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China and the Ancient Mediterranean World: A Survey of Ancient Chinese Sources

by
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China and the Ancient Mediterranean World:

A Survey of Ancient Chinese Sources

YU Taishan

Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

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A Study of the Relationship
Between the Ancient Mediterranean World and China

1. Tiaozhi, Lixuan, and Da Qin, and Their Geographical Location in the Western Regions

Determining the geographical location of Tiaozhi, Lixuan and Da Qin is one of the problems in which the historians of the relations of East and West have taken the most interest. This discussion has been going on for more than three centuries. The core of the problem is the location of Da Qin in the Han–Wei period. The various theories can be divided roughly into five types; in these, Da Qin is identified respectively with:

- (1) the Roman Empire,¹
- (2) Macedonia,²
- (3) Syria,³
- (4) Egypt,⁴
- (5) Arabia.⁵

Of these, the first, third, and fourth theories have had the greatest influence.

¹ The earlier scholars who adhered to this theory were Richthofen (1877, pp. 469–473), and so on, but the evidence offered is insufficient. So far as I know, later only Miyazaki 1939's exposition is comparatively systematic. In my opinion, Miyazaki's view is correct. However, it is a pity that in the full text he does not write a single word on Lixuan, and in the studies on geography concerning Da Qin, points that are not properly developed. Miyazaki's views quoted in my text all come from this paper. The main representative of the Chinese scholars to hold this theory is Cen Zhongmian; see Cen 1958, pp. 222–234; Cen 1981, pp. 178–189. Quotations of Cen's views in the following paper all come from these provenances.

² Ogawa 1939, pp. 376–404. Ogawa's views quoted in this paper all come from this provenance.

³ Hirth 1885 can be taken as a sample of this theory. Hirth's views quoted in this paper all come from this provenance. In my opinion, Hirth's conclusion is wrong, but some of his views are admissible. Shiratori (see note 4) has criticized his theory extensively, and his views can be read for reference.

⁴ Shiratori 1971(1–5). Shiratori's views quoted in this paper all come from this provenance. Shiratori worked harder on the problem of Da Qin. His conclusion is unconvincing, but many of his particular observations can be adopted.

⁵ Hermann 1927 suggests that Da Qin should be identified with Arabia Felix.

The identity of Tiaozhi and Lixuan is closely related to the problem of Da Qin. Regarding Tiaozhi, the various theories can be divided roughly into three types. Their basic bifurcation is the location of the "Western Sea" seen in the Chinese historical books in Han–Wei times. These types posit respectively that:

- (1) The "Western Sea" is identified with the Caspian Sea, thus Tiaozhi is looked for in the Caspian Sea littoral region.
- (2) The "Western Sea" is identified with the Persian gulf, thus Tianzhi is looked for in the Persian gulf littoral region.
- (3) The "Western Sea" is identified with the Mediterranean, thus Tianzhi is looked for in the Mediterranean littoral region.

Of these, the various theories belonging to the first type no longer are considered seriously.⁶ Those that are relatively influential are the Fars theory,⁷ the Chaldaea theory,⁸ the Hira theory,⁹ the Charax theory,¹⁰ the Susiana theory,¹¹ all of which belong to the second type, and the Syria theory,¹² which belongs to the third type.

Regarding Lixuan, because in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* the comment is made: "the state of Da Qin 大秦: it is also called Lijian 犁鞬," many scholars examine the implications of this statement and base their positions on it when considering the Da Qin

⁶ For example: Richthofen 1877, pp. 451–452, Allen 1886, and so on.

⁷ Fujita 1943(1) can be taken as a sample of this theory. Both Shiratori and Cen have put forward criticisms of his theory, and their views can be read for reference. Matsuda 1975 has reasserted Fujita's views. In my opinion, Matsuda's theory is also unconvincing. Cf. Yu 1992 (ch. 9).

⁸ Chavannes 1905. Later Chavannes suggests that Tiaozhi can be identified with Desht Misan at the mouth of Tigris River; see Chavannes 1907.

⁹ This is Hirth's theory.

¹⁰ This is Shiratori's theory.

¹¹ Suzuki 1964, Suzuki 1965 and Soma 1977(4).

¹² This is theory of Miyazaki and Ogawa.

problem. Of the various theories, the proposed identifications with Relem,¹³ with Alexandria in Egypt,¹⁴ with Rhages¹⁵ and with other sites are quite influential. Other geographical problems regarding the Western Regions relevant to Tiaozhi, Lixuan, and Da Qin thus unavoidably are subject to many various theories.

Since opinions vary greatly, one cannot analyze and criticize them individually in a single paper. Therefore, here I directly elaborate only my own opinions. Unless it is necessary for my argument, the many various theories generally are not confirmed or contradicted in this discussion. Where I adopt the results of other scholars’ research, in all cases I indicate the source. The purpose here is to carry the work a step forward based on previous studies.

A

Tiaozhi 條枝 and Lixuan 黎軒 are first recorded in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji* (ch. 123). These were two large states that Zhang Qian 張騫 heard about during his first mission to the Western Regions. This significant record must certainly be taken into account in any review of the history of Central Asia, West Asia and related regions, whether before or after this mission, with the aim of inferring the geographical locations of the two states.

As we know, the Macedonian Alexander the Great died in B.C. 323. The great empire built by him was dissolved shortly afterwards. The Macedonian generals fought continuously among themselves, each dominating a particular region. The final result was the formation of three independent kingdoms in roughly the domain of the original empire: the Antigonid Kingdom, the Seleucid Kingdom and the Ptolemaic Kingdom, the Hellenic kingdoms so-named by historians. Of these, those relevant to this paper’s subject are mainly the latter two kingdoms.

¹³ This is Hirth’s theory. Soma 1977(3) holds roughly the same view.

¹⁴ This is Shiratori’s theory. Pelliot 1915 holds the same view.

¹⁵ Fujita 1943(2). In my opinion, his theory rigidly adheres to the Chinese records in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*, that Lixuan was located to the north of Anxi. I believe this is incorrect. Both Shiratori and Cen have put forward criticisms of his view.

The Ptolemaic Kingdom was established by Ptolemy (r. 306–285 B.C.), a general under Alexander the Great. Its center of rule was Egypt, thus it was called the Egyptian Kingdom. At its height, besides Egypt, the territory included Palestine, Southern Syria, the coastal region of Asia Minor, Cyprus and Crete. Afterwards, its territory gradually became smaller, finally being reduced to merely a Roman province in B.C. 30.

The Seleucid Kingdom was established by Seleucus (r. 306–280 B.C.), also a general under Alexander the Great. Its center of rule was in Syria, thus it was called the Syrian Kingdom. At its height, its territory included Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Iran, and a large area in the Indus River Valley, but the territory was quickly reduced in successive events. In B.C. 304 the rising Maurya dynasty in Southern Asia occupied the Indus River Valley. In the mid-third century B.C., Bactria, situated in the northeastern border area of the kingdom, and Parthia, in the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea, successively declared their independence. The loss of the eastern territory led to the eventual dissolution of the entire kingdom. In 190 B.C. Asia Minor also was annexed by Rome. After this, the remaining kingdom was quite weak, occupying a small area in the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean Sea. At last it was destroyed by the Roman general Pompey in B.C. 64.

When Zhang Qian 張騫 was sent on a mission to the Western Regions for the first time, the Antigonid kingdom had disappeared (B.C. 146), but the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms still survived. At that time the strongest state was Parthian Persia in the Middle East. Its territories extended from Bactria in the east to the Euphrates River in the west, from the Caspian Sea in the north to the Persian Gulf in the south. Zhang Qian arrived in Central Asia when the Parthian Empire was in the latter part of the reign period of Fraates II (r. 139/8–128 B.C.), an extremely prosperous time.

According to the "Dayuan Liezhuan" of the *Shiji* 史記, when he went on his mission to the Western Regions, the great states reached by Zhang Qian 張騫 in person comprised Dayuan 大宛, Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Daxia 大夏, and Kangju 康居, and "those of which he heard tell included five or six large states bordering them." Those states of which he had heard, according to the chapter, were Wusun 烏孫, Kangju 康居, Anxi 安息, Tiaozi 條枝, Lixuan 黎軒, and Shendu 身毒. Of these, Anxi 安息 must have been the name given to the Persians under the

rule of the family of Arsaces. To the southeast of Anxi 安息, Shendu 身毒 was located, occupying the reaches of the Indus River. To the north of Anxi 安息, from north of the Black Sea, via the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea to the reaches of the Ili and Chu rivers, the great nomadic tribes, Yancai 奄蔡, Kangju 康居, and Wusun 烏孫, moved in the vast steppe. Another great nomadic tribe, the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, controlled the reaches of the Amu Darya after it had conquered Daxia 大夏, whose territory was located in Bactria. To the northeast of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 or Daxia 大夏 was the present Ferghāna, in which was the so-called state of Dayuan 大宛.

Taking into account this political map, we can come to no other conclusion than that, concerning the location of Tianzhi 條枝 and Lixuan 黎軒, the former can be identified with the Seleucid Syrian Kingdom to the west of Anxi 安息, i.e., Parthian Persia, and the latter can be identified with the Ptolemaic Egyptian Kingdom to the southwest of Anxi. Not only did the two Hellenic kingdoms have a long history and a profound effect on the Middle East, but also both their great cities — Antiochia, the capital of the Syrian Kingdom, and Alexandria, the capital of the Egyptian Kingdom — were important transportation hubs. These were significant enough to be noted in all contexts in which these great forces are described. Therefore, that the two kingdoms were heard of by Zhang Qian was not only possible, but also necessary. Considering that the records on the Tiaozhi 條枝 are more detailed than those on Lixuan 黎軒 in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*, we can presume that Tiaozhi 條枝 was the Syrian Kingdom, and Lixuan 黎軒, the Egyptian Kingdom. This is because the former was nearer to Anxi, and their relationship was closer.

As for Da Qin, it is first mentioned in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) and the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* (cited in Pei’s 裴 commentary on the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 30). Based on these records, in A.D. 97 Ban Chao 班超, the Protector General of the Western Regions, dispatched his adjutant, Gan Ying 甘英, as an envoy to Da Qin 大秦. Taking into account the date and the grand scale of the polity that he reported (e.g., the notation, “This state is the largest west of the Cong 葱 Mountains,” in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*), we have every reason to assume that Da Qin is the Roman Empire that, replacing the three Hellenic kingdoms, ruled all the Mediterranean region.

In the below discussion, we will see that the above-mentioned conclusions are acceptable and inevitable.

B

The records that are directly relevant to Tiaozhi in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” 大宛列傳 of *Shiji* 史記 (ch. 123) are as follows:

Tiaozhi 條枝 is at a distance of several thousand *li* west of Anxi 安息. The state is situated on the Western Sea; it is warm and damp. The fields are worked and sown with rice, there are large birds, and birds’ eggs as [large as water] jars. The population is very numerous and in many places there are minor overlords or chiefs. Anxi 安息 subjugated it and treated it as an outer state; the people are expert at conjuring. It is said: The elders of Anxi 安息 have learned by hearsay that in Tiaozhi 條枝 there is the Weak Water and the Queen Mother of the West; but they have all the same never seen them.

According to this, we can provisionally determine that Tiaozhi is the Syrian Kingdom because of two facts:

(1) Tiaozhi was situated to the west of Anxi. As we have noted above, when Zhang Qian was sent on a mission to the Western Regions, the Syrian Kingdom had already lost its territory to the east of Euphrates, and the remnant kingdom existed in the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean Sea. Its location was due west of Anxi. The so-called “several thousand *li*” refers to the distance to the capital of the Syrian Kingdom from the capital of Anxi. This description is in very general terms because the information came from rumor rather than observation.

(2) The “Western Sea” on which Tiaozhi was situated must have been the Mediterranean Sea, by which the Syrian Kingdom was bounded. “Western Sea” is not a specific term in Chinese historical works for a particular sea: it is also used of the Qing Sea, the Aral Sea, the Caspian Sea and Persian Gulf in distinct cases, but “Western Sea” here allows of only one explanation, i.e., the Mediterranean Sea. This is because:

First, the "Western Sea" was to the west of Anxi; the Qing Sea and the Aral Sea were to the east of Anxi, which can be completely ruled out.

Second, according to the record of the *Shiji*, ch. 123, in Tiaozhi, which "is situated on the Western Sea," there is the Weak Water and the Queen Mother of the West. The Chinese in ancient times believed that the state of Fusang 扶桑 lay at the extreme end of the east, and that the Queen Mother of the West was at the extremity of the west; both, according to legends, were the abode of immortals. The Queen Mother of the West dwelled at Tiaozhi, and this shows that Tiaozhi was placed at the "end of west" in the eyes of people of that time. However, the Caspian Sea was located to the north of Anxi; the *Shiji*, ch. 123, records Yancai 奄蔡, which was situated to its north, and Dayi 大益, which was situated to its southeast, and this also shows that people had extensive knowledge of the Caspian Sea, so that they did not think of it as the place where the Queen Mother of the West dwelt. Thus it is not possible that "Western Sea" here refers to the Caspian Sea.¹⁶

Third, the description "it is warm and damp, the fields are worked and sown with rice" can be taken as the situation of the region surrounding the Mediterranean Sea or of the Persian Gulf, especially Babylon, but the same chapter also records that "there are large birds and birds' eggs as [large as water] jars" in Tiaozhi. "Large birds" refers to ostriches, which perched in the Syrian Desert, and are not characteristic of the Persian Gulf. Besides, the Persian Gulf was located to the south of Anxi, not to its west. Thus the Persian Gulf can be ruled out.

