁵

4.4 "Jusou Shi" is recorded as "Qusou" in the chapter "Yugong" of the *Shanshu*, one of the Western Rong tribes. In my opinion, the Jusou and the Asii are one of the four tribes of the

Sakā seen in the Western historical records. "Jusou"[gia-shiu] and "Asii" can be taken to be different transcriptions of the same name.²⁵

4.5 爨搜，無考。

4.5 Tangsou: There is no research available on this.

(以上卷四)

(The above is in the fourth chapter.)

以下是若干補充：

The following are additional remarks:

一、穆天子西征去途所遇諸部，最值得注意的是曹奴之人(丁零)、剡閭氏(griffins)和鄆韓氏(鬲昆)。穆天子西征歸途所遇諸部中，最值得注意的是闕胡氏(烏揭)。

Firstly, of the tribes that were met by Mu, the Son of Heaven, on his westward journey, the most noteworthy is the Caonu people (the Dingling), the Jilü (griffins), and the Juanhan (the Gekun). Of the tribes that were met by Mu, the Son of Heaven, on his homeward journey, the most noteworthy is the Ehu (the Wujie).

據《史記·匈奴列傳》，前三世紀末匈奴崛起時，冒頓單于曾“北服渾庾、屈射、丁零、鬲昆、薪犁之國”。而據《漢書·匈奴傳下》，元帝時，匈奴郅支單于叛漢西走，“因北擊烏揭，烏揭降。發其兵西破堅昆，北降丁令，并三國”。知堅昆在烏揭西，丁令在烏揭北。時“堅昆東去單于庭七千里，南去車師五千里”，而《史記·匈奴列傳》所謂“北服”丁零等，其實是“西北服”。一般認為，丁零本土在貝加爾湖周圍，鬲昆即堅昆在葉尼塞河流域。薪犁地望不詳，但無疑亦在阿爾泰山北麓。至於烏揭，依據較可靠的研究，其居地在阿爾泰山南麓。²⁶ 它很可能在《穆天子傳》描述的年代已登上歷史舞臺。

According to the *Shiji*, ch. 110 ("The Account of the Xiongnu"), when the Xiongnu arose abruptly, the Modu *Chanyu* "conquered the tribes of Hunyu, Qushe, Dingling, Gekun, and Xinli

to the north." And according to the *Hanshu*, ch. 94B, we know that during the reign period of Emperor Yuan of Han, *Chanyu* Zhizhi of the Xiongnu revolted and went to the Han and turned west, "then he attacked Wujie to the north, and the Wujie surrendered to him. He called out their force to breach the Jiankun to the west, to bring about the surrender of the Dingling to the north, then annexed the three tribes." From this, we know that the Jiankun were located to the west of the Wujie, and the Dingling were located to the north of the Wujie. At that time, "the Jiankun is distant by 7,000 *li* from the court of *Chanyu* to the east, and is distant by 5,000 *li* from the state of Jushi." The reference to the statement that the Modu *Chanyu* "conquered the tribes of Hunyu, Qushe, Dingling, Gekun, and Xinli to the north," in fact, means "conquered...to the northwest." It is generally suggested that the central territory of the Dingling was located around Lake Baikal, and Gekun (Jiankun) was located in the valley of the Yenisei River. The geographical situation of the Xinli is not clearly known, but it was also located at the northern foot of the Altai Mountains. As to the Wujie, according to more reliable research, they lived at the southern foot of the Altai Mountains.²⁶ They had yet to ascend the historical stage at the time described by the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*.

穆天子遇見剗閭氏、曹奴之人和鄆韓氏似乎表明其去途取道阿爾泰山北麓，而烏揭居地的位置強烈暗示穆天子乃取道阿爾泰山南麓東歸的。

That Mu, the Son of Heaven, met the Jilü, the Caonu people, and the Juanhan tribe seems to show that his westward journey was along the northern foot of the Altai Mountains, and the location of the Wujie's residence suggests strongly that the homeward journey of Mu, the Son of Heaven, was along the southern foot of the Altai Mountains.

二、在漢文典籍中，西王母多被置於極西之地。例如：在《史記·大宛列傳》中弱水、西王母在條枝國，而在《後漢書·西域傳》和《魏略·西戎傳》中，弱水和西王母則在大秦國西。這是因為在前者描述的時代，中國人對於外部世界的瞭解在西面到條枝國為止，而在後者描述的時代，最西面的國家已經是大秦了。由此可見，穆天子會晤的西王母

在其西征的終點，決不是偶然的。《穆天子傳》和後來的《史記》等書一樣，將西王母位置於當時所瞭解的最西部。

Secondly, in the Chinese historical records, the Queen Mother of the West is usually assigned to the most western location. For example, the Ruo River and the Queen Mother of the West are in the state of Tiaozhi in the *Shiji*, ch. 123. However, they are to the west of the state of Da Qin in the *Hou Hanshu*, ch. 88, and the "Xi Rong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*. This is because the Chinese were aware of the outer world up to the state of Tiaozhi on the west at the time described by the former, and the furthest western state was Da Qin by the time described by the latter. Thus it can be seen that it is certainly not accidental that the Queen Mother of the West who met Mu, the Son of Heaven, was at the terminal point of his westward travel. In the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*, like the *Shiji* and others, the Queen Mother of the West was put in the furthest western place as it was understood at that time.

穆天子會晤西王母後，“遂驅升于弇山，乃紀丌跡于弇山之石，而樹之槐，眉曰西王母之山”。“升于弇山”，《太平御覽》六七二引作“升于崦嵫”。案：《山海經·西山經》：“西南三百六十里，曰崦嵫之山”。郭注：“日所入山也，見《離騷》”。《離騷》：“望崦嵫而勿迫”。王逸注：“崦嵫，日所入山也”。由此可見弇山即崦嵫之山，在《穆天子傳》作者心目中，既見西王母，升弇山即崦嵫之山則是題中應有之義。²⁷

After Mu, the Son of Heaven, had met the Queen Mother of the West, he “then rode on Mount Yan and engraved a record of this visit on the rocks. He planted a sophora tree as a memorial and named the place the Mount of the Queen Mother of the West.” The reference he “rode on Mount Yan” is cited as he “rode on Mount Yanzi” by the *Taiping Yulan*, ch. 672. In my opinion, in the “Xishan Jing” of the *Shanhai Jing* it is recorded that “360 *li* southwest is Mount Yanzi.” Guo’s note says: “A mountain where the sun sets, see *Li Sao*.” The *Li Sao* says “To Yanzi slowly go.” Wang Yi’s note says: “Yanzi is a mountain where the sun sets.” Thus it can be

seen that Mount Yan is Mount Yanzi. In the mind of the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*'s author, to ride on Mount Yan or Yanzi after he had met the Queen Mother of the West is the proper meaning.²⁷

《穆天子傳》所傳西王母居地的位置無從確指，僅知其旁爰有“碩鳥解羽”之曠原。這自然使我們聯想到希羅多德在敘述草原之路時提及的空中充滿羽毛的地方。既然希羅多德所述空中充滿羽毛的地方無疑位於自西向東往赴阿爾泰山的交通線上，則穆天子會晤西王母而經由的昆侖山也應該是阿爾泰山。

The location of the residence of the Queen Mother of the West as seen in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* cannot be known for sure. We know only that there was a vast plain where "big birds scattered their feathers." We associate this with the place where the air is full of feathers, referred to by Herodotus when he describes the Steppe Road. Since the location of Herodotus' place where the air is full of feathers was undoubtedly on the communication lines between east and west to the Altai Mountains, the Mount Kunlun that Mu, the Son of Heaven, passed to meet the Queen Mother of the West must have been in the Altai Mountains as well.

三、既然西夏即大夏、骨飢即豎沙、濁繇即居繇、禺知即月支，則《山海經·海內東經》關於“國在流沙”²⁸外者，大夏、豎沙、居繇、月支之國的記載似乎在《穆天子傳》中得到了印證。但以上的研究至多說明《山海經》和《穆天子傳》有相同的資料來源。並不能說明兩者對於這些資料的理解是完全相同的。質言之，不能按照《山海經》的描述來探求上述四者的位置，反之亦然。²⁹

Since "Xi Xia" is identified with Daxia, "Gugan" with "Shusha," "Zhuoyao" with "Juyao," "Yuzhi" with "Yuezhi," the "lands beyond the flowing sands"²⁸ are Daxia, Shusha, Juyao, and Yuezhi in the "Hainei Dongjing" of the *Shanhai Jing*, and this seems to be confirmed in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*. But the above research shows at most that the data of the *Shanhai Jing*, and the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* had the same source, but it cannot show that the editors of both books had the same understanding of these words. In other words, we should not seek the

locations of the above four tribes on the basis of the description of the *Shanhai Jing*; in fact, the contrary is true.²⁹

同理，《穆天子傳》提到與昆侖山有關的河流有赤水、洋水、黑水等，類似記載亦見諸《山海經·西山經》：

According to the same reasoning, the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* refers to the Red River, the Yang River, and the Black River, and so on, all related to Mount Kunlun. Similar records also appear in the "Xishan Jing" of the *Shanhai Jing*.

西南四百里，曰昆侖之丘，是實惟帝之下都，神陸吾司之。……河水出焉，而南流東注于無達。赤水出焉，而東南流注于汜天之水。洋水出焉，而西南流注于醜塗之水。黑水出焉，而西流于大豎。是多怪鳥獸。

400 *li* southwest is Kunlun Hills. This is the earthly capital of the Sovereign, where the spirit Luwu rules.... The River flows south from here, then east and to Wuda. The Red River flows southeast from here, to the Fantian River. The Yang River flows southwest from here, to the Choutu River. The Black River flows west from here, to Dawu. Strange birds and animals abound here.

除諸色水外，尚有所謂“群玉之山”（卷二），亦見諸《山海經·海內東經》：

In addition to the colored rivers, there is Mount Qunyü ("crowded with jade mount"), which also appears in the "Hainei Dongjing" of the *Shanhai Jing*.

西胡白玉山在大夏東，蒼梧在白玉山西南，皆在流沙西，昆侖虛東南。

昆侖山在西胡西，皆在西北。

The Western Hu and the White Jade Mount [are] to the east of Daxia. Cangwu is southwest of the White Jade Mount. All these are west of flowing

sands and southeast of Kunlun Hills. Mount Kunlun is west of the Western Hu.

These places are all in the northwest.

這說明諸水、玉山與昆侖山有不解之緣，應該都是傳說中的山水。大概既認定昆侖有玉山、出有色水，在沿阿爾泰山南北行進時遇見山水便往往附會之。³⁰ 質言之，在比定《穆天子傳》有關昆侖諸山水時，亦無須受《山海經》記載之束縛。

This shows that these colored rivers and jade mounts are tightly bound to Mount Kunlun, which must be the mountains and rivers in the legend. Since it is firmly believed that there were jade mounts and colored rivers in Mount Kunlun, by false analogy one might consider wrongly that the mountains and rivers he met were the jade mounts and colored rivers seen when he went along the north or south foot of the Altai Mountains.³⁰ In other words, it is unnecessary to be fettered by the records of the Shanhai Jing when we identify the mountains and rivers related to the Kunlun in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*.

四、以上將焉居、巨蒐讀作 *Asii*，將禺知、骨飭讀作 *Gasiani*，將赤烏、珠余和曷余讀作 *Sacarauli*（或 *Sakā Rawaka*），將重譚或西夏讀作 *Tochari*，乃基於我關於塞種史的一個假說：

To read "Yanju" and "Jusou" as *Asii*, "Yuzhi" and "Gugan" as *Gasiani*, "Chiwu," "Zhyu" and "Shouyu" as *Sacarauli* (or *Sakā Rawaka*), "Zhongyong" and "Xi Xia" as *Tochari* is at the base of my hypothesis on the history of the Sai tribes:

阿喀美尼朝波斯大流士一世（*Darius I*，前 521—486 年在位）貝希斯登（*Behistun*）銘文所見 *Sakā* 人（在《漢書·西域傳》中稱為“塞種”），主要包括四個部落或部族：*Asii*、*Gasiani*，*Tochari* 和 *Sacarauli*。公元前七世紀末葉，*Asii* 等部已出現在伊犁河、楚河流域。*Sakā* 諸部可能來自東方。*Asii*，*Gasiani*，*Tochari* 和 *Sacarauli* 似即先秦典籍所見允姓之戎、禺知（禺氏）、大夏和莎車。其活動地域大致在黃河以西，阿爾泰山之東。前 623 年，秦

穆公稱霸西戎，拓地千里，或者因此引起了 Sakā 諸部的西遷。³¹ 出現在《穆天子傳》中的 Sakā 諸部既可能是西遷後留在東方故地的餘種，也可能是處在西遷過程中的分枝。由於《穆天子傳》所據資料的年代不易一一確定，不能指實。

The Sakās of the Behistun inscription of Darius I (521–486 B.C.) of Achaemenian Persia (i.e., the Sai tribes as seen in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A) 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 already lived in the valleys of the Rivers Ili and Chu. The Sakā tribes had possibly come from the east. The Asii, the Gasiani, the Tochari, and the Sacarauli seem to have been the Rong of the surname Yun, the Yuzhi (Yuzhi), the Daxia, and the Suoju who appeared in pre-Qin records and books. The sphere of their movement roughly covered the area from the west of the Yellow River to the east of the Altai Mountains. In 623 B.C., Duke Mu of Qin dominated the Western Rong and opened up territories that extended for 1,000 *li*. This event possibly caused the Sai tribes' western migration.³¹ It is possible that the Sakā tribes who appear in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* were those who remained in their eastern homeland after the above-mentioned westward movement, or some branches during the course of the westward movement. But which is the correct situation? It is difficult to affirm, because it is difficult to determine precisely the dates of the sources based on the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*.

進入一地的 Sakā 人，不祇是一個部落或部族的成員，其他部落或部族的成員往往也先後或同時進入，人數也多寡不一。這種情況在《穆天子傳》中的反映便是“焉居（Asii）、禺知（Gasiani）之平”這一地名的出現。³²

The Sakās who entered an oasis were not necessarily composed of the members of one tribe alone. The members of other tribes often were there successively, or simultaneously, and their population also varied in number. In the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* a reflection of this situation is that the place name “the vast plain of Yanju and Yuzhi” appears.³²

五、以上釋讀過程中，將若干部名視作同名異譯，主要有以下兩種情況：

In the above analysis, some tribes' names are understood to be different transcriptions of the same name. Here are such two cases:

1 對於族屬相同的不同部落或部族，往往采用不同的漢字表示。例如：“焉居”和“巨蒐”均係 Asii 人，“禺知”和“骨飡”均係 Gasiani，“赤烏”、“珠余”和“曷余”均係 Sacarauli，“重譚”和“西夏”均係 Tochari 人，但均不在一地，不屬於同一部落或部族。³³

1 With regard to two different tribes that had the same origin, the Chinese historical records often adopt different Chinese characters. For example: "Yanju" and "Jusou" were the Asii; "Yuzhi" and "Gugan" were the Gasiani; "Chiwu," "Zhuyu" and "Shouyu" were the Sacarauli; "Zhongyong" and "Xi Xia" were the Tochari; but they did not live at the same place; they were subjects of the same tribe.³³

2 《穆天子傳》成書前有一個口口相傳的過程，對於同一種人或同一個部落有時使用不同的譯名，可能是在這一過程中造成的，最後寫定者未加詳察。“鄴人”與“無夷”便是一個例子。

2 The *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* was passed on in an oral tradition before it was compiled. Adopting different translated terms for the same people or tribes occurred during this process. The people who finalized the book did not give the names a detailed examination. "Peng people" and "Wuyi" offer just one example.

三

《穆天子傳》卷一所述穆天子西征歷程如下：

The westward journey of Mu, the Son of Heaven, as seen in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*, ch. 1, was as follows:

1.1 "...飲天子蠡山之上"。"飲"字前有闕文。蠡山，在今山西高平。³⁴

1.1 "...The Son of Heaven was entertained at a banquet on the top of Mount Juan." There are missing characters before the character "飲." Mount Juan is situated in present-day Gaoping, Shanxi.³⁴

1.2 "戊寅，天子北征，乃絕漳水"。漳水有清、濁二源，此爲濁漳水。穆天子絕漳處在今山西長治境。³⁵

1.2 "On the day of *wuyin*, the Son of Heaven proceeded northward, and thereupon crossed the Zhang River." The Zhang River had two sources: a clear one and a turbid. The place where the Son of the Heaven crossed the river is situated in present-day Changzhi, Shanxi.³⁵

1.3 "庚辰，至于□。觴天子于盤石之上"。盤石，在今山西平定東北。³⁶

1.3 "On the day of *gengchen*, the Son of Heaven reached.... The Son of Heaven drank on the Huge Rock." The Huge Rock is situated to the northeast of Pingding, Shanxi.³⁶

1.4 "載立不舍，至于鉞山之下"。鉞山，井陘山，在今河北井陘。³⁷

1.4 "[The Son of Heaven] never stopped to rest for the night, and he reached as far as the foot of Mount Xing." Mount Xing is simply the present Mount Jingjing, which is situated in Jingjing, Hebei.³⁷