(3) Tiaozhi here was subject to Anxi and served as its subordinate state ("outer state"). According to Western historical works, during the reign of the King of Anxi, Mithridates I (r. 171–139/138 B.C.), the state reached the height of its power. It captured the Syrian king, Demetrius II (r. 145–139/138 B.C. and 129–125 B.C.), who had invaded Anxi. Fraates II, who succeeded to the throne, defeated the invading Syrian army for the second time, wiping out 300,000 troops and killing their king, Antiochus VII (r. 139/138–129 B.C.). Fraates II later released Demetrius II, who had been imprisoned by Mithridates I, and wedded the latter's

¹⁶ See Shiratori's theory.

daughter as his consort.¹⁷ It should not be difficult to see that this act of Fraates was intended to control Syria more effectively and that Demetrius II, for his own release and restoration, had to make certain promises in response to the political and economic demands of the Persians. This is perhaps the background for the inclusion of Tiaozhi, which was subject to Anxi, in the text.

It must be pointed out that the so-called “outer state” here means a vassal state. For this reason, it must not be interpreted as indicating that Tiaozhi had been incorporated by Anxi. This is also a piece of evidence that Tiaozhi was not situated on the Persian Gulf. After Mithridates I had made his expedition to the west, the region around the Persian Gulf, i.e., Susiana, Persis, Babylon, Mesopotamia and other polities were incorporated into the territory of Anxi.¹⁸ In addition, “minor overlords or chiefs” in Tiaozhi must refer to the municipal officers of the self-governing incorporated Hellenic cities in the Syrian Kingdom.

(4) “Tiaozhi” [diǎu-tjie] can be interpreted as a contracted transcription of [An]tiochi[a], the name of capital of the Syrian Kingdom.¹⁹

C

The records relevant to Tiaozhi in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of *Hanshu* (ch. 96) are as follows:

The state of Wuyishanli 烏弋山離. The seat of the royal government is 12,200 *li* from Chang’an.... It adjoins Jibin in the east, Putiao 撲挑 in the north, and Lijian 犁靛 and Tiaozhi 條支 in the west. After traveling for some hundred days one then reaches Tiaozhi 條支. The state is situated on the Western Sea; it is warm and damp, and the fields are sown with rice; there are birds’ eggs as large as [water] jars. The population is very numerous and in many places there are minor overlords or chiefs. Anxi 安息 subjugated it and treated it as an outer

¹⁷ Debevoise 1938, pp. 22–25, 33–35.

¹⁸ Cf. Miyazaki’s theory.

¹⁹ “Tiaozhi” is a contracted transcription for Antiochia. Shiratori and Ogawa hold the same view. However, Shiratori suggests that Tiaozhi should be identified with Antiochia, i.e., Charax in the Persian Gulf, and Ogawa, Antiochia, in Syria. Miyazaki suggests that “Tiaozhi” is a transcription for Seleucia. His view is also acceptable.

state; the people are expert at conjuring. The elders of Anxi 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.

It can easily be seen that this text is an expansion on the related records in the *Shiji*, ch. 123. Below is an annotation on the addition.

(1) The text says that the state of Wuyishanli adjoins “Lijian 犁靬 and Tiaozhi 條支 in the west.” The state of Wuyishanli took possession of Drangiana and Arachosia, two provinces roughly to the east of Anxi. The capital of Wuyishanli was Alexandria, i.e., the present Farāh. Because the state was founded after Zhang Qian’s mission to the Western Regions, it is not recorded in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the the *Shiji* (ch. 123).²⁰ Therefore, the text does not say that Lijian (i.e., Lixuan) and Tiaozhi immediately bordered the western territory of Wuyishanli, and only expresses that Lijian and Tiaozhi were located to the west of Wuyishanli. The evidence is a reference in the same chapter: the state of Anxi “[adjoins] Wuyishanli in the east, and Tiaozhi in the west.”²¹ The reference stresses the location of Wuyishanli relative to Tiaozhi only in order to give consideration to the ensuing statement: “If you travel by water westward from Tiaozhi for more than a hundred days you draw near the place where the sun sets.”

(2) The text says that “after traveling for some hundred days one then reaches Tiaozhi 條支.” The statement does not mean that one can reach Tiaozhi from Wuyishanli directly. The subsequent text reads, “Proceeding by the Southern Route from the Yumen and the Yang barriers, and traveling south through Shanshan, one reaches Wuyishanli, which is the extreme point of the Southern Route; and turning north and then proceeding eastward [*sic*; should be ‘westward’] one arrives at Anxi.” Since Wuyishanli is at the extreme point of the Southern Route, the journey of some hundred days here refers to the time needed to travel from the capital of Wuyishanli northward to Anxi and then westward to Tiaozhi.

²⁰ Cf. SunY1978 and Yu 1992 (ch. 9).

²¹ See Shiratori’s theory.

(3) The reference "If you travel by water westward from Tiaozhi for more than a hundred days you draw near the place where the sun sets" can be taken as an extension of the knowledge about Tiaozhi in the time described by Ban Gu, i.e., the fact that one can make a longer voyage from Tiaozhi. However, it is also possible that the statement was the result of imagination, based on the statements that Tiaozhi "is situated on the Western Sea," and "have learned by hearsay that in Tiaozhi 條枝 there is the Weak Water and the Queen Mother of the West; but they have all the same never seen them" in the *Shiji*, ch. 123.

D

In this section we will analyze the records relevant to Tiaozhi in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88):

From Pishan 皮山 to the southwest, traversing Wucha 烏耚, passing through the Suspended Crossing, and crossing Jibin 罽賓, after over sixty days' travel one reaches the state of Wuyishanli 烏弋山離. Its territory is several thousand *li* square. At this time, its name has been changed to Paite 排特. Traveling southwest again for over a hundred days on horseback one reaches Tiaozhi 條支.

The state of Tiaozhi 條支: It has its town situated on a hill. The town is more than 40 *li* in circumference. The town borders the Western Sea. The seawater curves around it from the south to northeast, so that access is cut off on three sides. Only in the northwest corner is there communication with the land route. The land is hot and damp. It produces lions, rhinoceros, humped buffalo (*zebu*), peacocks, and ostriches, whose eggs are as large as pots.

If one turns to the north and then east, and again goes on horseback for more than sixty days, one reaches Anxi 安息, which later subjugated Tiaozhi 條支, appointing a military governor with control over all the small towns in it.

In the ninth year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign period of Emperor He 和 (A.D. 97), the Protector General, Ban Chao sent Gan Ying 甘英 as an envoy to Da Qin 大秦. He arrived at Tiaozhi 條支, overlooking the great sea. When he

was about to take his passage across the sea, the sailors of the western frontier of Anxi told [Gan] Ying: "The sea is vast. With favorable winds it is still only possible for travelers to cross in three months. But if one meets with unfavorable winds, it may even take two years. It is for this reason that those who go to sea always take on board three years' provisions. There is something in the sea which is apt to make men homesick, and several have there thus lost their lives." It was when he heard this that [Gan] Ying gave up. In the thirteenth year, the king of Anxi, Manqu 滿屈, again offered a gift of lions and of ostriches from Tiaozhi, [which people] at the time called Anxi fowls.

(1) The preface of the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) says: "The natural conditions and social customs of the various states recorded by Ban Gu 班固 are all supplied in the *Qian Hanshu* 前漢書. Now I have compiled those matters after the Jianwu 建武 reign period, which were different from the former, into the 'Memoir on the Western Regions' (i.e., *Xiyu Zhuan*). This has all been written down by Ban Yong 班勇 at the end of the reign period of Emperor An 安." However, this statement is not true. From the records relevant to Tiaozhi we find some comments subsequent to the "*Qian Hanshu*."

First, the section starting with "From Pishan to the southwest ..." to "Traveling southwest again for over a hundred days on horseback ..." is a condensation of two passages in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu*: "The state of Pishan to the southwest it is a distance of 1,340 *li* to the state of Wucha ... to the southwest it is situated on the Jibin and Wuyishanli"; and "The state of Wuyishanli. The seat of the royal government is 12,200 *li* from Chang'an.... To the northeast it is a distance of sixty days' journey to the seat of the Protector General. It adjoins Jibin in the east, Putiao 撲挑 in the north, and Lijian 犁靛 and Tiaozhi 條支 in the west.... After traveling for some hundred days one then reaches Tiaozhi.... Proceeding by the Southern Route from the Yumen and the Yang Barriers, and traveling south through Shanshan, one reaches Wuyishanli, which is the extreme point of the Southern Route; and turning north and then proceeding eastward one arrives at Anxi." We should not think that at the time of Ban Chao or Ban Yong one could reach Tiaozhi directly from Wuyishanli.

To travel southwest from Wuyishanli one had to cross the Kirman Desert, and this was a perilous journey. For general travelers it was unnecessary to go along so dangerous a road even from Wuyishanli, i.e., Alexandria Prothasia to the Persian Gulf, let alone to Tiaozi on the Mediterranean coast. In other words, as in Western Han times, in the Eastern Han period, going from Wuyishanli to Tiaozi, one would still first travel northwards and arrive in Anxi, then travel west.²² The discussion "Only after this did Gan Ying 甘英 reach Tiaozi and cross Anxi. Overlooking the Western Sea, he gazed out at Da Qin in the distance," in the *Hou Hanshu*, ch. 88, also can be taken as evidence. In fact, the days to Tianzhi from Wuyishanli are the same in the *Hanshu* and the *Hou Hanshu*.

The statement "Traveling southwest on horseback ..." means traveling from the capital of Anxi at the southeast of the Caspian Sea to Tiaozi, proceeding to the southwest, and then reaching Ctesiphon via Ecbatana.

The later statement "If one turns to the north and then east, and again goes on horseback for more than sixty days, one reaches Anxi 安息" is an extension from "traveling southwest ... on horseback," and should not be understood in a strict sense.

Second, the section "Later [Anxi] subjugated Tiaozi 條支," and so on, also copies and tampers with the concerned records in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96), and cannot be regarded as the actual conditions in Eastern Han times, for these reasons:

First, as mentioned before, the records relevant to Tiaozi in the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) mainly follow the *Shiji* (ch. 123). Of these, the statement "人衆甚多，往往有小君長。安息役屬之，以爲外國" (The population is very numerous and in many places there are minor overlords or chiefs. Anxi subjugated it and treated it as an outer state.) is copied from *Shiji*, ch. 123, word for word. Here the usage of the word 役屬 is special and unique. Given the situation in the Middle East when Zhang Qian was sent on a mission to the Western Regions, the original text of the *Shiji*, ch. 123, must have read that "Anxi subjugated Tiaozi," and not "Anxi was subject to Tiaozi." However, there is another usage for this word in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96. This is the usage meant in the statement "西域諸國大率土著，有城郭田畜，與匈奴、烏孫異俗，故

²² Shiratori's theory is adopted concurrently.

皆役屬匈奴” (The States of the Western Regions for the most part [have inhabitants who are] settled on the soil, with walled cities, cultivated fields, and domesticated animals. Their customs differ from those of the Xiongnu and Wusun. Formerly they were all subject to the Xiongnu.), Yan’s commentary says that “This means that the states of the Western Regions were all subject to the Xiongnu, and were enslaved by the Xiongnu.” This is really the formal usage of the word 役屬. Since the records on Tiaozhi of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96, all copy from the *Shiji*, ch. 123, the usage of the word 役屬 would certainly not be an exception. Yan Shigu was afraid of a misunderstanding arising, and he thus wrote annotations that “Anxi treated Tiaozhi as an outer state, it means an vassal state” under the sentence that “...treated it as an outer state.” It is interesting that, similarly, the sentence “後役屬條支” in the *Hou Hanshu*, ch. 88, can only be read as “Anxi subjugated Tiaozhi.” The usage of the word 役屬 is the same as that in *Shiji*, ch. 123. But this is not the case in other places in the same chapter, for example: “The state of Da Qin 大秦. ... Its territory is several thousand *li* square; it has over 400 walled cities. Small states which can be numbered in the tens are subject to it.” The usage of the word 役屬 is the same as that in 皆役屬匈奴 in the *Hanshu*, ch. 96. In my opinion, this is clear evidence that the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) copies the *Hanshu* concerning Tiaozhi.

Second, the statement “appointing a military governor with control over all the small towns in it” is something imagined by the editor of the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*, based on the record of Tiaozhi in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96) that “there are minor overlords or chiefs.” This contradicts the prior statement that “Anxi ... later subjugated Tiaozhi”: Since Anxi “appoint[s] a military governor with control over all the small towns in it,” it must have annexed Tiaozhi, rather than just having Tiaozhi subject to it. This conclusion is supported by evidence in the records of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88): “He (the king of the Yuezhi) in his turn destroyed Tianzhu 天竺 and placed there a general to control it.” Taking a step back, if the fact that Tiaozhi was subjected to Anxi means that it was controlled by Anxi, why would there be no record in the “*Qian Hanshu*”? As a matter of fact, Tiaozhi, i.e., the Syrian Kingdom, had been destroyed by Rome, and it was impossible for it to be subject to Anxi or under its control in the time of Ban Chao or Ban Yong. Anxi invaded the Syrian area, which had become Roman territory, twice: the first time in 51 B.C. (the third year of the Ganlu 甘露 reign period of

Emperor Xuan 宣), when Antiochia was besieged; the second time in 40 B.C. (the fourth year of the Yongguang 永光 reign period of Emperor Yuan 元), when Antiochia was taken, but that lasted only for just over one year, and it would seem to be out of the question that a military governor was appointed to control it.²³

In sum, ancient Chinese historical books sometimes followed their predecessor historical works when they recorded foreign situations. The *Houhan Shu* is no exception. We cannot draw the conclusion that Tiaozi was subject to Anxi for the entire time from Zhang Qian's to Ban Yong's period, because *Shiji*, *Hanshu* and *Hou Hanshu* all record that Tiaozi was subject to Anxi.²⁴ In fact, "Tiaozi" as recorded by Ban Yong was no longer an appellation of the Seleucid Kingdom in Syria, but was that of the Syrian area under the Roman Empire. It is not difficult to observe that the emphasis given by Ban Yong on "the town of the state of Tiaozi" is based on the report by Gan Ying, as soon as we remove the parts that the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), copied and changed from "*Qian Hanshu*," as described above.