1.5 "癸未，雨雪，天子獵于鉞山之西阿，于是得絕鉞山之隊，北循虋沱之陽"。虋沱，指今滹沱河。"循虋沱之陽"，指在河北平山附近渡河後，溯河而上。³⁸

1.5 "On the day of *guiwei*, it snowed; the Son of Heaven hunted on the western spur of Mount Xing then crossed through the tunnel of Mount Xing, and went northwards along the northern bank of the Hutuo River." The Hutuo River is the present Hutuo River. The reference "along the northern bank of the Hutuo River" refers to going against the stream after crossing the river near present-day Pingshan, Hebei.³⁸

1.6 “乙酉，天子北升于□。天子北征于犬戎。犬戎□胡³⁹觴天子于當水之陽”。“升”指登山，傳文闕其名，或爲恒山山脈之一山。⁴⁰當水，或即古之恒水，今山西沙河、唐河。
41

1.6 “On the day of *yiyou*, the Son of Heaven ascended north.... The Son of Heaven proceeded northward as far as the Rong of Quan. The Rong of Quan, the Hu [tribe],³⁹ drank to the Son of Heaven on the north bank of the Dang River.” The character “升” (*sheng*) means to ascend a mount whose name is missing. It is possibly a peak of the Heng Mountains.⁴⁰ The Dang River was possibly the Heng River in the ancient times, and it is the present Sha River and Tang River.⁴¹

一說天子第三日所至“鉏山之下”，約當河北省獲鹿縣之東南境，第六日“北循虘沱之陽”，二日而抵達犬戎之境，則犬戎疆界之南緣，約當河北曲陽、行唐兩縣境，其北亦即太行山區，或爲犬戎盤踞之地。⁴²今案：其說欠確切。

It has been suggested that “the foot of Mount Xing,” which the Son of the Heaven reached on the third day, is situated approximately in the southeast of Huolu, Hebei. Since he “went northwards along the northern bank of the Hutuo River” on the sixth day, and arrived on the border of the Quan Rong, the southern fringe of the frontier of the Quan Rong is approximately the border of Quyang and Xingtang, Hebei. Its north is the Taihang mountain area, which is possibly the location of Quan Rong.⁴² In my opinion, this theory is insufficiently precise.

1.7 “甲午，天子西征，乃絕隃之關陞”。“隃之關陞”，在今山西雁門山。⁴³

1.7 “On the day *jiawu*, the Son of Heaven proceeded on westward and crossed the steep slope of [Mount] Yu.” “The steep slope of [Mount] Yu” is situated at the present Mount Yanmen, Shanxi.⁴³

1.8 “己亥，至于焉居、禹知之平”。此傳所述焉居、禹知居地當在今河套東北。⁴⁴

1.8 "On the day *jihai*, [the Son of Heaven] arrived on the vast plain of Yanju and Yuzhi." The location of Yanju and Yuzhi must have been situated to the northeast of present-day Hetao area.⁴⁴

1.9 "辛丑，天子西征，至于酈人。河宗之子孫酈伯絮，且逆天子于智之□"。酈人封地在今內蒙古黑城至托克托之間。⁴⁵ 智之□，內蒙古河套托克托一帶。⁴⁶

1.9 "On the day *xinchou*, the Son of Heaven proceeded on westward and reached the country of the Peng people. Peng Boxu, the descendant of Hezong, went to Zhi ... to welcome the Son of Heaven." The feudality of the Peng people is situated between the present Hei Cheng and Togto.⁴⁵ "Zhi ..." is situated in the area around Togto in present-day Hetao area, Nei Mongol.⁴⁶

1.10 "癸卯，天子舍于漆澤。乃西釣于河，以觀□智之□"。"漆澤"，即下文"滲澤"之譌。"釣于河"，指河套一帶的黃河。⁴⁷

1.10 "On the day *guimao*, the Son of Heaven camped in the neighborhood of Lake Qi, then went fishing in the [Yellow] River and paid a visit to the country of Zhi...." "漆澤" must have been an error for "滲澤" which is seen in the ensuing passage. "The River" refers to the Yellow River within the Hetao area.⁴⁷

1.11 "甲辰，天子獵于滲澤。于是得白狐玄貉焉，以祭于河宗。丙午，天子飲于河水之阿。天子屬六師之人于酈邦之南、滲澤之上"。河宗，即河伯。滲澤，無妨認為指今黛山湖。⁴⁸

1.11 "On the day *jiashen*, the Son of Heaven went hunting on Lake Shen and captured a white fox and a black *lo* with which he made a sacrifice to Hezong. On the day *bingwu* the Son of Heaven took a drink by the [Yellow] River. In the Shen Lake south of the state of Peng the Son of Heaven reviewed his company, which was composed of six divisions of soldiers."

"Hezong" means the Earl of He (River). There is no harm in considering that Lake Shen is the same as the present Lake Daishan.⁴⁸

1.12 "戊申，天子西征，驚行至于陽紆之山。河伯無夷之所都居，是惟河宗氏。河宗柏天逆天子燕然之山。……癸丑、天子大朝于燕□之山，河水之阿"。陽紆之山，今內蒙古陰山。⁴⁹ 河宗氏，今地在內蒙古鄂爾多斯右翼，奄有河套之北岸。⁵⁰ 燕然之山，陰山山脈中某山。⁵¹

1.12 "On the day *wushen*, the Son of Heaven proceeded westward, marching on as far as Mount Yangyu, where Wuyi, the Earl of He (River), had established his family, the same as the Hezong. Bo Yao, the Hezong people, welcomed the Son of Heaven at Mount Yanran.... On the day *guichou*, the Son of Heaven gave an audience on Mount Yanran, by the River." Mount Yangyu is just the Yin Mountains, Nei Mongol.⁴⁹ The residence of the Hezong tribe is situated in the right flank of Ordos, Nei Mongol, and it possessed the north bank of the Hetao area.⁵⁰ Mount Yanran is a peak in the Yin Mountains.⁵¹

1.13 "己未、天子大朝于黃之山"。"黃之山"，今陰山山脈中某山。⁵²

1.13 "On the day *jiwei*, the Son of Heaven gave a grand audience on Mount Yellow." Mount Yellow is a peak in the Yin Mountains.⁵²

1.14 "乙丑，天子西濟于河。□爰有溫谷樂都，河宗氏之所遊居"。穆天子所濟，當在今河套西端之烏加河。烏加河與今黃河間，支流密佈，或即"溫谷樂都"所在，亦河宗氏之所遊居。⁵³

1.14 "On the day *yichou*, the Son of Heaven passed over the River to the west.... There was in this region a valley called Ledu, which was warm in the winter and in which there was a traveling camp of the Hezong tribe." The locale that Mu, the Son of the Heaven, passed over must have been the Uga River in the western end of present-day Hetao area. There are tributaries densely covered between the Uga River and the Yellow River, which was possibly the location of the warm valley called Ledu, which was the camp to which the He Zong traveled.⁵³

1.15 “丙寅，天子……以飲于枝澍之中、積石之南河”。“積石”，應爲河套西北角某山。“南河”即今黃河主道，古時因在黃河（今烏加河）之南而得名“南河”。⁵⁴

1.15 “On the day *bingyin*, the Son of Heaven ... took a drink at a little islet in the tributary of the River, the South River of [Mount] Jishi.” “Jishi” must have been a peak in the northwest corner of the present-day Hetao area. “The South River” is the main stream of the present Yellow River, which had derived its name “the South River” from the fact that it was situated to the south of the Yellow River (the present Uga River) in ancient times.⁵⁴

以上傳文敘說穆天子自山西南部，折而向西，經雁門山，到達河套西北部陰山山脈的行程。

The above describes the journey of Mu, the Son of Heaven, showing that he turned west from the southern part of Shanxi, *via* Mount Yanmen, and arrived at the Yin Mountains, in the northwest part of Nei Mongol.

四

《穆天子傳》卷二所述西征歷程如下：

The westward journey of Mu, Son of Heaven, as seen in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*, ch. 2, was as follows:

2.1.1 “□柏夭曰：□封膜晝于河水之陽，以爲殷人主”。“封膜晝”前奪河宗之邦經西夏氏至珠余氏間行程。珠余氏在西夏氏（河西）與河首（居延海）之間。一說“膜晝”應爲珠余氏。⁵⁵ 果然，珠余氏當在張掖河流域，蓋河水指張掖河。⁵⁶

2.1.1 “[A proclamation was issued by the Son of Heaven] to Bo Yao entrusting him to confer upon Muzhou the right to rule over the north of the River, so that he would be able to

offer sacrifices to the ancestor of the Yin people." A description of the journey to the Zhuyu tribe *via* the Xi Xia tribe from the state of Hezong is missing before "封膜晝" (to confer upon Muzhou). The Zhuyu tribe lived between the Xi Xia (in the He Xi region) and the head of the [Yellow] River (the Juyan Sea). It has been suggested that the "Muzhou" must have been the Zhuyu tribe.⁵⁵ If this is correct, the Zhuyu should be located in the valley of the present Zhangye River, and "River" refers to the Zhangye River.⁵⁶

2.1.2 "丁巳，天子西南升□之所主居。……戊午，曷□之人居慮，獻酒百□于天子"。
穆天子所升之山爲曷□之人所居，山在自襄山赴昆侖山途中，或即阿爾洪山。又，"丁巳"前應有闕文，奪珠余氏經河首至襄山（杭愛山）間行程。

2.1.2 "On the day *dingsi*, the Son of Heaven ascended Mount ... on the southwest. ... On the day *wuwu*, the Jülü, the Shouyu people, offered as presents one hundred measures of wine." The mount that Mu, Son of Heaven, ascended was inhabited by the Shou[yu] people. The mount was situated on the passage to Mount Kunlun from Mount Xiang, and it may be the present Mount Argun. Also, there should be a missing reference to describe the journey to Mount Xiang (Mount Hang'ai) from the Zhuyu *via* the head of the [Yellow] River before "丁巳" (on the day *dingsi*).

2.2 "天子已飲而行，遂宿于昆侖之阿、赤水之陽"。昆侖即阿爾泰山東端。赤水，當即博東齊河。⁵⁷

2.2 "After the entertainment the Son of Heaven advanced and halted on the spur of Mount Kunlun by the northern bank of the Red River." "Kunlun" refers to the eastern end of the present Altai Mountains; and the Red River must have been the present Bodongqi River.⁵⁷

2.3 "爰有鸛鳥之山，天子三日舍于鸛鳥之山。□吉日辛酉，天子升于昆侖之丘"。鸛鳥之山，應爲阿爾泰山東端某山。

2.3 "Here was a mount called Jian Niao, and the Son of Heaven remained there for three days. ...On the auspicious day *xinyou*, the Son of Heaven ascended the Kunlun Hills." Mount Jian Niao must have been a mountain that is situated in the eastern end of the Altai Mountains.

2.4 "甲子、天子北征，舍于珠澤。以釣于汜水。曰珠澤之藪，方三十里"。珠澤，當即哈喇烏斯湖；汜水，或即伊格爾河。

2.4 "On the day *jiazi*, the Son of Heaven proceeded northward and halted at the Pearl Lake, to fish in the running stream. It is said that the marshes of the Pearl Pond were thirty *li* square." The Pearl Pond must have been the present Qara Usu Lake, and "the running stream" refers to the present Iger River.

2.5 "季夏丁卯，天子北升于春山之上，以望四野曰：春山，是惟天下之高山也"。
春山，不妨認為是察斯特烏拉山。

2.5 "On the day *dingmao*, in the last month of the summer, the Son of Heaven ascended Mount Chong on the north, from where he could see the wilderness stretching in four directions. It is said that the mount was the highest mount on earth." Mount Chong can be considered as the present Tsasty-aula Mount.

2.6 "壬申、天子西征。甲戌，至于赤烏"。赤烏之人居地當在察斯特烏拉山以西。

2.6 "On the day *renshen*, the Son of Heaven proceeded westward and on *jiaxu* he arrived at [the residence] of the Chiwu." The residence of the Chiwu people must have been situated to the west of the present Tsasat-ayula Mount.

2.7 "己卯、天子北征，趙行□（不）舍。庚辰，濟于洋水。辛巳，入于曹奴。曹奴之人戲觴天子于洋水之上"。洋水當即薩格賽河。⁵⁸ 曹奴之人本土當在葉尼塞河流域。《穆天子傳》此處所載當是南遷之一枝。

2.7 "On the day *jimao*, the Son of Heaven proceeded northward, driving forward without taking any rest, until on the day *gengshen* he crossed the Yang River, and on the day *xinsi*, he arrived at [the domain of] the Caonu. The lord of this people entertained the Son of Heaven at a

banquet on the bank of the Yang River." The Yang River must have been the present Saksay River.⁵⁸ The central territory of the Caonu people may be situated in the valley of the Yenisey River. Those who are seen in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* may be a branch of that people that moved south.

2.8 “壬午，天子北征，東還。甲申，至于黑水，西膜之所謂鴻鷺。于是降雨七日。天子畱骨六師之屬。天子乃封長肱于黑水之西河。是惟鴻鷺之上，以爲周室主。是曰畱骨之邦”。黑水，當卽科布多河。⁵⁹ 畱骨之邦或在該河流域。

2.8 “On the day *renwu*, the Son of Heaven proceeded northward and turned eastward on his way back, arriving at the Black River on the day *jiashen*. The people of the western regions called the river Honglu. It rained for seven days, and the Son of Heaven stopped to wait for the soldiers of the six divisions. Here he conferred on the Long-armed people the right to rule over the western portion of the Black River and held them responsible for making sacrifice to the ancestors of the Zhou house on the Honglu River. The state is now called Liuguo.” The Black River must have been the present Qubdu Darya,⁵⁹ and the state of Liuguo may be situated in the valley of this river.

2.9 “辛卯、天子北征，東還，乃循黑水。癸巳，至于群玉之山。容□氏之所守”。容□氏所守群玉之山，當在沙扎海泊之西、科布多河北岸。

2.9 “On the day *xinmao*, the Son of Heaven proceeded northward and turned to the east by the Black River on the way back, arriving on *guisi* at Mount Qunyu which the Rong[...] have defended.” “Mount Qunyu” which the Rong[...] had defended must have been on the northern bank of the Qubdu River, to the west of the Sayajayai Nor.

2.10 “孟秋丁酉，天子北征，□之人潛時觴天子于羽陵之上，乃獻良馬牛羊”。羽陵，在群玉之山西北。

2.10 "On *dingyou*, in the first month of autumn, the Son of Heaven proceeded northward. The Qianshi, of the ... people, feasted the Son of Heaven on Mount Yuling, and offered the royal guest many good horses and cattle." "Yuling" is situated to the northwest of Mount Qunyu.

2.11 "戊戌，天子西征。辛丑，至于劓閭氏。天子乃命劓閭氏供食六師之人于鐵山之下。壬寅，天子祭于鐵山"。劓閭氏居地當在索果克河流域。鐵山，今友誼峰。

2.11 "On the day *wuxu*, the Son of Heaven proceeded westward and arrived at [the domain of] the Yilü on *xinchou*. The Son of Heaven stopped at the foot of Mount Iron and ordered the people of the Yilü to supply the six divisions of soldiers with provisions. On the day *jenyin*, the Son of Heaven ascended Mount Iron." The residence of the Yilü tribe must have been situated in the valley of the present Soghuk Darya, and Mount Iron may be the present Dosluk Čokisi (Friendship Peak).

2.12 "天子已祭而行，乃遂西征。丙午，至于鄆韓氏"。鄆韓氏居地，在友誼峰之西、布赫塔爾瑪河流域。

2.12 "When the ceremony had been performed the Son of Heaven started out again to the west. On the day *bingwu*, the Son of Heaven arrived at [the domain of] the Zhenhan." The residence of the Zhenhan tribe is situated in the valley of the Buhturma Darya, to the west of the Friendship Peak.

2.13 "庚戌、天子西征，至于玄池。天子三日休于玄池之上"。玄池，當即今巴爾哈斯泊。

2.13 "On the day *gengxu*, the Son of Heaven proceeded westward and arrived at the Black Pond. The Son of Heaven rested for three days on the Black Pond." The Black Pond must have been the present Lake Balkash.

2.14 "癸丑，天子乃遂西征。丙辰，至于苦山，西膜之所謂茂苑"。苦山，阿爾泰山西端某山。

2.14 "On the day *guichou*, the Son of Heaven proceeded westward, arriving at Mount Ku. The name of this western region was Mao Yuan (Garden of Prosperity)." Mount Ku may be a mountain at the western end of the Altai Mountains.

2.15 "丁巳，天子西征。己未，宿于黃鼠之山。黃鼠之山，阿爾泰山西端某山。"

2.15 "On the day *dinghsü*, the Son of Heaven proceeded westward and on the day *jiwei* he stayed for the night on Mount Yellow Rat." Mount Yellow Rat may be a peak at the western end of the Altai Mountains.

2.16 "西□乃遂西征。癸亥，至于西王母之邦。西王母之邦，按之行程，似當在齋桑泊附近。"

2.16 "They proceeded on westward until on *guihai* they arrived at the domain of the Queen Mother of the West." The state of the Queen Mother of the West, according to the journey of Mu, the Son of Heaven, may be situated around the Zaysan Lake.