(2) One of the additions in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) to previous information, is that Gan Ying was sent on a mission to the Western Regions and arrived in Tiaozi. The following provides some answers for the questions this raises.

First, since the "Tiaozi" written about by Ban Yong was the Syrian area under the Roman Empire, why would Gan Ying hear word of the "sailors of the western frontier of Anxi" when he was sent on a mission to the Western Regions and arrived at Tiaozi 條支, and was about to take his passage across the sea? There are two possible answers:

One possibility: according to the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), Da Qin "trades by sea with Anxi and Tianzhu," but the sea was not always the Mediterranean, so it cannot be concluded that there were no "the sailors of the western frontier of Anxi." In other words, those whom Gan Ying met were in fact Anxi people.

²³ Downey 1961, pp. 143–162.

²⁴ Both Shiratori and Soma 1977(4) suggest that Tiaozi had always been a vassal state of Anxi from the Western Han to the Eastern Han, which is taken as an important piece of evidence on which to judge the location of Tiaozi, based on the records in the "Dayuan Liezhuan" of the *Shiji* and the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu*.

Another possibility: the “western frontier of Anxi” was used as another name for Tianzhi because the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) was influenced by the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*. In my opinion, the editor of the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) undoubtedly had read “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*. There is a passage near the end of the “Da Qin” section of the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) that is an abridged version of the records on Da Qin and Tiaozi in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*:

Some say: To the west of this state are the Weak Water and the Flowing Sands, which are near to the place where the Queen Mother of the West lives, and which are almost where the sun sets. When the *Hanshu* says, “If you travel from Tiaozi for more than 200 days you draw near the place where the sun sets,” it is not in agreement with the present work.

Envoys of the Han in former generations all came back from Wuyi[shanli] [烏弋]山離; not one of them got as far as Tiaozi. It is also said that from Anxi by the land-route, one goes around north of the sea, comes out from the west of the sea, and arrives in Da Qin. The population [of Da Qin] is dense; each ten *li* there is a *ting* 亭 (relay), and each thirty *li* a *zhi* 置 (postal station). There is thus never any alarm caused by the attacks of robbers, but on the route there are many fierce tigers and lions which intercept and harm travelers. If the party does not include over 100 men furnished with arms, they are invariably devoured. It is also said that there is a flying bridge, several hundred *li* long, over which one can pass to the various states north of the sea. The various exotica and precious stones that it produces are bizarre and often not genuine, hence are not recorded here.

Therefore, there is cause to consider that the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) was also possibly influenced by the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* in some other places. Since the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* considers Tiaozi as the “western frontier of Anxi” (detail drawing), it should not be surprising that the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) records that Ganyin

met the "sailors of the western frontier of Anxi" in Tiaozhi. That is to say, the people whom Gan Ying met were in fact the "Tiaozhi," i.e., Syrians.²⁵

We cannot locate "Tiaozhi" in the territory of Anxi because Gan Ying arrived in Tiaozhi and heard the words of the "sailors of the western frontier of Anxi."

Second, the above-cited records show that Tiaozhi was located on the road from Anxi to Da Qin. Therefore, if the hypothesis that Da Qin could be identified with the Roman Empire, as put forward at the beginning of this paper, can be attested, then the conclusion that Tiaozhi was the Syrian Kingdom or a Syrian possession is further supported. Syria is on the important road from Anxi to the Italian Peninsula.

(3) Recently accessed material provided by the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) casts light on the situation of the "town in the state of Tiaozhi." Since the Tiaozhi that Gan Ying arrived in is Syria, and "Tiaozhi" is a contracted transcription of Antiochia, this naturally suggests that the "town in the state of Tiaozhi" was Antiochia, the capital of the Syrian Kingdom. However, the situation of the town obviously is not the same as that noted in the records of the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88). Therefore, we can consider the possibility that the "town in the state of Tiaozhi" recorded by Gan Ying is probably Seleucia, the outer port of Antiochia. We cannot determine the exact conditions of Seleucia in Gan Ying's time, but we can glimpse its major features at that period by examining its ruins. These ruins are located on a precipitous cliff overlooking the Mediterranean Sea to the southwest. Both east and west of the site there are deep valleys that were dug by small rivers on their way to the Mediterranean Sea; only one track at the northeast corner provides a link to other land. This is surely the "town situated on a hill," which "borders the Western Sea"; we can also say of it that "the seawater curves around it" and "access is cut off on three sides." The rudimentary town wall is about ten kilometres long, though it may have been further extended to the southeast in ancient times. These conditions do not precisely correspond to the records of the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou*

²⁵ This is to adopt the views of Miyazaki and Cen concurrently.

Hanshu (ch. 88). The variances from that description, however, can be understood simply as mistakes in Gan Ying's observation or records. They may also be mistakes in transcription.²⁶

Seleucia had always been an important town in the Syrian Kingdom. It was a fort easy to hold and hard to attack. Pompey judged the town to be a "free city" when he had conquered the Syrian Kingdom.²⁷ It is possible that this town still kept a strong Seleucid coloration and was the home of some adherents of the Seleucid Dynasty. It might have become a symbol representing the Syrian Kingdom; it was called the "town of the state of Tiaozhi" by the natives or by Gan Ying.

E

The records directly relevant to Tiaozhi in the "Xirong Zhuan" of *Weilüe* are as follows:

Former generations erred in considering Tiaozhi as situated west of Da Qin 大秦; the truth as now known is that it is east of it. Former generations likewise erred in considering it stronger than Anxi 安息; 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.

²⁶ This adopts Miyazaki's theory. On "the town of the state of Tiaozhi," the Hira theory of Hirth, the Charax theory of Shiratori, and the Susa theory of Soma 1977(4) are relatively complete. I do not accept the three theories mainly because they place Tiaozhi in the Persian Gulf. As far as the situation of the "town of the state of Tiaozhi," there are many elements that disagree with the description in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu*. The Hira theory had been refuted by Shiratori, and Soma negated Shiratori's theory. Susa's theory is disqualified by "is situated on the Western Sea," no matter how much more deeply the Persian Gulf extended into the land than it does today.

²⁷ Jones 1916.

This paragraph reflects mainly the fact that the ancient Chinese gained knowledge of the Western world in increments. In the paragraph, the three sentences “Former generations likewise erred in considering it stronger than Anxi 安息; now we know that it is on the contrary subject to it, and is called the western frontier of Anxi” are particularly noteworthy.

(1) When the state was first founded, Anxi was menaced by the threat of the Seleucid Syrian Kingdom. It did not gain much strength until Mithridates I came to the throne. In other words, Tiaozi was once stronger than Anxi. What “former generations” thought is therefore not completely mistaken. This is also clear proof that Tiaozi can be identified with the Syrian Kingdom.²⁸

(2) Tiaozi was subject to Anxi during Zhang Qian’s mission to the Western Regions. Sixty years after Zhang Qian’s mission, Tiaozi was destroyed by the Romans, so there is no question of its having been subject to Anxi. Therefore, the reference “now we know that it is on the contrary subject to it,” information acquired at the time of Zhang Qian, is not considered to be the actual condition in the Yu Huang’s 魚豢 day. The view of the Western Regions recorded in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* mostly belongs to the Eastern Han period, as do the parts relevant to Tiaozi, Lixuan and Da Qin. As a result, many of these were absorbed by Fan Ye 范曄 into the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88). However, information from before the Eastern Han seems to exist, as indicated by the above-cited three sentences. Also, in the reference in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), “which later subjugated Tiaozi 條支,” the word “later” obviously appears because it is influenced by the statement “Former generations likewise erred in considering it stronger than Anxi 安息; now we know that it is on the contrary subject to it.”

²⁸ It is possible that the statement “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 (Former generations likewise erred in considering it stronger than Anxi 安息; 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 Tiaozi; now we know that the Weak Water is west of Da Qin).” is to animadvert on the concerned records in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*. Please pay attention to the usage of the word “役屬” here, which is different from that of the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*.

(3) That Tiaozhi “is called the western frontier of Anxi 安息” indubitably began at a time when it was subject to Anxi. It should be pointed out that it “is called the western frontier” shows that it is not the genuine “western frontier of Anxi,” and accordingly we cannot seek “Tiaozhi” in the territory of Anxi. Here the “western frontier” could be read as “western vassal state.” This expresses the essential relationship between Tiaozhi and Anxi in Zhang Qian’s time. That is, Tiaozhi was subject to Anxi, and Anxi made Tiaozhi into a vassal state. Later Tiaozhi was destroyed by the Romans, but it is possible that the people of Central Asia, especially those in Anxi, continued to use the old term “western frontier of Anxi” to designate the land of the original Tiaozhi. The “western frontier of Anxi” in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* can be taken as another name for Tiaozhi.²⁹ As has been argued, this usage probably affected the “Xiyu Zhuan” in the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

F

The following is an analysis of the records relevant to Lixuan (Lijian) in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji* (ch. 123) and the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96). There is no contradiction at all between these records and the hypothesis that Lixuan can be identified with the Ptolemaic Kingdom.

(1) The location of Lixuan: In the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji* (ch. 123) it is recorded that “To the north of [Anxi] are Yancai 奄蔡 and Lixuan 黎軒.” In the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96) it is recorded that “[Wuyishanli adjoins] Lijian 犁靬 and Tiaozhi 條支 in the west.” According to the former, Lixuan (i.e., Lijian) was located to the north of Anxi, and according to the latter, that it was located to the west of Wuyishanli. These are opposite statements, and the latter is correct. The records in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji* (ch. 123), after all, conveyed merely what Zhang Qian had heard. Because the Central Plain and the Western Regions were becoming increasingly closer in their relations down to the time described in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96), it is possible that Ban Gu based his work on more accurate data. Most importantly, according to the political situation in the Middle and Near East

²⁹ This is to adopt the theories of Miyazaki and Cen concurrently.

in the Zhang Qian's time, it is impossible to find the location of Lixuan to the north of Anxi, a great state that can be mentioned in the same breath with Anxi, Daxia, Da Yuezhi, Dayuan, Kangju, Yancai, Wusun and Shendu.³⁰ If the above-mentioned Tiaozhi's identification with the Syrian Kingdom is accepted, Lixuan can, in fact, just be located to the southwest of Anxi. In this direction, of states that could be heard about by Zhang Qian, the first would be the Ptolemaic Kingdom.

(2) In the "Dayuan Liezhuan" of the *Shiji* (ch. 123), it is recorded that "Previously, when the Han 漢 envoys had come to Anxi 安息, the king of Anxi 安息 ordered a general to take a force of 20,000 cavalry to greet them at the eastern border. ... When the Han 漢 envoys returned, [the king] took the occasion to send out [his own] envoys to come to Han 漢 in company with the Han 漢 envoys so as to observe Han 漢 territory. They took large birds' eggs and conjurors from Lixuan 黎軒 as a present for the Han 漢 [emperor]." The same statement appears in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96). Both books record that Anxi's envoys took conjurors from Lixuan 黎軒 (Lijian) as a present for the Han 漢 emperor. It can be seen that Lixuan people were expert at conjuring. However, both books record that the people are expert at conjuring in the state of Tiaozhi 條枝. Which is right? In my opinion, the state that was expert at conjuring must be Lixuan (Lijian), not Tiaozhi,³¹ because the former was based on observed facts, and the latter is just what was told to Zhang Qian 張騫 (the records in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96) must follow the "Dayuan Liezhuan" of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123). And Alexandria in ancient Egypt was celebrated for this strange skill.³²

(3) In the "Dili zhi B" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 28B), it is recorded that there was a "Lijian" 驪軒 County in Zhangye 張掖 Prefecture. In the "Zhang Qian Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 61), it is also recorded that "At first the Prefecture of Jiuquan was founded in order to communicate with the states of the north-west. Thereafter envoys were sent out, and reached Anxi, Yancai, Lijian, Tiaozhi and Shendu." Yan Shigu 顏 comments that "Lijian 驪軒 was just the state of Da

³⁰ See Shiratori's theory.

³¹ See Shiratori's theory.

³² See Pelliot 1915.

Qin 大秦, and Lijian 驪軒 County in Zhangye 張掖 Prefecture was probably named after the state.” The pronunciations of both 驪(*li*) and 犂(*li*) and that of both 軒(*jian*) and 軒(*xuan*) were the same.” From this we can see that the name of Lijian 驪軒 County derived from the Lijian, 犂軒, i.e., Lixuan 黎軒.

In addition, according to the “Dili zhi B” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 28B), there was a Qiuci 龜茲 County in Shang 上 Prefecture. The Yan Shigu’s 顏師古 commentary says, “the Qiuci 龜茲 people who came over and submitted were quartered here, and it was thus named Qiuci 龜茲.” The Hexi 河西 Region in Han times was the key to the Central Plain from the Western Regions, and the barbarian merchants and foreign travelers converged there, and they sometimes stayed or naturalized. The above-mentioned Qiuci people presents such a case.

As we know, the Ptolemaic Egyptian Kingdom, especially Alexandria, its capital, was celebrated for its flourishing commerce, and there are marks left by its merchants in every corner in the world. It is not impossible that some of them arrived in the Hexi 河西 region. There was a county that was named for Lixuan; this indicates at least that the people in the Hexi at that time were no strangers to the name, even if this does not indicate that there were people from Lixuan in the county.³³

(4) “黎軒” occurs in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96), in which we find the name “犂軒,” in the “Zhang Qian Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 61), “犂軒,” in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), “犂韃,” and in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*, “犂軒”; the pronunciation of 黎, 犂 and 犂 were the same or close. 軒, Li Qi’s commentary on the “Zhang Qian Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 61) says, “its pronunciation is the same as 軒.” The pronunciation of 軒 or 軒 was close to 韃. Therefore these 黎軒 etc. can be taken as different transcriptions of the same name. In fact, “Lixuan 黎軒” [lyei-xian] is a contracted transcription of [A]lexan[dria], the name of the capital of the Ptolemaic Kingdom.³⁴

³³ See Shiratori’s theory.