以上傳文敘說穆天子自今阿爾泰山東端，北行至科布多河流域，復西向到達齋桑泊的行程。

The above describes the journey of the Son of Heaven when he traveled north to the valley of the Qubdu Darya from the eastern end of the Altai Mountains, then turned west and arrived at Lake Zaysan.

五

《穆天子傳》卷三所述西征歷程如下：

The westward journey of Mu, the Son of Heaven, as seen in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*, ch. 3, was as follows:

3.1 “吉日甲子，天子賓于西王母。……□乙丑，天子觴西王母于瑤池之上。……天子遂驅升于弇山，乃紀丌跡于弇山之石，而樹之槐，眉曰西王母之山”。“瑤池”，應爲今齋桑泊。“弇山”即崦嵫之山，在極西之地，故置於穆天子西征行程之末。事實上，弇山可能是穆天子西征所升最西部的山。

3.1 “On the auspicious day *jiazi*, the Son of Heaven paid a visit to the Queen Mother of the West. ...On the day *yichou*, the Son of Heaven invited the Queen Mother of the West to a banquet on the Emerald Pond.... the Son of Heaven then rode on to Mount Yan and on the rocks engraved a record of this visit. He planted a memorial tree of sophora and named the place the Mount of the Queen Mother of the West.” Emerald Pond may be the present Lake Zaysan. Since Mount Yan was the same as Mount Yanzi and was situated in the utmost western place, it is necessarily at the end of the western journey of Mu, the Son of Heaven. In fact, Mount Yan was the utmost western mountain that Mu, the Son of Heaven, ascended in his western journey.

3.2 “丁未、天子飲于溫山”。溫山，阿爾泰山西端某山。

3.2 “On the day *dingwei*, the Son of Heaven took a drink at Mount Wen.” Mount Wen may be a peak at the western end of the Altai Mountains.

3.3 “己酉，天子飲于滹水之上。……爰有□藪水澤，爰有陵衍平陸，碩鳥解羽，六師之人畢至于曠原。曰天子三月舍于曠原”。滹水，哈柳圖河。曠原，在齋桑泊周圍。

3.3 “On the day *jiyou*, the Son of Heaven drank at the bank of the Ru River.... There were forests, swamps and ponds full of water, and there were great hills, smooth plains and plateaus where big birds scattered their feathers. Now the six divisions of soldiers had concentrated in this vast plain where it is said the Son of Heaven stayed for three months.” The Ru River is the present Haliutu River; the vast plain is that which surrounds Lake Zaysan.

3.4 “己亥、天子東歸，……庚子，至于□之山而休”。“□之山”，阿爾泰山西端某山，在齋桑泊之東。

3.4 "On the day *jihai*, the Son of Heaven returned eastward.... On the day *gengzi*, he reached Mount ... and stopped." "Mount ..." may be a mountain at the western end of the Altai Mountains.

3.5 "庚辰，天子東征。癸未，至于戊□之山。智氏之所處。……天子北遊于獯子之澤。智氏之夫獻酒百□于天子"。"戊□之山"，庫克辛山。"獯子之澤"，布倫托海。"智氏之夫"，一般認為當作"智氏之人"。

3.5 "On the day *gengchen*, the Son of Heaven proceeded eastward, and on the day *guiwei*, he arrived at Mount Wu..., where the men of the Zhi made their home. ...The Son of Heaven made a trip to the Yizi Lake (the Yellow Weasel Lake), on the north, where the men of the Zhi presented one hundred measures of wine." Mount Wu... may be the present Mount Kukšin. The Yizi Lake may be the present Burultoqay Lake. It is suggested that "智氏之夫" should be noted as "智氏之人."

3.6 "乙酉，天子南征，東還。己丑，至于獻水，乃遂東征，飲而行。乃遂東南"。獻水，烏倫古河。

3.6 "On the day *yiyong*, the Son of Heaven proceeded on southward and took his way back to the east. On the day *jichou*, he reached the Xian River and then proceeded on eastward after taking a drink. The company then proceeded on to the southeast." The Xian River must have been the present Ulun'gu River.

3.7 "己亥，至于瓜鱸之山，三周若城。閼氏胡氏之所保"。"瓜鱸之山"，胡圖斯山。"閼氏胡氏"，當作"閼胡氏"，時在胡圖斯山之南。

3.7 "On the day *jihai*, [the Son of Heaven] arrived at Mount Gualu. The mountain rose on three sides like a town wall and within it were settled the Ehu [tribe]." Mount Gualu is the same as the present Mount Qutus Tağ. "閼氏胡氏" should be noted as "閼胡氏" (the Ehu tribe), which was situated to the south of Mount Qutus Tağ.

3.8 “天子乃遂東征，南絕沙衍。辛丑，天子渴于沙衍，求飲未至”。“南絕沙衍”，南向越過準噶爾盆地的沙漠。

3.8 “The Son of Heaven proceeded eastward, crossing the desert on the south. On the day *xinchou*, the Son of Heaven was thirsty and water could not be obtained in the desert.” The reference “crossing the desert on the south” refers to crossing the desert in the Zhunge’er Basin.

3.9 “天子乃遂南征。甲辰，至于積山之邊，爰有募柏。曰曷余之人命懷獻酒于天子”。“積山”，曷余之人獻酒處，當在北塔山或大哈蒲提克山。

3.9 “The Son of Heaven then proceeded southward. On the day *Jiachen*, he reached the end of the Piled Stone Mountain range where he found cypresses growing. It is said that Ming Huai, a Shouyu people, presented wine to the Son of Heaven.” The Piled Stone Mountain, where the Shouyü people presented wine, must have been situated in Mount Beitik or Mount Čong Qapteke.

以上傳文敘說穆天子在齋桑泊附近和西王母會晤後循阿爾泰山南麓東歸。

The above describes the circumstance that Mu, Son of Heaven, returned eastward along the southern foot of the Altai Mountains after he had met with the Queen Mother of the West around the Lake Zaysan.

六

《穆天子傳》卷四所述西征歷程如下：

The westward journey of Mu, the Son of Heaven, as seen in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*, ch. 4, is described as follows:

4.1 “庚辰，至于滔水。濁繇氏之所食”。濁繇氏所居滔水，或即伊吾河。

4.1 "On the day *gengchen*, [the Son of Heaven] arrived at the Tao River, the water supply of the Zhuoyao." The Tao River at which the Zhuoyao lived may be the present Yiwu River.

4.2 "辛巳，天子東征。癸未，至于蘇谷。骨飭氏之所衣被"。骨飭氏所居蘇谷，或即星星峽。

4.2 "On the day *xinsi*, the Son of Heaven proceeded eastward. On the day *guiwei*, he arrived at the Su Valley, where the Gudan tribe obtained the materials for their clothes." The Su Valley where the Gudan lived may be the Xingxing Canyon.

4.3.1 "乃遂南征，東還。至于長浹，重譚氏之西疆。丁亥，天子升于長浹。乃遂東征"。長浹，山名，或即花牛山。

4.3.1 "Proceeding on southward and making his way back to the east, the Son of Heaven arrived at [Mount] Changtan, the western frontier of the Chongong tribe. On the day *dinghai*, the Son of Heaven ascended [Mount] Changtan, and then proceeded eastward." "Changtan" is the name of a mountain, which may be the present Mount Huaniu.

4.3.2 "庚寅，至于重譚氏黑水之阿。爰有野麥，爰有荅藿，西膜之所謂木禾，重譚氏之所食"。"重譚氏黑水"，有別於卷二所見黑水，或即疏勒河。

4.3.2 "On the day *gengyin*, [the Son of Heaven] arrived among the Chongyong tribe by the Black River. There was wild wheat and the wild beans that the people of the western regions named *muho*, which furnished the chief food supply of the Chongyong." The Black River where the Chongyong lived is different from the Black River as seen in chapter 2. This river may be the present Shule River.

4.3.3 "爰有采石之山，重譚氏之所守。……五日丁酉，天子升于采石之山，于是取采石焉。天子使重譚之民鑄以成器于黑水之上"。采石之山，或即黑山。

4.3.3 "There was Mount Caishi ruled by the Chongyong.... On the day *dingyou*, the Son of Heaven ascended Mount Caishi and mined for precious stones. The Son of Heaven ordered

the people of the Chongyong to carve the stones into vessels on the banks of the Black River.”
Mount Caishi may be the present Mount Hei.

4.3.4 “乙丑，天子東征，〔重譚之人〕鰥鯨送天子至于長沙之山”。長沙之山，或即合黎山。

4.3.4 “On the day *yichou*, the Son of Heaven proceeded eastward, and Guanyuan [the Chongyong people] escorted him to Mount Changsha.” Mount Changsha may be the present Mount Heli.

4.4 “丙寅，天子東征，南還。己巳，至于文山，西膜之所謂□，觴天子于文山”。
文山，或即龍首山。

4.4 “On the day *pingyin*, the Son of Heaven proceeded eastward and turned to the south. On the day *jisi*, he arrived at Mount Wen, as it was called ... by the western regions. ... [the people] entertained the Son of Heaven at a banquet on Mount Wen.” Mount Wen may be the present Mount Longshou.

4.5.1 “天子乃遂東南翔行，馳驅千里，至于巨蒐氏”。“東南翔行”云云，略言自文山至巨蒐氏居地的行程。巨蒐氏居地應在陰山一帶。⁶⁰

4.5.1 “Thus the Son of Heaven hurried forward to the southeast, driving for a thousand *li* as furiously as if flying through the sky. At last, he arrived at [the domain of] the Jusou.” The reference “hurried forward to the southeast” and so on describes roughly the journey to the residence of the Jusou tribe from Mount Wen. The residence of the Jusou people must have been around Mount Yin.⁶⁰

4.5.2 “甲戌，巨蒐之獮奴觴天子于焚畱之山”。“焚畱之山”，或即席勒山。

4.5.2 “On the day *jiaxu*. Sang Nu from the Jusou tribe entertained the Son of Heaven at a banquet on Mount Fenliu.” Mount Fenliu may be the present Mount Xile.

4.6.1 “乙亥、天子南征陽紆之東尾。乃遂絕毖霄之谷”。毖霄之谷，或係大青山某山谷。

4.6.1 “On the day *yihai*, the Son of Heaven proceeded southward, reached the eastern range of Mount Yangyu, and then crossed the Bi Yao Valley.” The Bi Yao Valley may be a valley in the Da Qing Mountains.

4.6.2 “[辛]已，至于纒瑯，河水之北阿。爰有纒洩之□、河伯之孫，事皇天子之山”。纒瑯，今狼山之東北，所事皇天子之山應即燕然之山。蓋“河伯之孫”云云應即卷一“河宗柏夭逆天子燕然之山”。⁶¹

4.6.2 “On the day [*xin*]*si*, [the Son of Heaven] arrived at Qixuan on the northern bank of the [Yellow] River. There was in this region [a mountain called] Tangsou, where the descendants of He Bo (the Earl of the [Yellow] River) attended upon the Great Son of Heaven.” Qixuan is situated to the northeast of the present Mount Lang where the Great Son of Heaven was attended should be the present Mount Yanran. The reference “the descendants of the Earl of River” and so on refers to the statement that “Bo Yao, the Hezong people, welcomed the Son of Heaven at Mount Yanran.”⁶¹

4.7 “癸丑，天子東征。柏夭送天子至于鄴人。鄴伯絮觴天子于澡澤之上，斲多之汭，河水之所南還。曰天子五日休于澡澤之上，以待六師之人”。澡澤即卷一所見滲澤。斲多之汭，在今包頭至托克托一帶。⁶²

4.7 “On the day *guichou*, the Son of Heaven proceeded eastward and Bo Yao escorted him to [the domain of] the Peng people. Peng Bo Xu entertained the Son of Heaven at the Zao Lake on the bank of the Faduo River. This is the place where the [Yellow] River flows southward. It is said that the Son of Heaven rested at Zao Lake for five days, waiting for his six divisions of soldiers, which he had left behind.” “Zao Lake” is the same as Shen Lake seen in ch. 1. The Faduo River is situated in the regions from Togto to Baotou.⁶²

4.8 “天子南還，升于長松之陞”。長松之陞，在今山西右玉一帶。⁶³

4.8 “The Son of Heaven then turned southward, ascending the steep slope of Mount Changsong.” “The steep slope of Mount Changsong” is situated around present-day Youyu, Shanxi.⁶³

4.9 “孟冬壬戌，天子至于雷首。犬戎胡觴天子于雷首之阿，乃獻良馬四六”。雷首山，在山西蒲州，其對河爲陝西華陰，渭水入河處，與《左傳·閔二年傳》所載“虢公敗犬戎於渭南”正相符合。⁶⁴

4.9 “On the day of *renxu*, in the first month of winter, the Son of Heaven reached Mount Leishou. The Rong of Quan, the Hu tribe, drank to the Son of Heaven at the spur of Mount Leishou, and presented him twenty-four fine horses.” It is suggested that Mount Leishou was at Puzhou of Shanxi, which faces Huayin County of Shanxi across the river (where the Wei River pours into the Yellow River). This locale is in accord with that described in the *Zuo zhuan* (in the second year of Duke Min). That is to say, “The Duke of Guo defeated the Quan Rong at the bend of the Wei River.”⁶⁴

4.10 “癸亥，天子南征，升于髭之陞”。髭之陞，卽山西句注山。⁶⁵

4.10 “On the day *guihai*, the Son of Heaven proceeded southward and ascended the steep slope of Mount Zi.” Mount Zi is the same as the present Mount Gouzhu.⁶⁵

4.11 “丙寅，天子至于鉏山之隊，東升于三道之陞，乃宿于二邊”。三道之陞、二邊，均在山西井陘東側。⁶⁶

4.11 “On the day *bingyin*, he reached the dangerous pass of Mount Xing. He ascended eastward the steep slope of Sandao and then put up at Erbian.” Both “the steep slope of Sandao” and “Erbian” are situated to the east of Jingjing, Shanxi.⁶⁶

4.12 “癸酉，天子命駕八駿之乘、赤驥之駟，造父爲御。□南征翔行，逕絕翟道。升于太行，南濟于河。馳驅千里，遂入于宗周”。翟道，山西井陘之南。太行，太行山。河，指黃河在河南境內一段。宗周，周都洛邑，今河南洛陽附近。

4.12 “On the day *guiyou*, the Son of Heaven ordered his servants to harness the eight steeds to his chariot, red horses four in a row. Driven by Zao Fu, he rode on like a bird flying through the Zhai Pass, up Mount Taihang, and across the [Yellow] River on the south. On and on for a thousand *li* he drove until at last he arrived at the city of Zong Zhou.” The Zhai Pass is situated to the south of Jingjing, Shanxi. “Taihang” is the same as the present Mount Taihang. The [Yellow] River refers to the part of the Yellow River within the boundaries of Henan Province. Zongzhou, a city of Zhou Dynasty, is situated near present-day Luoyang, Henan.

以上傳文敘說穆天子自伊吾河流域經河套，回歸洛陽的行程。

The above describes how Mu, the Son of Heaven, returned to Luoyang from the valley of the Yiwu River *via* the Hetao area.

4.13.1 “庚辰、天子大朝于宗周之廟。乃里西土之數。曰：自宗周灋水以西北至于河宗之邦、陽紆之山三千有四百里”。灋水，今河南灋水。⁶⁷

4.13.1 “On the day *gengchen*, the Son of Heaven held a grand audience in the ancestral temple in the city of Zong Zhou. He then estimated the distance of his travels to the west to be the following: From west of the Chan River in Zong Zhou to the state of Hezong and Mount Yangyu is 3,400 *li*.” The Chan River is the same as the present Chan River, in Henan.⁶⁷

4.13.2 “自陽紆西至于西夏氏，二千又五百里”。西夏氏居地當在河西某地。

4.13.2 “From Mount Yangyu to the state of Western Xia is 2,500 *li*.” The residence of the Western Xia tribe must have been situated some place in the He Xi region.

4.13.3 “自西夏至于珠余氏及河首，千又五百里”。河首，意指河源。《穆天子傳》的編者以爲河源在居延海。所謂河，其實是今張掖河。⁶⁸ 珠余氏居地可能在此河流域

4.13.3 "From the Western Xia to the state of Zhuyu as far as the head of the [Yellow] River is 1,500 *li*." The so-called head of the [Yellow] River refers to the source of the [Yellow] River. The editor of the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* considers that the Yellow River rises in the Juyan Lake. The "[Yellow] River," in fact, refers to the Zhangye River.⁶⁸ The residence of the Zhuyu tribe may be located in the valley of this river.