³⁴ Shiratori suggests that “Lixuan 黎軒” can be taken as a contracted transcription of [A]lek[s]an[dria]. In my opinion, his theory also acceptable. Cen suggests that “Lixuan” is a transliteration of *dašina*, an old Persian word or *daksina*, a word of old Indian language, and means the right (i.e., west). In my opinion, his view is probably wrong.

G

In the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) it is recorded "The state of Da Qin 大秦: It is also called Lijian 犁鞬." In the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe* it is also recorded "The state of Da Qin 大秦: It is also named Lijian 犁鞬." In my opinion, we cannot identify Lixuan with Da Qin based on these. This is because the name of Lixuan was introduced by Zhang Qian, and at that time Roman forces had not yet colonized toward the east, so its name could not have been known by the Han people. Similarly, we cannot consider that Da Qin was an eastern dependency of the Roman Empire, which centering on Egypt. All records relevant to Da Qin in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) and "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe* express that the so-called "Da Qin" must refer to the Roman Empire proper (see below for details). Lixuan and Da Qin are confused by the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) and "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*, because Lixuan, i.e., Ptolemaic Egypt, was so far away from Han that, by the time it was destroyed by Roman Empire, it was still not well known to the Han people; all they knew was its approximate location. But when the Han people had an opportunity to understand the world in the west more thoroughly, Lixuan no longer existed, whereas the name of Da Qin was widely known. The Han people were naturally confused about the two names. The fact that Lixuan became a dependency of Da Qin is probably one reason.

As is recorded in the "Xinan Yi Liezhuan 西南夷列傳" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 86), "In the first year of the Yongning 永寧 reign period (A.D. 120), the king of the state of Dan 掸, Yongyoudiao 雍由調, again sent an envoy to the palace to pay his respects, bringing musical performers and magicians who could transform or dissect themselves, puff out fire, exchange the heads of an ox and a horse, and juggle — they could catch the balls up to a thousand times. They said that they were from the West of the Sea. 'The West of the Sea' refers to Da Qin, which could be reached from the southwest of the state of Dan." The "magicians" are not necessarily the "conjurers" from Lixuan (Lijian) in the "Dayuan Liezhuan" of the *Shiji* (ch. 123) and the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96). We know this because, first, the "magicians" did not say that they were from Lixuan. Second, juggling (*pilarius* in Latin) was a special skill of the Romans: its images could still be seen on a diptych of the ancient Romans in the collection of the Verona Museum. Therefore, these magicians may have come from the "West of the Sea," i.e., the west of

Mediterranean Sea — the Italian Peninsula.³⁵ Drawing a step back, we note that, even if the “magicians” were the “conjurors” from Lixuan, we could not consider that Lixuan is simply Da Qin, or that Da Qin refers to Egypt, because Egypt had become subject to Da Qin by that time, and thus it is incomprehensible that the people from Lixuan called themselves the people from Da Qin.

In addition, in the *Naxian Biqu Jing* A (Nāgasena-bhikṣu-sūtra [A], translated under the Eastern Jin dynasty), it is recorded that “The king said: I was born in the state of Da Qin. The state is named Alisan.”³⁶ In the *Milindapañha* in Pāli, Alisan is recorded as Alasandā, which is generally identified with Alexandria in Egypt. According to this, the original name of the state of Da Qin would be Alexandria. If the above-mentioned hypothesis that Lixuan is a contracted transcription of Alexandria is correct, would the original name of Da Qin be Lixuan, namely, did Da Qin refer to the eastern dependencies of the Roman Empire, centering on Egypt?³⁷ But this is not true.

First, there is absolutely no evidence that the translator who translated the *Naxian Biqu jing* into Chinese knew “Lixuan” was a transliteration of Alexandria. Otherwise, the translation should be: “The King said, I was born in the state of Da Qin. The state is named Lixuan,” based on the records that Da Qin has also been named Lijian (Lixuan) since Eastern Han times.

Second, in the original text in Pāli the natal place of Milinda is recorded as Kalasi (village) in the Alasanda island.³⁸ Thus it can be seen that “Alisan” is not the real name of state. If Alasanda refers to Alexandria in Egypt, the Chinese translation could and should be understood as the statement “I was born in the state of Da Qin. on the island named Alisan.”

Third, the reason the writer who translated the *Naxian Biqu Jing* into Chinese unites “Alisan” (Alasanda, Alexandria) with Da Qin is that, in his opinion, “Alisan” was subject to the state of Da Qin. The statement “I was born in the state of Da Qin. The state is named Alisan” is

³⁵ This is to adopt Miyazaki’s theory.

³⁶ T32, No. 1670A, p. 702.

³⁷ This is the important evidence for the theory that identifies Da Qin with Egypt.

³⁸ Davids 1894, p. 127.

comparable to a statement that “To the west of the sea is the town of Chisan 遲散” in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*. The “west of the sea” refers to Da Qin, and “Chisan” is noted as “Wuchisan” in the same chapter. “Wuchisan” can simply be taken as another transliteration of “Alisan.” In addition, there is a “county of Lijian” in the Zhangye Prefecture in the “Dili Zhi B” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 28B). According to Li Qi’s commentary for 遲散, “the pronunciation of [遲] is the same as 虔,” and thus the pronunciations of 遲 [diei], 驪 [lyei] and 荔 [liə] were close. Thus “To the west of the sea is the town of Chisan 遲散” in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* can be read as “there is Alisan in the state of Da Qin.” Since the editor would have known that there was a town of Alexander, the translator of the *Naxian Biqu jing* into Chinese would also have know that Alexander was subject to the state of Da Qin.

“Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* said that “The state of Da Qin 大秦: It is also named Lijian 犁鞬,” while it gave Alexandria another Chinese translation. This shows that the editor, like the translator of the *Naxian Biqu jing* into Chinese, did not know that Lixuan was a transliteration of Alexandria, and mistakenly assuming that it was a synonym of Da Qin, did not make further investigations.

H

The following intends to explain the records relevant to Da Qin in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), combining the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

(1) In the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) it is recorded “The state of Da Qin 大秦: It is also called Lijian 犁鞬. Since it is situated to the west of the sea, it is also called “state of West of the Sea.” Its territory is several thousand *li* square; it has over 400 walled cities. Small states which can be numbered in the tens are subject to it.” In the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* it is also recorded that “There are in the state in all over 400 small towns and settlements. Its territory stretches from east to west and from north to south over several thousand *li*. ... This state is the largest west of the Cong 葱 Mountains.” As I have pointed out at the beginning of this paper, the essential reason to identify the state of Da Qin with the Roman Empire is Da Qin’s greatness in scale as seen in the Chinese historical books. At that time, only the Roman Empire could match that size.

Fan Ye says that the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) "has all been written down by Ban Yong 班勇 at the end of the reign period of Emperor An 安," but, in fact, of the records in this chapter, that date can be determined as being at the latest during the reign period of Emperor Ling 靈. After Emperor Huan 桓, the Eastern Han could not already have been, the Eastern Han could not already have been controlling the Western Regions. The Yellow Turban Uprising brought the Eastern Dynasty to the verge of disintegration. All communication with the Western Regions had been stopped. Therefore, the date of the materials, based on which the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) was written, can be concluded as being between the first century A.D. and the middle of the second century. These include all of the records relevant to Da Qin without exception. And it is generally believed that this was one of the most prosperous periods of the Roman Empire.

After the republic was abolished in A.D. 27, Roman maintained its political stability and economic progress for about two hundred years throughout Italy proper and its provinces without exception. Its fame resounded everywhere because of its tremendous strength. It is not possible to state when the Chinese began to hear about the Roman Empire, but it is certain that it could not be later than the year that Ban Chao 班超 was sent to the Western Regions. Down to the Yongyuan 永元 reign period of Emperor He 和, during which Ban Chao 班超 ordered Gan Ying to go to Da Qin, the Chinese must have had a fair understanding of the Roman Empire, and were deeply interested in knowing more about it.

The year in which Gan Ying 甘英 was sent to Da Qin was the second year after the Antonine dynasty came to power. During the period this dynasty was in power (A.D. 96–192), the Roman Empire reached its acme. The central government was consolidated, and the territories reached their greatest extent. Agriculture, manufacturing in the towns, and commerce developed at an unprecedented rate. Manufacturing included woolen cloth, jewelry, spices, masonry, pottery, glass, textile, tools, and so on. These products were sold everywhere around the Mediterranean Sea, Baltic Sea, Black Sea, Red Sea and India Ocean. An important aspect was that the trade opened up markets in Iran, Central Asia, India and even China.

In the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) it is recorded that Da Qin "trades by sea with Anxi and Tianzhu, the profit is tenfold." And it is also recorded that "The king of this state

always wanted to enter into diplomatic relations with the Han. But Anxi wanted to trade with them in Han silk and so put obstacles in their way, so that they could never have direct relations [with Han]. This continued until the ninth year of the *Yanxi* 延熹 reign period of Emperor Huan 桓 (A.D. 166), when Andun 安敦, king of Da Qin, sent an envoy from beyond the frontier of Rinan 日南 who offered elephant tusk, rhinoceros horn, and tortoise shell. It was only then that for the first time communication was established [between the two states]." These should be regarded as the authentic records on the Roman Empire. "Andun" is Marcus Aurelius Antonius, the fifth emperor of the Antonine dynasty in Roman Empire.

(2) In the *Hou Hanshu*, ch. 88, it is recorded that "From Anxi 安息 going west 3,400 *li* one reaches the state of Aman 阿蠻, then going west from Aman 3,600 *li*, one reaches the state of Sibir 斯賓; then from Sibir, going south, crossing a river, and continuing southwest, one reaches the state of Yuluo 于羅, after 960 *li*, the extreme western frontier of Anxi. From here one puts to sea to the south, and only then does one communicate with Da Qin 大秦. In this land are many of the jewels and exotica of the west of the sea." From this it is can be seen that there were two routes to Da Qin, i.e., the Roman Empire, from Anxi, combining this with the above-cited record that Gan Ying was sent to Da Qin as an envoy.

Taking the first route, one went southwest from Hedun 和犢 (Hecatompylos),³⁹ the capital of Anxi, traveled to Aman 阿蠻 (Ecbatana),⁴⁰ Sibir 斯賓 (Ctesiphon),⁴¹ crossed the Tigris River from Sibir to Seleucia (i.e., "Siluo" 斯羅 in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilue*),⁴² then followed the river to Yuluo 于羅 (Hatra), traveled southwest from Yuluo 于羅, crossed the Euphrates River, arrived on the Mediterranean coast, and crossed the sea; or, after arriving in Alexandria on the coast of Egypt, one also could reach Da Qin, i.e., the Italian Peninsula.

³⁹ Cf. Yu 1992 (ch. 9).

⁴⁰ This follows the theories of Hirth and Shiratori. Miyazaki suggests that it should be identified with Armenia. In my opinion, his theory is incorrect.

⁴¹ This follows the theories of Hirth and Shiratori. Miyazaki suggests that it should be identified with Sophene. In my opinion, his theory is incorrect.

⁴² This follows the theories of Hirth and Shiratori. Miyazaki suggests that it should be identified with Osroene. In my opinion, his theory is incorrect.

If one took the other route, one traced the Euphrates River north and arrived at Edessa after reaching Seleucia, then went southwest, crossing the Euphrates River, and arrived at Tiaozhi, i.e., Antioch, the capital of the Syrian Kingdom. From Antioch one crossed the Mediterranean Sea, after which one could also arrive in Da Qin, i.e., the Italian Peninsula.

As mentioned previously, the Tiaozhit in which Gan Ying arrived was the Syrian area, thus it is very likely that he took the latter route. The above-cited records in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) (following the statement that Manqu 滿屈, the king of Anxi [Pacorus II, 78–115/116], offered a gift) that a traveler could go to Da Qin via Yuluo from Anxi, might not be the information that Gan Ying heard.

In sum, the routes to Da Qin from Anxi were divided into the northern route and the southern route. The northern route led to Antioch, the original capital of the Syrian Kingdom, and the southern route led to Alexander, the original capital of the Egyptian Kingdom. These were the most important cities of the Roman Empire on the east coast of the Mediterranean, and a traveler could cross the sea from both these cities to reach the capital of the Roman Empire.

(3) On the location of Yuluo: According to the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), one reaches the state of Sibin 斯賓, "then from Sibin, going south, crossing a river, and continuing southwest, one reaches the state of Yuluo 于羅, after 960 *li*." According to the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*, Yuluo "is northeast of Sifu 汜復 across a river." Since Sibin refers to Ctesiphon, and Sifu refers to Damascus (see below), Yuluo should be between the Tigris and the Euphrates rivers. However, if Yuluo was located northeast of Damascus, it would not be southwest of Ctesiphon. Therefore it is possible that "southwest" in the statement "continuing southwest, one reaches the state of Yuluo" is a textual error for "northwest." This is also evidence that the statement "From Yuluo to the northeast, again crossing a river, [is Anxi]. From Siluo 斯羅 to the northeast, again crossing a river, [is also Anxi]." According to the records of the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), "one reached Sibin 斯賓, then went south and crossed a river," in fact, one must first reach Siluo. The reference "continuing southwest, one reaches the state of Yuluo" means that one went to Yuluo from Siluo 斯羅. If this is true, one should reach Siluo traveling northeast from Yuluo, and the route does not seem to cross a river straight away. Since according to the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*, from both Yuluo and Siluo one could cross

a river, so we must consider that Yuluo was not located southwest of Siluo or Sibin. Therefore, "Yuluo 于羅 [hiua-lai]" is very possibly Hatra.⁴³

In addition, according to the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), one reaches the state of Yuluo 于羅, which was "the extreme western frontier of Anxi." The statement seems to consider that Yuluo belonged to Anxi. If this is true, the so-called "western frontier of Anxi" is truly the western border of Anxi. However, in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*, it is recorded "[The state] of Yuluo 于羅: It is subject to Da Qin." It is also recorded "The state of Siluo 斯羅: It is subject to Anxi and adjoins Da Qin." From this, it can be seen that the operational boundary of the sphere of influence of Anxi and Da Qin was between Siluo and Yuluo at the time described in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*. Yuluo and beyond were subject to Da Qin. The statement that Siluo "adjoins Da Qin" should be taken to mean that Siluo adjoined Yuluo, the dependency of Da Qin, and its nearby regions. There are no records as to when Yuluo 于羅 (i.e., Hatra) and beyond began to be subject to Rome. The few known facts are the following: late in his reign, Trajan (r. 98–117) laid siege to Hatra, but he was unable to breach it. In 198, Septimius Severus (r. 193–211) again besieged the town, but again to no avail.⁴⁴ This indicates how important Hatra was; both Anxi and Rome fought for it. The possibility cannot be ruled out that it once belonged to Rome. The "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe* could be used to supplement the Western histories, where there is not much information about Hatra.