4.13.4 "自河首、襄山以西南至于春山、珠澤、昆侖之丘，七百里"。此句文字有誤。按之卷二所述，"至于春山、珠澤、昆侖之丘"當乙正為"至于昆侖之丘、珠澤、春山"。襄山，應為今杭愛山中某山。"西南至"云云，乃述說穆天子抵達"河首"（居延海）後，北上襄山（杭愛山），復西南向赴昆侖之丘（阿爾泰山東麓）。

4.13.4 "From the head of the [Yellow] River, Mount Xiang on the southwest to Mount Chong, the Pearl Lake, and the Kunlun Hills is 700 *li*." According to the statement of ch. 2, the reference "至于春山、珠澤、昆侖之丘" (on the southwest to Mount Chong, the Zhu Lake and the Kunlun Hills) is a textual error for "至于昆侖之丘、珠澤、春山" (on the southwest to Mount Chong, the Kunlun Hills, and Lake Zhu), which should be corrected. Mount Xiang may be a peak in the present Mount Hang'ai. The reference "southwest to" and so on describes how Mu, the Son of Heaven, went north to Mount Xiang (the present Mount Hang'ai) after arriving at the head of the [Yellow] River (the present Juyan Lake), and then went southwest to the Kunlun Hills (the eastern end of the Altai Mountains).

4.13.5 "自春山以西，至于赤烏氏(春山)，三百里"。 "赤烏氏春山"，"春山"二字衍。

4.13.5 "From the west of Mount Chong to [the domain of] the Chiwu tribe was 300 *li*." The two characters "春山" (Mount Chong) of the reference "赤烏氏春山" (Mount Chong where the Chiwu lived) are redundant.

4.13.6 "東北還至于群玉之山，截春山以北。自群玉之山以西，至于西王母之邦，三千里"。一說"截春山以北"之下闕"七百里"三字。⁶⁹

4.13.6 "Turning northeast to Mount Qunyu by the northern range of Mount Chong and from Mount Qunyu to the state of the Queen Mother of the West [the distance] was 3,000 *li*." It is suggested that after the reference "截春山以北" (by the northern range of Mount Chong), the three characters "七百里" (700 *li*) were missed.⁶⁹

4.13.7 "□自西王母之邦北至于曠原之野，飛鳥之所解其羽，千有九百里”。此“□”疑衍。

4.13.7 "From the state of the Queen Mother to the vast plain on the north, where the birds scattered their feathers was 1,900 *li*." The character "□" is possibly redundant.

4.13.8 "□宗周于西北大曠原，萬四千里"。 "□"，可能是"自"字。

4.13.8 "From Zong Zhou to the big vast plain on the northwest was 14,000 *li*." The character "□" is possibly "自" (from).

4.13.9 "乃還，東南復至于陽紆，七千里"。 "東南"云云，可能指自文山經焚畱之山至陽紆的行程。

4.13.9 "Turning southeast back to Mount Yangyu was 7,000 *li*." The reference "southeast" and so on possibly describes the journey to Mount Yangyu from Mount Wen via Mount Fenliu.

4.13.10 "還歸于周，三千里"。指自陽紆之山至宗周洛邑。

4.13.10 "Returning to the city of Zhou was 3,000 *li*." This describes the journey to the Luoyi of Zong Zhou from Mount Yangyu.

4.13.11 "各行兼數，二萬有五千里"。 "二萬有五千里"，約而言之，上述里數之和實爲二萬四千里。⁷⁰

4.13.11 "The total extent of the various routes was [about] 25,000 *li*." The "25,000 *li*" is an approximate value. In fact, the sum of the above distance is 24,000 *li*.⁷⁰

最後，說一說有關《穆天子傳》的用曆和里數記載，以結束全文。

Lastly, I shall address the calendar adopted by the editor of the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* and the records on distance in this book to conclude this paper.

關於《穆天子傳》的用曆有很多研究，這對於解明古代曆法不無裨益。遺憾的是，這些行程的干支日期，對於判明經由地點的位置並無多少幫助。既然無從證明穆天子或其他人曾進行如傳文所載的一次西征，這些干支就不可能是實錄。退一步說，即使有部份是實錄，由於不了解旅行者作息起居，不了解旅途的境況，根本無法根據天數多少來判斷距離遠近。

There are many studies on the calendar adopted by the editor of the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*. These studies attempting to explain the ancient calendar are not without benefit. Regrettably, the journey dates that were expressed with the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches by the editor of the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* are not a great help in ascertaining the location of the places. Since it is not possible to prove that Mu, the Son of Heaven, or other people took this westward journey as described in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*, the dates expressed with the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches are possibly not real records. Stepping back a bit, even if some are real records, we can't judge the distances on the basis of the numbers of days, because we do not understand the daily schedule of the traveler and the circumstances of the trip.

關於《穆天子傳》的里數也一直是研究者的注意點。遺憾的是，不僅古時無精確的測量方法，行程之曲直更不得而知，上述里數即便是實錄，於判定經由地點的位置亦無太大的參考價值，且不說《穆天子傳》出土和傳世的情況注定今天我們見到的這些里數已不可能是原貌。尤其是河首以西，西漢以降尚且不可能獲得正確數據，何況在《穆天子傳》描述的時代。

The distances in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* have always been given attention by researchers. Regrettably, not only is there no accurate survey measure, but we also don't know if the route

was crooked or straight. Even if we did not think that the original picture of the distances has long been unknown, we would be convinced by the circumstances in which the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* was discovered and handed down from ancient times. To the west of "the head of the [Yellow] River," especially, the correct information could not be obtained, even after the Western Han Dynasty, let alone in the time described in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*.

一直有人將《穆天子傳》視為小說家言，我認為，小說家言最突出的表現便是干支和里數的紀錄，在討論穆天子西征路線時，存而不論可也。

It has been suggested that the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* is a novel. In my opinion, the most prominent expression of the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*'s properties as a novel is its records on dates and distances. These records can be left an open question when we discuss today the route of the westward journey of Mu, the Son of Heaven.

Notes

- ¹ See Li, pp. 88–92.
- ² See Yu2008.
- ³ On the Arimaspians, see Yu2000, pp. 77–110.
- ⁴ On the Argippaei, see Yu2008.
- ⁵ Grene, p. 282.
- ⁶ See Rudenko.
- ⁷ See Ma.
- ⁸ See Wang Sh. This paper's aim is to prove that the region through which the westward journey of Mu, Son of Heaven, took place should include the Hexi Corridor of Gansu, Qinghai, Nei Menggu, and Xinjiang. [王文旨在證明穆天子西征所涉及的地區應為我國西北地區的甘肅河西走廊、青海、內蒙古以及新疆地區。]
- ⁹ On the Quan Rong, see Yu2000, pp. 77–110.
- ¹⁰ On the source of the Yuezhi, see Yu2000, pp. 29–52.
- ¹¹ See Wang Y., pp. 24–25.
- ¹² See Gu, pp. 24–26.
- ¹³ See Wang Y., pp. 141–142.
- ¹⁴ The griffins noted in Herodotus' work occur far to the north of the Jilü as seen in the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*. However, this is possibly because the Jilü moved. This also shows that the times described in the two books are different. [希羅多德所載格里芬遠在《穆天子傳》所載剡閭氏之東。但這可能是剡閭氏遷徙的結果，也說明二書描述的時代不同。]

- ¹⁵ On the griffins in Inner Eurasia, see Hayashi.
- ¹⁶ See Mori.
- ¹⁷ See Wang Y., pp. 26–27, 183–184.
- ¹⁸ See Wang Y., p. 189.
- ¹⁹ See Huang.
- ²⁰ See Ogawa.
- ²¹ See Wang Y., p. 87.
- ²² See Yu2003.
- ²³ It is recorded in the "Wanghuijie" chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* that "The Daxia produces Zibai oxen." Kong's commentary: "The Daxia were the northwest Rong." [《逸周書·王會解》：“大夏茲白牛”。孔注：“大夏，西北戎”。]
- ²⁴ On the source of the Daxia, see Yu2000, pp. 1–28.
- ²⁵ On the Jusou, see Yu2000, pp. 111–124.
- ²⁶ See Mori.
- ²⁷ In the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, it is recorded that "Anxi subjugated it and treated it as an outer state; the people are expert at conjuring. The elders of Anxi 安息 have learned by hearsay that in Tiaozhi there is the Weak Water and the Queen Mother of the West; but they have all the same never seen them. If you travel by water westward from Tiaozhi for more than a hundred days you draw near the place where the sun sets." In the "Memoir on the Western Rong" of the *Weilüe*, it is recorded that "Former generations erred in considering Tiaozhi as situated west of Da Qin; the truth as now known is that it is east of it. Former generations likewise erred in considering it stronger than Anxi; now we know that it is on the contrary subject to it,

and is called the western frontier of Anxi. Former generations also erred in considering the Weak Water as situated west of Tiaozhi; now we know that the Weak Water is west of Da Qin. Former generations also erred in thinking that by going more than 200 days westward from Tiaozhi one draws near to the place where the sun sets; now we know that it is from west of Da Qin that one draws near to the place where the sun sets." "The place where the sun sets," as with the Queen Mother of the West, was moved unceasingly to the west with the expansion of the Chinese geographical visual field. [《漢書·西域傳》：“安息長老傳聞條支有弱水、西王母，亦未嘗見也。自條支乘水西行，可百餘日，近日所入云”。《魏略·西戎傳》：“前世謬以爲條支在大秦西，今其實在東。前世又謬以爲彊於安息，今更役屬之，號爲安息西界。前世又謬以爲弱水在條支西，今弱水在大秦西。前世又謬以爲從條支西行二百餘日，近日所入，今從大秦西近日所入”。“日所入”處，與西王母一樣，隨中國人西方地理視野的擴大而不斷西移。]