(4) On the name of Da Qin: In the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), it is recorded that "The people are generally tall and straight featured. They resemble [the people of] the Middle Kingdom, and that is why the state is called Da Qin." In the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*, it is also recorded that "The people are generally tall and straight featured with faces resembling those of the Middle Kingdom, but they wear barbarian clothes. They themselves say

⁴³ Of Yuluo 于羅, Shiratori suggests that it should be identified with Ura at first, later, Hira, following Hirth's theory. Moreover, Kuwabara 1934 suggests that Yuluo can be identified with Ubolla. In my opinion, if, as these scholars say, Yuluo should be located to the southeast of Ctesiphon, on the right bank of Euphrates River, that disagrees with the description in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* and the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*. Miyazaki considers that Yuluo should be identified with Aleppo, which is also unconvincing.

⁴⁴ Yarshater 1983, pp. 91, 94.

that they stem from the Middle Kingdom as one of its branches. They always wanted to have diplomatic relations with the Middle Kingdom. ...Their institutions are as follows: they have public and private palaces and houses, with multiple stories. Their flags and drums, white canopies over small chariots, and postal stations are just like those in the Middle Kingdom." From this, we know that the people at that time called the Roman Empire Da Qin because they considered that the Romans "resemble the people of the Middle Kingdom."

"Qin" was a name for the Middle Kingdom used by people in North Asia and Central Asia. As recorded in the "Xiongnu Zhuan A" 匈奴傳 of the *Hanshu* (ch. 94A), "Weilü 衛律 gave counsel to the *Chanyu*: Dig wells, build walls around towns, build towers to store the grains, and guard them with the people of Qin." The Yan Commentary: "In the time of Qin there were people who had defected to the Xiongnu; their descendants were still called people of Qin." The *Hanshu buzhu* 漢書補注 by Wang Xianqian 王先謙 quoted Gu Yanwu 顧炎武: "Yan's theory is wrong. The Xiongnu at that time called the people of the Middle Kingdom the people of Qin, just as later generations refer to [the people of Middle Kingdom] as the Han people."

In addition, in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96): "The Xiongnu were tethering the fore and hind feet of their horses, setting them down beside the walls, and galloping up to say, 'A present of horses for you, men of Qin.'" The Yan Commentary: "'Men of Qin' refers to the men of the Middle Kingdom, an old way of expression." The "Dayuan Liezhuan" of the *Shiji* (ch. 123): The Ershi 貳師 General "heard that inside the town the population had recently acquired men of Qin who knew how to dig wells." In the "Li Guangli Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 61), "men of Han" has taken the place of "men of Qin." These cases should corroborate the point. If so, "Da Qin" must be the name of the Roman Empire used by the people of Central Asia. It is unlikely that the people of the Han dynasty would use the name of a previous dynasty as the name of a large state in the Western Regions. The "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Weishu* 魏書 says that "other states call it Da Qin 大秦 (Great Qin)," which can be considered accurate.

In sum, the reason the people of Central Asia called the Roman Empire "Da Qin 大秦" is because it resembled the Middle Kingdom. "Da" was used, because the Roman Empire was the

largest state in the west. As for the statement that "the people are generally tall," this was imagined by the Chinese based on the name "Da Qin" itself.⁴⁵

From the records of the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*, we know that Da Qin resembled the Middle Kingdom mainly in culture and system. The issues involved have been discussed extensively by my predecessors, so I shall not go into details here.⁴⁶ By and large, when information is hearsay, distortion is unavoidable. It is not easy to distinguish information concerning the center from that about a dependent territory. In addition, because people at that time believed that the West was the abode of immortals, what information there was tended to be idealized. However, these records should not be taken completely as unfounded talk, since from them we can at any rate see approximately the image the Roman Empire had in Chinese eyes.

I

The records relevant to the location of Da Qin in the "Xirong Zhuan" of *Weilüe* are as follows:

The state of Da Qin 大秦: It is also named Lijian 犁靬. It lies to the west of the great sea which is west of Anxi and Tiaozi. From the town of Angu 安谷 on the frontier of Anxi, one travels by boat directly across to the west of the sea. If one meets with favorable winds, it takes two months, but with delaying winds, it takes perhaps one year, and with no wind at all, perhaps three years. As this state lies west of the sea, it is popularly called "West of Sea." There is a river which comes out from this state. To the west, there is also a great sea. To the west of the sea is the town of Chisan 遲散. From below the state, going due north one reaches the town of Wudan 烏丹. To the southwest again crossing a river, only after traveling for one day by boat does one cross over. There are in all three large capital cities.

⁴⁵ Shiratori suggests that the "people of Qin" was a term that the Chinese called themselves, and "Da Qin 大秦" was a term that the Chinese called the Roman Empire because the people were tall. In my opinion, these views are probably incorrect.

⁴⁶ Cf. Miyazaki 1939.

Now, from the town of Angu 安谷, going due north by land one gets to the north of the sea. Continuing on due west one gets to the west of the sea. Continuing on due south one gets to the town of Wuchisan 烏遲散. Crossing a river, only after one day's journey by boat does one get across. Going all the way round the sea, one must still always cross over a great sea, and only after six days does one arrive at this state. There are in the state in all over 400 small towns and settlements. Its territory stretches from east to west and from north to south over several thousand *li*.

...They always wanted to have diplomatic relations with the Middle Kingdom, but because Anxi looked to its own profits, they could not get through....From Anxi, one goes round the north of the sea to reach this state. The population is dense, with every ten *li* a *ting* 亭, and every 30 *li* a *zhi* 置. They have eliminated robbers, but there are fierce tigers and lions which imperil the routes. Only a (large) body of travelers can get through....

Their feudatory (vassal) petty kingdoms are: Zesan 澤散, Lüfen 驢分, Qielan 且蘭, Xiandu 賢督, Sifu 汜復, Yuluo 于羅. The remaining petty kingdoms are so numerous that we cannot enumerate them individually....

So they frequently trade by sea with the various states such as Anxi. The water of the sea is bitter and undrinkable, so travelers rarely (succeed in) reaching there....

Not only is there a route to Da Qin 大秦 communicating from north of the sea by land, but there is also one coming south following the sea, which connects with the barbarians outside the seven prefectures of Jiaozhi 交趾. There is also a water route communicating with Yongchang 永昌 in Yizhou 益州, and that is why Yongchang produces exotica. Former generations only mentioned a sea route, they did not know a land route. Here now is a summary. As for the numbers of individuals and households, we cannot set them out in detail. This state is the largest west of the Cong 葱 Mountains. The various petty kings it has established are very many, so [only] the largest vassals are listed here.

The king of Zesan 澤散: He is subject to Da Qin. The seat of the king's government is right in the middle of the sea. To the north one reaches Lüfen 驢分, going by water for half a year, [but] with favorable winds you arrive after one month. It is nearest to the town of Angu in Anxi. To the southwest, one reaches the capital of Da Qin, how many *li* distant we do not know.

The king of Lüfen 驢分: He is subject to Da Qin. His seat of government is distant 2,000 *li* from the capital of Da Qin. From the town of Lüfen going west to Da Qin one crosses over a flying sea-bridge 230 *li* long. The route across the sea goes southwest; if one goes round the sea, it is due west.

The king of Qielan 且蘭: He is subject to Da Qin. From the state of Sitao 思陶, one goes due south crossing a river, then goes due west to Qielan, 3,000 *li*. When the route leads out to the south of the river, one goes west. From Qielan, one continues on due west to arrive at the state of Sifu 氾復, 600 *li*. After the southern route meets Sifu, one goes southwest to get to the state of Xiandu 賢督.

Going due south from Qielan and Sifu, [one comes to] Jishi 積石 (Accumulated Rocks). To the south of Jishi is the great sea which produces corals and true pearls.

To the north of Qielan, Sifu, Sibin 斯賓 and Aman 阿蠻 is a mountain running east–west. To the west and the east of the sea of Da Qin, each has a mountain running north–south.

The king of Xiandu 賢督: He is subject to Da Qin. His seat of government is distant by 600 *li* from Sifu 氾復 to the northeast.

The king of Sifu 氾復: He is subject to Da Qin. His seat of government is distant by 340 *li* from Yuluo 于羅 to the northeast across the sea.

[The state] of Yuluo 于羅: He is subject to Da Qin. The seat of the king's government is northeast of Sifu across a river. From Yuluo to the northeast, again crossing a river, [is Anxi]. From Siluo to the northeast, again crossing a river, [is also Anxi].

The state of Siluo 斯羅: It is subject to Anxi and adjoins Da Qin.

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 Mountain. The White Jade Mountain has the Queen Mother of the West. West of the Queen Mother of the West are the Flowing Sands....

...There is in addition the state of Yancai 奄蔡, which is also named Alan 阿蘭. These states all have the same way of life as that of Kangju. [These states] to the west adjoin Da Qin, to the southeast, Kangju.

These passages can prove definitively that “Da Qin,” as seen in the historical works of Han and Wei times, refers to the Roman Empire proper. Of the records relevant to Da Qi in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*, the parts parallel to the records in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) all have been described earlier. In this section, I will stress the parts that are never mentioned in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88)), especially the records relevant to the vassal states of Da Qin.

The reference that the state of Da Qin “lies to the west of the great sea which is west of Anxi and Tiaozi” refers to the fact that the Roman Empire lies to the west of Anxi and Tiaozi (Syria), and the west of the “great sea” (i.e., the Mediterranean).

The reference “From the town of Angu 安谷 on the frontier of Anxi, one travels by boat directly ... and with no wind at all, perhaps three years”: From Antiochia in Syria, one can cross the Mediterranean toward the west to reach Da Qin, i.e., the Roman Empire proper — the Italian Peninsula. The so-called “Angu on the frontier of Anxi” should be “Angu on the western frontier of Anxi.”⁴⁷ As discussed above, “the western frontier of Anxi” had become synonymous with Tiaozi in this memoir. “Angu” 安谷 [an-kok] is undoubtedly an abbreviated transcription of Antiochia; so is also the “Tiaozi” above.

As is recorded in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), when Gan Ying 甘英 was about to cross the sea from Tiaozi, the sailors of the western frontier of Anxi told him, “The

⁴⁷ This is to adopt Ogawa’s theory and that of Miyazaki. Hirth and Shiratori suggest that Angu can be identified with Orchoë (Orkoi) in the Persian Gulf, which is probably incorrect.

sea is vast. With favorable winds it is still only possible for travelers to cross in three months. But if one meets with unfavorable winds, it may even take two years. It is for this reason that those who go to sea always take on board three years' provisions." The time it takes to reach Da Qin from Angu is almost identical with the account here, indicating that "Angu" and "Tiaozi" are in the same place.⁴⁸

"As this state lies west of the sea, it is popularly called 'West of Sea': The Roman Empire proper lies west of the Mediterranean; hence the term, the state of "West of Sea."

"There is a river which comes out from this state. To the west, there is also a great sea": The river refers to the Tiber; the sea, the Tyrrhenian Sea west of the Italian Peninsula.⁴⁹

"海西有遲散城 (To the west of the sea is the town of Chisan 遲散)." should be read as "海西國有遲散城 (There is the town of Chisan 遲散 in the state of the 'West of Sea')." "Chisan" 遲散 and "Wudan" 烏丹 and "Wuchisan" 烏遲散 below must all be corruptions of, or an abbreviations for, "Wuchisandan" 烏遲散丹. For the sentence in the subsequent text, "Continuing on due south one gets to the town of Wuchisan" 復直南行經之烏遲散城, the quotation in *Xu Hou Hanshu* 續後漢書 (ch. 80) by Hao Jing 郝經 (1223–1275) reads, "one gets to the town of Wudanchisan" 經烏丹遲散城: the four characters are written together. They should be Wuchisandan 烏遲散丹, however; the mistake is caused by the "Wudan" 烏丹 and "Chisan" 遲散, and should be reversed. "Wuchisandan" 烏遲散丹 [a-diei-san-tan] is a transcription of Alexandria. The statement, "From below the state, going due north one reaches the town of Wudan 烏丹," means that one can travel north, from the southern end of Da Qi, to Alexandria in Egypt.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Fujita 1943(1) also considers that both the town of Angu and Tiaozi were located in the same place, but he identifies Angu with Aruguna in the Persian Gulf. In my opinion, this view is unconvincing.

⁴⁹ Miyazaki 1939.

⁵⁰ Miyazaki suggested that the statement "經烏丹遲散城" should be read as "經烏丹、遲散城," which refer to Adria and Cisalpina (Gallia) in the Italian Peninsula. In my opinion, the theory is unconvincing, because, although the name of Da Qin's capital was known by the editor of the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*, how could the editor know the other place names in the Italian Peninsula? Moreover, Hirth identifies Wuchisan 烏遲散 or Chisan 遲散 with Alexandria in Egypt, which is correct, but, Wudan 烏丹, with Myos Hormos, which is unconvincing.