- ²⁸ On the flowing sands, Guo's commentary says: "It is located in the present Western Sea, Juyan Marsh." [郭注：“今西海居延澤”。]
- ²⁹ The reference in the "Xirongzhuan" of the *Weilüe*: "To the west of the Flowing Sands are the state of Daxia, the state of Jiansha, the state of Shuyou, and the state of Yuezhi" and so on is also found in the "Xirongzhuan" of the *Weilüe*. In my opinion, here "Shuyou" refers to the central territory of the Sugda people, which was in the valley of the Zarafshan River, "Daxia," the Tochari who destroyed the Greek kingdom of Bactria; "Yuezhi," the Da Yuezhi who replaced the Daxia and ruled Bactria; "Jiansha," the Kushan people who overthrew the rule of the Da Yuezhi. The *Weilüe* juxtaposes the three: Daxia, Jiansha, and Yuezhi, but this record still mirrors — however tortuously — the actual historical course: the Daxia were conquered by the Yuezhi, and the Yuezhi 月氏 by the Guishuang (Jiansha). This an example of the way in which Chinese historians in ancient times were fond of following the preceding historical records, and sometimes poured new wine into an old bottle when they recorded the foreign regions. [“流沙西有大夏國、堅沙國、屬繇國、月氏國”云云出現在《魏略·西戎傳》中時，又當另作解釋：屬繇指澤拉夫善河流域 Soghdā 人的本土。大夏指滅亡了希臘—巴克特里亞的 Tochari 人，月氏指取代大夏統治巴克特里亞的大月]

氏人，堅沙指推翻了大月氏統治的貴霜人。並列大夏、月氏、堅沙三者，雖無視時代差，然亦曲折地反映出大夏亡於月氏，月氏又亡於貴霜（堅沙）這一歷史過程。此亦中國古史記域外事情時舊瓶裝新酒之一例。]

³⁰ Later the Red River and the Jade Mount were moved far to the west of Da Qin with the Queen Mother of the West: "To the west of Da Qin are sea waters, to the west of the sea waters are river waters, to the west of the river waters is a great mountain running north-south. To the west (of this) is the Red Water, west of the Red Water is the White Jade Mount. The White Jade Mount has the Queen Mother of the West. West of the Queen Mother of the West are the Flowing Sands." (See the "Xirongzhuan" of the *Weilüe* 魏略) [後來赤水、玉山等隨西王母遠遷至大秦之西：“大秦西有海水，海水西有河水，河水西南北行有大山，西有赤水，赤水西有白玉山，白玉山有西王母，西王母西有脩流沙”。（《魏略·西戎傳》）]

³¹ See Yu1992.

³² See Yu1992, pp. 210–215. These inevitable circumstances are partly reflected in the relatively stabilized names of states and places at the time as described in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96. [類似情況在後來《漢書·西域傳》描述時代已相對穩定下來的國名、地名中也有所反映。]

³³ This appearance is especially obvious in the later *Hanshu*, ch. 96; see Yu1992, pp. 210–215. [這一現象在後來《漢書·西域傳》中特別明顯，見余太山《塞種史研究》，pp. 210–215。]

³⁴ See Wang Y., p. 4. Wang's work collects the various viewpoints on the studies of the *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*, analyses them one by one and then decides which to use, often adding new evidence. This paper cites the viewpoints that are approved by Wang as Wang's own, omitting the citations on which he bases them. [王氏書匯集《穆天子傳》研究之各種觀點，逐一分析後決定取舍，往往還增添新證。本文引用王氏肯定的觀點時，逕作王氏觀點引用，省去所本。]

³⁵ See Wang Y., pp. 5–6.

- ³⁶ See Wang Y., p. 7.
- ³⁷ See Wang Y., pp. 9–10.
- ³⁸ See Wang Y., pp. 12–13.
- ³⁹ On the reference “犬戎□胡” (The Rong of Quan, the Hu), Gu, p. 10, considers that “□” (...) should be deleted. [“犬戎□胡” , 顧實以爲 “□” 可刪, 見注 11 所引書, p. 10。]
- ⁴⁰ See Wang Y., p. 14.
- ⁴¹ See Wang Y., pp. 10–11.
- ⁴² Chen, pp. 1031–1036.
- ⁴³ See Wang Y., p. 21.
- ⁴⁴ See Wang Y., pp. 22–23.
- ⁴⁵ See Wang Y., pp. 24–25.
- ⁴⁶ See Wang Y., pp. 26–27.
- ⁴⁷ See Jin.
- ⁴⁸ See Wang Y., pp. 29–30.
- ⁴⁹ See Wang Y., pp. 34–36.
- ⁵⁰ See Gu, pp. 24–26.
- ⁵¹ See Wang Y., pp. 38–39.
- ⁵² See Wang Y., p. 55.
- ⁵³ See Wang Y., pp. 65–67. Ogawa, esp. 321, suggests that this time the location at which the [Yellow] River was crossed should be situated at a place where a tributary in the northern

end of the Yellow River (the North River) turns south from north. [“此次渡河地點，當在黃河北端支流（北河）自北南折處” 。]

⁵⁴ See Wang Y., pp. 70–71.

⁵⁵ See Gu, pp. 53–54。

⁵⁶ See Cen.

⁵⁷ Old notes say that “There are five colors of rivers. The Red River flows out of the southeastern corner of Mount Kunlun and flows northeast, which is recorded in the *Shanhai Jing* 昆侖山有五色水。赤水出東南隅而東北流，皆見《山海經》。” In my opinion, in the existing “Xishan Jing” of the *Shanhai Jing* it is recorded that the Red River “flows southeast.” From this, we know that the content of the *Shanhai Jing* on which the old notes were based is not necessarily the same as the existing version. The evidence also can be found in the *Taiping Yulan*, vol. 85, in which the reference is cited as “In Mount Kunlun there is the Red River, which flows northeast, see the *Shanhai Jing*.” [今案：今本《山海經·西山經》稱赤水“東南流”，知舊注所據文字未必與今本同。《太平御覽》八十五引作“昆侖山有赤水東北流，見《山海經》也”，可以為證。]

⁵⁸ Old notes say that “the Yang River flows out of the northwestern corner of Mount Kunlun and flows east 洋水出昆侖山西北隅而東流。” In the present version of the “Xishan Jing” of the *Shanhai Jing* it is recorded that the Yang River “flows southwest,” the Red River “flows southeast,” and the Black River “flows west,” which all are different from the statements as seen in the old notes. [今案：《山海經·西山經》稱洋水“西南流”，稱赤水“東南流”，稱黑水“西流”，均與舊注不同。]

⁵⁹ On the Black River, old notes say that “the river also flows out of the northwestern corner of Mount Kunlun and flows southeast 亦出昆侖山西北隅而東南流。”

⁶⁰ Zhen, p. 73, suggests that the residence of the Jusou should be located around the Aibiha River and the Shiramotin River to the north of the Yin Mountains. Wang Y. considers that

reaching the residence of the Jusou was one day's journey from the eastern end of Mount Yangyu. It is certainly located at a place that is no more than 100 *li* to the north of the eastern foot of the Yin Mountains. [Zhen, p. 73 以爲巨蒐氏居地當在陰山北艾不蓋河、錫拉木倫河一帶。Wang Y., pp. 215–216, 以爲巨蒐氏居地距陽紆之東尾僅一日程，故必在陰山東麓之北至多百里左右處。]

⁶¹ Wei, pp. 308–310.

⁶² See Wang Y., pp. 224–225.

⁶³ Gu, pp. 228–229.

⁶⁴ Jiang, vol. 1. There have been various opinions on the geographical location of Leishou; see Wang Y., p. 227.

⁶⁵ Gu, pp. 232–233.

⁶⁶ See Wang Y., p. 231.

⁶⁷ Gu, pp. 240–241.

⁶⁸ Cen.

⁶⁹ Wang Y., p. 240.

⁷⁰ On the distances, see Wang Y., pp. 241–246.

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