“To the southwest, again crossing a river, only after one day does one cross over”: This repeats what is stated in the subsequent text, and is therefore redundant. “There are in all three large capital cities” 凡有大都三: One suspects that something is missing here. The “three capital cities” refers to the three metropolises in the Roman Empire: Rome in Italy, Antioch in Syria, and Alexandria in Egypt.⁵¹

“Now, from the town of Angu, going due north by land one gets to north of the sea. Continuing on due west one gets to west of the sea”: One traveling overland north from Antiochia in Syria can reach “north of the sea,” i.e., north of the Mediterranean: Asia Minor and the Balkans. If he travels further west he can reach “west of the sea,” i.e., Da Qin proper.⁵² In the sentence 復直南行經之烏遲散〔丹〕城: “復” and “經” are redundant (there may be some characters missing after “經”). One traveling south from Antiochia along the shores of the Mediterranean can reach Alexandria.

“Crossing a river”: This river is the Nile. “Going all the way round the sea” 周迴繞海: Alexandria is on the delta of the Nile, protruding into the sea. “One must still always cross over a great sea, and only after six days does one arrive at this state”: It takes six days for one traveling by sea from Antiochia in Syria to reach Alexandria. The “state” here refers to Da Qin’s dependency, i.e., “their feudatory (vassal) petty kingdoms” below; here it refers to the state of Zesan 澤散. It has been stated above that it takes two months at the quickest and three years at the slowest, not six days, to reach Da Qin from the town of Angu 安谷, indicating that the “state” does not refer to Da Qin.⁵³

Moreover, Shiratori identifies Wuchisan 烏遲散 or Chisan 遲散 with Antiochia in Syria, and Wudan 烏丹, with Petra. These two views are unconvincing.

⁵¹ Cf. Hitti 1951, p. 302.

⁵² This is to adopt Miyazaki’s theory.

⁵³ Miyazaki suggested that the character “凡” is a textual error for “否.” The statement “凡當渡大海 (One must still always cross over a great sea)” and so on should be read as “否, 當渡大海六日乃到其國 (If one had done otherwise, one must still always cross over a great sea, and only after six days does one arrive at this state).” The “國 (state)” here refers to the state of Da Qin. In my opinion, these views are unconvincing.

“Zesan” 澤散 [deak-san] can be seen as an abbreviated transcription of “Alexandria”; it also refers to Alexandria of Egypt.⁵⁴ First, the pronunciation of “澤散” and “遲散” is the same. Second, it means “The seat of the king’s government is right in the middle of the sea.” In the preceding statement, this matches the description of going to “the town of Wuchisan[dan] 烏遲散[丹],” “all the way round the sea.” Third, here it says, “It is nearest to the town of Angu [on the western frontier] of Anxi.” This matches the preceding statement “one must still always cross over a great sea, and only after six days does one arrive at this state.” The reason it is written as “澤散” in one place, and “烏遲散丹” in another place is obviously that these come from different sources of information, and the editor did not realize the fact.

“To the north one reaches Lüfen 驢分, going by water for half a year, [but] with favorable winds you arrive after one month”: “驢分” [lia-piuən] refers to the surrounding area of the Propontis Sea.⁵⁵ From Alexandria in Egypt one can cross the Mediterranean toward the north to reach Propontis; if quickly, one can arrive after one month, if slowly, half a year. “To the southwest, one reaches the capital of Da Qin, how many *li* distant we do not know,” “southwest” should be “northwest,” referring to fact that one can cross the Mediterranean toward the northwest to reach the capital of Da Qin, i.e., the Roman city, but the distance is not clear. Zesan, i.e., Alexandria in Egypt, became a dependency of Da Qin in 30 B.C.

“The king of Lüfen 驢分: He is subject to Da Qin. His seat of government is distant 2,000 *li* from the capital of Da Qin”: i.e., the distance to Rome from Propontis was 2,000 *li*. This distance is too short, and may be a mistake of hearsay. “From the town of Lüfen going west to Da Qin one crosses over a flying sea-bridge 230 *li* long”: One traveling west from Propontis over the bridge across the Hellespont Strait could reach the Italian Peninsula. The *History* of

⁵⁴ Miyazaki also identified Zesan 澤散 with Alexandria in Egypt. Hirth suggests correctly that “澤散” is a transliteration of Alexandria, but he suggests Zesan is Alexandria in the Persian Gulf, which is wrong. Shiratori’s theory is roughly the same as Hirth’s. Shiratori identified Zesan with Charax, i.e., the “town of the state of Tiaozhi,” which is also incorrect. This is because we do not know the distance to Da Qin from Zesan, but the itinerary to Da Qin from Tiaozhi is clear.

⁵⁵ This is to adopt the theories of Ogawa and Miyazaki. Hirth identified Lüfen with Nicephorium, and Shiratori, with Edessa (Ruha), which all are unconvincing.

Herodotus (VII, 33–36) records that Xerxes I (r. 486–465 B.C.) built a bridge over the Hellespont Strait when he made an expedition against Greek.⁵⁶ The bridge as seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of *Weilüe* is not necessarily that built by Xerxes I, but it is entirely possible that there did exist a bridge over the strait. Thus the so-called “over sea” was not to take a boat, but to go by the overland route. The length of the bridge, 230 *li*, could be a mistake due to hearsay.⁵⁷

“The route across the sea goes southwest; if one goes round the sea, it is due west”: One went to Roman from Propontis; if by sea, he would travel southwest; if by land, he would travel west along the shores of the Mediterranean. These can contrast with the statements “Now, from the town of Angu 安谷, going due north by land one gets to north of the sea.” In 190 B.C., Asia Minor became subject to Rome. It was at this time that Lüfen, i.e., the Propontis area, became subject to Da Qin.

“The king of Qielan 且蘭: He is subject to Da Qin”: “Qielan” 且蘭 is a corruption of “Danlan” 旦蘭 [dan-lan]. “Danlan” 旦蘭 is a transcription of Tadmor or Tadmora, the ancient name of Palmyra.⁵⁸ Danlan 旦蘭 (Qielan 且蘭) is Palmyra, subject to Da Qin as early as the first century A.D. The laws of the Roman Empire, proclaimed in A.D. 17, had provisions about tax collection in this town. Palmyra was an important hub of communications, a business center, and it became one of the wealthiest cities in the Middle East in the second and third centuries A.D.⁵⁹

The statement “from the state of Sitao 思陶, one goes due south crossing a river” and the following four sentences: one went south over the Euphrates River from Sitao [sə-du], i.e., Sittake,⁶⁰ then went west to cover 3,000 *li* and could arrive in Palmyra.

⁵⁶ See Rawlinson 1947.

⁵⁷ This is to adopt Miyazaki’s theory. Hirth and Shiratori suggest that the “flying bridge” refers to the bridge astride the Euphrates River. In my opinion, this view is unconvincing.

⁵⁸ This is to adopt the theories of Hirth, Shiratori, and Soma concurrently. For Soma’s theory, see Soma 1977(2). Miyazaki identified Qielan with Jerusalem. In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing.

⁵⁹ Hitti 1957, p. 74.

⁶⁰ This is to adopt the theories of Hirth and Shiratori concurrently. Miyazaki identified Sitao with Sidon. In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing.

“One continues on due west to arrive at the state of Sifu 汜復, 600 *li*”: One went west to cover 600 *li* sequentially, and could arrive in “Sifu” [ziə-biuk], i.e., Damascus (Dimasqi, Dammeseq, Dimešq).⁶¹

“After the southern route meets Sifu 汜復, one goes southwest to get to the state of Xiandu 賢督”: “Xiandu” 賢督 [hyen-sjiuk] is a transcription of Hierosōlyma, the ancient name of Jerusalem.⁶² One went southwest from Sifu, i.e., Damascus, and could arrive in Jerusalem. “The southern route meets Sifu” refers to the fact that the Danlan route, Xiandu 賢督 route, and Yuluo route merged in Sifu.

“Jishi” 積石 refers to the transportation hub Petra (Greek: Πέτρα), which lies north of Arabia and west of Hamad. “Πέτρα” means rocks; “Jishi” is its literary translation.⁶³ The statement “Going due south from Qielan and Sifu, [one comes to] Jishi 積石 (‘Accumulated Rocks’).” means that if one went south from Palmyra, Damascus, one could arrive in Petra. Petra town was excavated out from firm rock, which has cliffs on all sides, so that one can go through it only along a twisting path. Between the Jordan River and central Arabia only this city could supply abundant clean water. The southern Arabians who traded in the north might acquire replacement camels and camel drivers here. In the first century A.D., the Roman people protected it as a buffer state with Anxi till A.D. 106, when it was destroyed by Trajan.⁶⁴

“To the south of Jishi is the great sea which produces corals and true pearls.” The “great sea” refers to the Red Sea.⁶⁵

⁶¹ This is to adopt Shiratori’s theory. Hirth identified Sifu with Emesa; Miyazaki, Cyprus; Pelliot 1921, Zeugma (Bambyke). All three theories are unconvincing.

⁶² This is to adopt Shiratori’s theory. Soma 1977(3) holds roughly the same theory, which can be read for reference. Hirth identified Xiandu 賢督 with Damascus; Miyazaki, Creta; and Pelliot 1921, Antiochia in Syria. The three theories are unconvincing.

⁶³ This is to adopt the theories of Hirth, Shiratori, and Soma concurrently. Hirth and Shiratori identified Jishi with Arabia Petra, Soma 1977(1), Petra. Moreover, Miyazaki identified Jishi with the Arabian Desert.

⁶⁴ Hitti 1957, p. 72.

⁶⁵ Hirth, Shiratori and Miyazaki all hold this theory.

"To the north of Qielan, Sifu, Sibin 斯賓 and Aman 阿蠻 is a mountain running east–west." The "mountain" refers to the Taurus Mountains, running west–east.⁶⁶ "To the west and the east of the sea of Da Qin, each has a mountain running north–south": the Apennine Mountains in the Italian Peninsula and the Lebanon Mountains to the east of the Mediterranean; both mountain ranges run north–south.⁶⁷

"The king of Xiandu: He is subject to Da Qin": "Xiandu" refers to Jerusalem, which was located to the southwest of Sifu about 600 *li*. Xiandu's subjection to Da Qin started in 63 B.C. When Rome quelled the Jewish rebellion in Palestine in A.D. 70, the town was destroyed. Later, a new town, called Aelia Capitalina, was built on the site of the old one.

"The king of Sifu: He is subject to Da Qin. His seat of government is distant by 340 *li* from Yuluo 于羅 to the northeast across the sea." Sifu, i.e., Damascus, was subject to Rome, which started in 64 B.C. Three hundred forty *li*, the distance to Yuluo, must be a textual error for 3400 *li*. The phrase "across the sea" must be a textual error for "across the river." The following statement "[The state] of Yuluo 于羅: He is subject to Da Qin. The seat of the king's government is northeast of Sifu across a river" can be taken as evidence. The river here refers to the Euphrates. Yuluo is located on its left side.

"From Yuluo to the northeast, again crossing a river, [is Anxi]. From Siluo to the northeast, again crossing a river, [is also Anxi]": From both Yuluo (Hatra) and Siluo (Seleucia) one crossed the Tigris River and could arrive in Anxi.

"To the west of Da Qin are sea waters" and the text after may be hearsay, so we will leave this aside in our discussion.

I previously annotated the main part of the geography of Da Qin in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*. Of the sources, it is especially worthwhile to note that "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe* differentiates the mainland and dependent territory of Da Qin. The Da Qin's vassal states

⁶⁶ Hirth, Shiratori and Miyazaki all hold this theory.

⁶⁷ "海西東" is read as "海東東" in another version. Hirth and Shiratori read it as "to the east of Da Qin (the state of West of Sea) and the states of East of Sea." Miyazaki reads it as "to the east of Da Qin and the various states which are located to the east of the sea." In my opinion, the two theories are unlikely. Now we follow the punctuated edition by Zhonghua 中華 Press.

recorded definitely are Zesan 澤散, Lüfen 驢分 (Propontis), Danlan 旦蘭 (Palmyra), Xiandu 賢督 (Jerusalem), Sifu 汜復 (Damascus), and Yuluo 于羅 (Hatra). In fact there are also Angu 安谷 and Jishi 積石. These include nearly all the Mediterranean area.⁶⁸ This supports the premis that the mainland of Da Qin is not both Syria and Egypt or Arabia, but is surely the Italian Peninsula.

On the mainland of Da Qin, the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* records the route that one traveled west to it from Anxi. But it it can be pointed out that, due to the fact that they must go a long way and “the water of the sea is bitter and undrinkable, so travelers rarely (succeed in) reaching there.” If Da Qin only refers to the eastern dependencies of Roman Empire, we would be unable to understand this sentence. The “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* recorded that the Alans’ western land adjoined Da Qin. This is because the Alans moved about to the north of the Black Sea.⁶⁹

In reference to the records in the “Xirong Zhuan” 西戎傳 of the *Weilüe* 魏略, the land and sea routes to Da Qin can be summarized as follows:

On land, one travels from Hedu 和犢 (Hecatompylos) in Anxi to Sbin 斯賓 (Ctesiphon) via Aman 阿蠻 (Ecbatana), then cross the Tigris River (via Yuluo 于羅, i.e., Hatra) or the Euphrates River, to travel north and arrive at the town of Angu 安谷 (Antiochia in Syria),

⁶⁸ Shiratori suggests that the Chinese in Han–Wei times did not know the Arabian Peninsula, and considered there was a vast sheet of water between the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, thus they called the region, to the south of the Taucus Mountains, the north of the Mediterranean Sea including Antiochia, Phoenician, Palestine, Egypt and others “Haixi 海西 (West of Sea)” i.e., Da Qin; and they called the region between the Zagros Mountains and the Euphrates River “Haidong 海東 (East of Sea),” namely Sbin 斯賓, Siluo 斯羅, Sitao 思陶, Lüfen 驢分, Yuluo 于羅, Tiaozhi 條枝 (i.e., Zesan 澤散); called Syria proper between the Lebanon Mountains and the Euphrates River “Haibei 海北 (North of Sea),” namely Qielan 且蘭, Sifu 汜復 and Xiandu 賢督. In my opinion, Haixi 海西, Haidong 海東 and Haibei 海北 refer to the region surrounding the Mediterranean Sea. Shiratori’s theory cannot be followed.

⁶⁹ Cf. Yu 1992 (Ch. 6). Moreover, Shiratori suggests that the Yancai (i.e., Alans) was located to the north of the Caspian Sea, and the northern boundary of Da Qin was in Syria. There was a great distance between the two. The reason the text says that Yancai adjoins Da Qin is that the two were separated by lands unknown to the Chinese. In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing.

then to travel north and arrive at Lüfen (Propontis) and cross the strait of Hellespont westward to reach the Italian Peninsula via the area of the Balkans (the so-called “North of the Sea”).

The sea routes include the Northern Route and the Southern Route: On the Northern Route, one crosses the Mediterranean westward from the town of Angu 安谷 (Antiochia in Syria) to reach Rome directly. On the Southern Route, one crosses the Euphrates at Yuluo 于羅 to reach Sifu 汜復 (Damascus), or arrive there from Sitao 思陶 (Sittake) via Danlan 旦蘭 (Palmyra); then goes from Sifu to Zesan 澤散 (also known as Wuchisandan 烏遲散丹, i.e., Alexandria in Egypt) via Xiandu 賢督 (Jerusalem) and Jishi 積石 (Petra), and finally crosses the Mediterranean by boat to the northwest to reach Rome. The Southern Route had Sifu as its transit hub.

In my opinion, this source also shows clearly that Da Qin must refer to the Roman Empire proper.⁷⁰

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Several conclusions can be reached:

- (1) “Tiaozhi” as seen in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji* and “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* refers to the Seleucid Syrian Kingdom. “Tiaozhi” as seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* and the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* mainly refers to the Syrian area that had been ruled by the Syrian Kingdom.
- (2) “Lixuan (Lijian)” as seen in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji* and the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* refers to the Ptolemaic Egyptian Kingdom. “Lixuan (Lijian)” as seen in the

⁷⁰ According to Shiratori, the seaway to Da Qin 大秦 as seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* and the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* is to go from Zesan 澤散 (Charax) or Angu 安谷 (Orchöe), bypass the Arab Peninsula, come into the Red Sea, disembark at Myos Hormos or Arsinoe and arrive in Alexandria in Egypt. There were two land routes to Da Qin: one of them is to go from Zesan 澤散 (Charax) or Angu 安谷 (Orchöe), go up the Euphrates River via Babylon and Mesopotamia, go westward to Wuchisan 烏遲散 (Antiochia in Syria) after reaching Lüfen 驢分 (Edessa), then sail on the Mediterranean Sea and arrive at Alexandria in Egypt. The other is to go from Sitao 思陶 (Sittake) to Alexandria, via Qielan 且蘭 (Palmyra), Sifu 汜復 (Damascus), Xiandu 賢督 (Jerusalem) and 烏丹 (Petra). In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing.

"Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* and the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe* is a synonym of Da Qin.

- (3) "Da Qin" as seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* and the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe* refers to the Roman Empire proper.

2. Records Relevant to the Roman Empire in Ancient Chinese Historical Works¹

A. Official Histories

1 *Shiji* 史記^[1]

1.1.1

安息[2]在大月氏[3]西可數千里[4]。其俗土著[5]，耕田，田稻麥[6]，蒲陶[7]酒。城邑如大宛[8]。其屬小大數百城，地方數千里，最爲大國。臨媯水[9]，有市，民商賈用車及船，行旁國或數千里。以銀爲錢，錢如其王面，王死輒更錢，效王面焉。[10]畫革旁行[11]以爲書記。其西則條枝[12]，北有奄蔡[13]、黎軒[14]。（卷一二三“大宛列傳”）

Anxi 安息^[2] is at a distance of about several thousand *li*^[3] west of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏.^[4] The way of life is that the inhabitants are settled on the soil.^[5] The fields are worked and sown with rice and wheat.^[6] They have wine made of grapes.^[7] Their cities and towns are like those of Dayuan.^[8] Several hundred towns, large and small, belong [to Anxi 安息]. The territory extends for several thousand *li* 里 and it is the largest of the states. It is situated on the Gui 媯 River.^[9] It has markets, and folk and merchants travel by vehicle or ship to the neighbouring states, perhaps several thousand *li* distant. They use silver to make coins, the coins resemble the [image] of their king's face. Whenever a king dies, a change of coinage is cast for others on which the new king's face is represented.^[10] They rule [pieces of] leather, with lines running horizontally^[11] to

¹ This paper compiles records on the Roman Empire (Da Qin) found in ancient books in Chinese. Sources on the Syrian kingdom under the Seleucidae (Tiaozhi 條枝) and the Egyptian kingdom under the Ptolemies (Lixuan 黎軒) also are included. Leslie 1996 is the main reference, because of its accessibility and sensible arrangement.

form written records. West of this state is Tiaozhi 條枝^[12]; north are Yancai 奄蔡^[13] and Lixuan 黎軒.^[14] (The “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*, ch. 123)

- [1] The *Shiji* is complete in 130 chapters; the author is Sima Qian, during the Western Han period.
- [2] Anxi 安息 refers to Parthian Persia. “Anxi” 安息 [an-siək] is generally regarded as a transcription of Arshak, the name of the Parthian royal family.²
- [3] The Da Yuezhi: The predecessor of the Da Yuezhi was the Yuezhi, a nomadic tribe. The Yuezhi were extremely strong in the second century B.C. Their area of rule extended from north of present-day Mount Qilian 祁連 to east of the present-day Tianshan 天山 Mountains and the Altai Mountains in the west. Their influence once even reached both within and outside the area of Hetao 河套 (the Great Bend of the Huanghe River).³ In B.C. 177/176, because of being defeated by the Xiongnu, the Yuezhi abandoned the land they had possessed, and most of them migrated westward to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers. The Yuezhi who migrated to the west are referred to as “Da Yuezhi.” The Da Yuezhi mentioned here, however, were no longer in the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers. About 130 B.C., the Wusun, who were subject to the Xiongnu, launched an expedition against the Da Yuezhi and prevailed. The Da Yuezhi were forced to abandon the Ili and Chu river valleys and migrate west again. They reached the valley of the Amu Darya via Ferghāna, and conquered Daxia, which was located mainly on the south bank of the river. They established their royal court on the north side of the river, controlling the land that used to belong to Daxia.
- [4] “About several thousand *li*”: The approximate distance between the seat of the king’s government of Da Yuezhi and that of Anxi.
- [5] The “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji* classifies the states in the Western Regions into two categories according to their economic formation: those whose people are settled and those whose people are nomads. The nomadic states have strong troops; their people

² On the various problems concerning the Anxi 安息, see Yu 1992, pp. 174–178.

³ On the various problems concerning the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, see Yu 1992, pp. 52–69.

move around with their stock-animals. The states whose inhabitants are settled cultivate the land and build houses and walled towns.

- [6] “The fields are ... sown with rice and wheat”: This is perhaps something Zhang Qian only heard about on his journey, because rice was not produced in Parthian Persia.⁴
- [7] Putao 蒲陶, probably a transliteration of the “buḏawa” in Iranian.⁵
- [8] Dayuan, name of a state in the present Ferghāna Basin.⁶ “Dayuan” [dat-ian] is the transliteration of Tochari.
- [9] The Gui River 焉水 refers to the Amu Darya. “Gui” 焉 [kiua] is a transcription of Vakhshu or Wakshu.
- [10] This reference is to information obtained by Zhang Qian when he first reached the Western Regions. The time is during the reign of the Parthian king Fraates II (c. 138/137–129 B.C.). The obverse of the coins there represented the king’s face. The statement, “Whenever a king dies, a change of coinage is cast for others on which the new king’s face is represented,” reflects the custom in the ancient Middle East.⁷
- [11] “With lines running horizontally”: *Shiji jijie* 史記集解 quotes *Hanshu yinyi* 漢書音義: “[They] write horizontally to form written records.”
- [12] Tiaozi 條枝: the Syrian kingdom under the Seleucids. Tiaozi 條枝 [diəu-tjie] is an abbreviated transcription of [An]tiochi[a], the kingdom’s capital.⁸
- [13] Yancai: a tribe of nomads active north of the Aral Sea.⁹ Yancai [iam-tziat] may be taken as a transcription of “Asii.”
- [14] Lixuan refers to the Egyptian kingdom under the Ptolemies. Lixuan 黎軒 [lyei-xian] is an abbreviated transcription of the kingdom’s capital, [A]lexan[dria].¹⁰

⁴ Laufer 1919, pp. 372–373.

⁵ Laufer 1919, pp. 221–245.

⁶ On the various problems of Dayuan 大宛, see Yu 1992, pp. 70–95.

⁷ Cf. Sun Y 1978.

⁸ On the various problems concerning Tiaozi 條枝, see Yu 1992, pp. 182–209.

⁹ On the various problems concerning the Yancai 奄蔡, see Yu 1992, pp. 118–130.

1.1.2

條枝在安息西數千里^[15]，臨西海^[16]。暑溼。耕田，田稻^[17]。有大鳥^[18]，卵如甕。人衆甚多，往往有小君長，而安息役屬之，以爲外國。^[19]國善眩^[20]。安息長老傳聞條枝有弱水^[21]、西王母^[22]，而未嘗見。^[23]（卷一二三 “大宛列傳”）

Tiaozhi 條枝 is at a distance of several thousand *li*^[15] west of Anxi 安息. The state is situated on the Western Sea;^[16] it is warm and damp; the fields are worked and sown with rice;^[17] there are birds' eggs as [large as water] jars.^[18] The population is very numerous and in many places there are minor overlords or chiefs. Anxi 安息 subjugated it and treated it as an outer state;^[19] the people are expert at conjuring.^[20] It is said: The elders of Anxi 安息 have learned by hearsay that in Tiaozhi 條枝 there is the Weak Water^[21] and the Queen Mother of the West;^[22] but they have all the same never seen them.^[23] (The “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*, ch. 123)

[15] “Several thousand *li*”: The approximate distance between the seat of the king's government of Anxi and that of Tiaozhi.

[16] The Western Sea here refers to the Mediterranean Sea.

[17] The fields are ... sown with rice”: This is something Zhang Qian only heard about and mistakenly believed.¹¹

[18] “Big birds”: The big birds are commonly believed to have been ostriches.

[19] “Anxi subjugated it and treated it as an outer state”: Tiaozhi here was subject to Anxi and served as its subordinate state. According to Western historical works, during the reign of the king of Anxi, Mithridates I (171–139/138 B.C.), the state reached the height of its power. It captured the Syrian king, Demetrius II (c. 145–139/138 B.C. and 129–125 B.C.), who invaded Anxi. Fraates II, who succeeded to the throne, defeated the invading Syrian

¹⁰ On the various problems concerning Lixuan 黎軒, see Yu 1992, pp. 182–209.

¹¹ Laufer 1919, pp. 372–373.

army for the second time, wiping out 300,000 troops and killing their king, Antiochus VII (c. 139/138–129). Fraates II later released Demetrius II, imprisoned by Mithridates I, and wedded his daughter as his consort.¹² It should not be difficult to see that this act of Fraates's was in order to control Syria more effectively and that Demetrius II, for his own release and restoration, had to make certain promises in response to the political and economic demands of the Persians. This is perhaps the background for the inclusion of Tiaozhi, which is subject to Anxi, in the text.

[20] "The people are expert at conjuring": According to Yan's commentary quoted by the *Shiji zhengyi* 史記正義, "These days, performances such as swallowing a knife, puffing out fire, having melons multiply and trees grow, hacking humans, dissecting horses are examples." This is the earliest record of the intercourse between Egypt and Persia.

[21] "The Weak Water": The water that is not able to bear boats. But the Ruoshui 弱水 here is perhaps a textual error for Ruoshui 若水. Ruoshui is imagined to be in the western extremity, perhaps because of certain ancient memories held by some of the peoples or tribes who had migrated from the west.¹³

[22] "Queen Mother of the West": According to one theory, her prototype is Kouababa, i.e., Cybele, the great goddess of Anatolia, and she is also related to such deities as Anat, worshipped in the city-states like those on the shores of the Mediterranean in Syria during the fourteenth to twelfth centuries B.C.¹⁴ In the Chinese works (such as *Mutianzi Zhuan* 穆天子傳), the Queen Mother of the West is always placed in the western extremity. The text here even more explicitly states that the deity is on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, which accords with the theory that she is Cybele. Perhaps early on Cybele was one of the deities and, toward the end of the Hittite Empire at 1180 B.C., she was taken to be the patron goddess of the Phoenicians, the new conquerors of Anatolia. Her position became more exalted, and her influence extended to the entire Mediterranean

¹² Debevoise 1937, pp. 22–25, 33–35.

¹³ Cf. Yu 2000, pp. 29–52.

¹⁴ Mori 1986.

region. She was accepted by the Greeks and Romans. If the Queen Mother of the West is really Cybele, this can be regarded as an example, recorded in Chinese historical works, of the spread of Mediterranean culture in the east.

- [23] The Queen Mother of the West and the Weak Water are often mentioned together, but there is no evidence that there is any necessary or inevitable connection between them. The two may descend from the early memories of some tribes among the ancient Chinese, who had migrated from the west; they, however, do not necessarily belong to the same system.

2 *Hanshu* 漢書^[24]

1.2.1

烏弋山離國^[25]，王^[26]去長安萬二千二百里^[27]。不屬都護^[28]。戶口勝兵^[29]，大國也。東北至都護治所六十日行^[30]，東與罽賓^[31]、北與撲挑^[32]、西與犁軒^[33]、條支^[34]接。

The state of Wuyishanli 烏弋山離.^[25] The seat of the royal government^[26] is 12,200 *li*^[27] from Chang'an. It is not subject to the Protector General^[28]. [There are many] households, individuals, and persons able to bear arms,^[29] and it is a large state. To the northeast it is a distance of sixty days' journey^[30] to the seat of the Protector General. It adjoins Jibin^[31] in the east, Putiao 撲挑^[32] in the north, and Lijian 犁軒^[33] and Tiaozhi 條支^[34] in the west.

- [24] The *Hanshu* is complete in 100 chapters. The author is Ban Gu 班固 in Eastern Han times.

- [25] Wuyishanli 烏弋山離, the name of a state in the Western Regions. In c. 130 B.C. the second western migration of the Da Yuezhi drove some of the Sakās to invade Parthian Persia from Sogdiana and Tukhārestān, and to occupy Drangiana and Arachosia. Drangiana was consequently called Sakāstān. These Sakās had once been crushed by Mithridates II (124/123–87 B.C.), but they proclaimed independence soon after the latter's

death. The state of Wuyishanli 烏弋山離 here is in fact the kingdom of the Sakās, whose political center was in Sakāstān. Wuyishanli 烏弋山離 [a-jiək-shean-liai] is a transcription of Alexandria, i.e., Alexandria Prophthasia.¹⁵

[26] After the character *wang* 王 (king), the character *zhi* 治 (government) is missing, as well as the name of the seat of the king’s government.¹⁶ The seat of the king’s government of Wuyishanli is probably located in Alexandria Prophthasia.¹⁷

[27] “12,200 *li*”: This should be the distance between Wuyushanli and Chang’an via the seat of the king’s government of Jibin. The text states that Jibin “adjoins ... Wuyishanli in the southwest.” Wuyishanli was to the southwest of Jibin, and it is also stated that the king’s government of Jibin “is 12,200 *li* from Chang’an.” The distance from Wuyishanli to Chang’an could not be the same as that between Jinbin and Chang’an. The figure is therefore wrong.

[28] Protector General 都護: According to Yan’s commentary, “*du* 都 is the same as *zong* 總 (general), and the title means to protect both the Southern and Northern Routes.” According to the “Baiguan Gongqing Biao 百官公卿表 A” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 19A), “The Protector General of the Western Regions is an additional office. It was first established in the second year of the Dijie 地節 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (68 B.C.), when [Zheng Ji], the Commandant of Cavalry and Grand Master of Remonstrance, was sent to act as the protector of thirty-six states in the Western Regions.” Zheng Ji was first given the title “[the Colonel for the Assistance of Imperial Envoys for] Protecting the Western Regions” in the second year of the Dijie reign-period, when he was the Gentleman in Attendance in charge of the agricultural colonies at Quli. However, he was also called “[the Colonel for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys for Protecting Shanshan 鄯善 and the West” because he did not have charge of the various states on the Northern Route until he routed Jushi and was promoted to the Major of the Guards in the winter of

¹⁵ On the various problems related to Wuyishanli 烏弋山離, see Yu 1992, pp. 168–181.

¹⁶ Hulsewé 1979, p. 112, note 253.

¹⁷ Yu 1992, pp. 168–171.

that year. The Protector General of the Western Regions had a rank equivalent to 2,000 piculs. He established his general headquarters, having his seat in the town of Wulei 烏壘, the seat of the king’s government of Wulei. According to the same chapter, subordinates of the Protector General of the Western Regions include “one Assistant 丞 and two men each ranked as Major 司馬, Scout 候 and Head of a Thousand Men 千人.”

[29] Following 戶口勝兵 (individuals, and persons able to bear arms), there should have been the character *duo* 多 (numerous).

[30] “Sixty days’ journey”: This must be the distance from the seat of the king’s government of Wuyishanli to Wulei 烏壘 via the seat of the king’s government of Jibin. The distance between the seat of the king’s government of Jibin and the town of Wulei is 6,840 *li*, which exceeds “sixty days’ journey.” Therefore, the figure here is wrong.

[31] Jibin 罽賓 refers to the area of Gandhāra (the middle and lower reaches of the Kabul River including Puṣkalāvātī and Taxila). Jibin 罽賓 [kiat-pien] is a transcription of Kophen, an ancient name for Kabul.¹⁸

[32] Putiao 撲挑 here refers to Bactra. Putiao 撲挑 [phok-dyô] is a transcription of Bāχtri.

[33] Lijian 犁軒 is the same as the Lixuan 黎軒 in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*; they refer to the Ptolemy dynasty in Egypt. In the “Dili zhi 地理志” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 28B), it is recorded that there was a “Lijian” 驪軒 County in Zhangye 張掖 Prefecture. And there is “Lijian” 犂軒 in “Zhang Qian, Li Guangli Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 61). Yan Shigu writes in his commentary that “Lijian 犂軒 was just the state of Da Qin 大秦, and Lijian 驪軒 County in Zhangye 張掖 Prefecture was probably named after the state.” In my opinion, Yan’s commentary is inadequate. Lijian 犂軒 is the same as the Lijian 犁軒 in this text. It is acceptable to take Lijian 驪軒, Lijian 犁軒 and so on as different transliterations of the same name. Should Lijian 驪軒 County have been named after the state of Lixuan 黎軒, it must have had something to do with the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt. Since Alexandria in Egypt was celebrated for its flourishing commerce, and its merchants had left their mark in every corner in the world, it is then not

¹⁸ On the various problems concerning Jibin 罽賓, see Yu 1992, pp. 144–167.

impossible that some of them arrived in the Hexi 河西 region and eventually were naturalized. Of course, it is also possible that the Western Han established a county by the name “Lijian” 驪軒 just because it was bringing people from remote places to court, and it boasted that its “imperial power and prestige could be exercised throughout the area within the four seas.” It is not necessarily true that the Lixuan 黎軒 people had come over and submitted to Han. It should be pointed out that Da Qin is identified with the Roman Empire, which should not be confused with Lixuan 黎軒 or Lijian 犁軒.

[34] Tiaozhi 條支 is the same as the Tiaozhi 條枝 in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*, referring to Seleucid Syria.

行可百餘日^[35]，乃至條支。國臨西海，暑溼，田稻。有大鳥，卵如甕。人衆甚多，往往有小君長，安息役屬之，以爲外國。^[36]善眩。安息長老傳聞條支有弱水、西王母，亦未嘗見也。^[37]自條支乘水西行，可百餘日，近日所入云。

After traveling for some hundred days^[35] one then reaches Tiaozhi 條支. The state is situated on the Western Sea;^[279] it is warm and damp, and the fields are sown with rice;^[280] there are birds, whose eggs as large as [water] jars.^[281] The population is very numerous and in many places there are minor overlords or chiefs. Anxi 安息 subjugated it and treated it as an outer state;^[36] the people are expert at conjuring.^[37] The elders of Anxi 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.

[35] “After traveling for some hundred days one then reaches Tiaozhi”: This is the distance from the seat of the king’s government of Wuyishanli to that of Tiaozhi via that of Anxi. The statement does not mean that one can reach Tiaozhi from Wuyishanli directly. The subsequent text reads, “Proceeding by the Southern Route from the Yumen and the Yang barriers, and travelling south through Shanshan, one reaches Wuyishanli, which is the

extreme point of the Southern Route; and turning north and then proceeding eastward [*sic*; should be "westward"] one arrives at Anxi." Since Wuyishanli is at the extreme point of the Southern Route, the journey of some hundred days here refers to the time needed to travel from the capital of Wuyishanli northward to Anxi and then westward to Tiaozhi.

[36] Anxi "treated it as an outer state" 以爲外國: According to Yan's 顏 commentary, "Anxi treats Tiaozhi 條支 as an outer state, the same as saying a barbarian state 蕃國."

[37] This paragraph is based on the "Dayuan Liezhuan" of the *Shiji*.

烏弋地暑熱莽平，其草木、畜產、五穀、果菜、食飲、宮室、市列、錢貨、兵器、金珠之屬皆與罽賓同，而有桃拔^[38]、師子、犀牛。俗重妄殺。^[39]其錢獨文爲人頭，幕爲騎馬。以金銀飾杖。絕遠，漢使希至。自玉門、陽關出南道，歷鄯善而南行，至烏弋山離，南道極矣。^[40]轉北而東得安息。（卷九六上“西域傳”）

The land of Wuyi[shanli] is very hot; it is covered in vegetation and flat. For matters such as grass, trees, stock-animals, the five field crops, fruit, vegetables, food and drink, housing, market-stalls, coinage, weapons, gold and pearls, [conditions] are identical with those of Jibin, but there are antelope,^[38] lion, and rhinoceros. The way of life is such that a serious view is taken of arbitrary murder.^[39] The obverse of the coins is exclusively that of a human being's head with a mounted rider on the reverse; and their staves are embellished with gold and silver. [The state] is cut off and remote, and Han envoys reach it only rarely. Proceeding by the Southern Route from the Yumen and the Yang Barriers, and traveling south through Shanshan, one reaches Wuyishanli, which is the extreme point of the Southern Route;^[40] and turning north and then proceeding eastward one arrives at Anxi. (The "Xiyuzhuan" of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A)

[38] "Taobo" 桃拔 probably refers to the giraffe. Yan's commentary quotes Meng Kang: "Taobo is also called *fubo* 符拔, which looks like a deer with a long tail. Those with one antler are perhaps the so-called "natural deer", while those with two are perhaps "bixie"

辟邪 [a supernatural animal]. Lions are like tigers; they are yellow in colour, have thick beards and whiskers, and on the tips of their tails there is a mass of hair as large as a *dou* 斗 measure.”¹⁹ Another theory is that “*taobo*” 符拔 is a transcription of βούβαλις.²⁰

[39] The way of life is such that a serious view is taken of arbitrary murder” 俗重妄殺: This is probably a description of the belief in Buddhism in that state.²¹

[40] “The extreme point of the Southern Route”: A Han envoy could travel on the Southern Route westward to Pishan 皮山. From Pishan, he could travel in the southwestern direction to Wucha 烏秣. From Wucha he could reach Jibin via the Suspended Crossing. From Jibin he could reach the seat of the king’s government of Wuyishanli by travelling westward for more than sixty days. This is the so-called “Jibin and Wuyishanli Route.” If the Han envoy wished to travel further west, he had to travel north from the seat of the king’s government of Wuyishanli to Anxi, and then proceed west from Anxi.

1.2.2

安息國，王治番兜城^[41]，去長安萬一千六百里^[42]。不屬都護。北與康居、東與烏弋山離、西與條支接。土地風氣，物類所有，民俗與烏弋、罽賓同。亦以銀爲錢，文獨爲王面，幕爲夫人面。王死輒更鑄錢。有大馬爵^[43]。其屬小大數百城，地方數千里，最大國也。臨媯水，商賈車船行旁國。書革^[44]旁行爲書記。

The state of Anxi 安息. The seat of the king’s government is at the town of Fandou 番兜^[41], and it is distant by 11,600 *li*^[42] from Chang’an. It is not subject to the Protector General. It adjoins Kangju 康居 in the north, Wuyishanli in the east, and Tiaozi in the west. The land, climate, type of goods and the people’s way of life are identical with those of Wuyi[shanli] and Jibin. Likewise they use silver to make coin, the obverse being decorated exclusively with the [image] of

¹⁹ Cf. Hulsewé 1979, pp. 114–115, note 262.

²⁰ Chavannes 1906, esp. 232.

²¹ *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu* 漢書西域傳補注 (Vol. 1).

the king’s face and the reverse with that of his consort. Whenever a king dies, a change of “coinage is cast. There are large horses and large horselike birds.”^[43] Several hundred towns, large and small, belong [to Anxi]. The territory extends for several thousand *li* (Its territory is several thousand *li* square.) and it is the largest of the states. It is situated on the Gui 嫫 River. Its merchants travel by vehicle or ship to the neighbouring states. They rule [pieces of] leather,^[44] with lines running horizontally to form written records.

[41] “Fandou” 番兜 [phiuan-to] is probably a transcription of Parθava or Parthia.

[42] “11,600 *li*”: This must refer to the distance from the capital of Anxi to Chang’an via the seat of the king’s government of Da Yuezhi. According to this text, from the Da Yuezhi one reaches Anxi in the west after “49 days’ journey.” Since Anxi is to the west of the Da Yuezhi, the distance from Anxi to Chang’an could not be the same as that from the Da Yuezhi to Chang’an. The figure here must be wrong. The “11,600 *li*” could have been an error for “16,500 *li*.”

[43] Horse-like birds 大馬爵: Yan’s commentary quotes the *Guangzhi* 廣志: “The necks of these large birds can bend to their chests and abdomens. Their feet are shaped like those of camels. They are blue in colour, and are eight to nine *chi* 尺 tall. Their wings measure more than one *zhang* 丈 when spread out. They take oats as food.” The horse-like birds must be the “large birds” 大鳥 mentioned in the previous text.

[44] “*Shu ge*” 書革 should be amended into *hua ge* 畫革 according to the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*.²²

武帝始遣使至安息，王令將將二萬騎迎於東界。^[45]東界去王都數千里^[46]，行比至，過數十城，人民相屬。因發使隨漢使者來觀漢地，以大鳥卵^[47]及犁靬眩人^[48]獻於漢，天子大說。安息東則大月氏。（卷九六上“西域傳”）

²² See *Dushu Zazhi* 讀書雜誌, ch. 4, the fifteenth. This chapter, quoted by the “Siyi 四夷, the thirteenth” of “Xirong 西戎, the second” of the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 793) reads “書” as “畫”.

Emperor Wu was the first to send envoys to Anxi. The king ordered a general to take a force of 20,000 cavalry to greet them at the eastern border.^[45] The eastern border is several thousand *li*^[46] distant from the king’s capital. When in the course of a journey one is about to approach [the capital] one passes through towns which can be numbered in the tens, and where settlements are uninterrupted. [The king] took the occasion to send out [his own] envoys to come to Han in company with the Han envoys so as to observe Han territory. They took large birds’ eggs^[47] and conjurors from Lijian 犁軒^[48] as a present for the Han [emperor], and the Son of Heaven was delighted. East of Anxi are the Da Yuezhi. (The “Xiyuzhuan” of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A)

[45] “Emperor Wu was the first to send envoys to Anxi”: The first envoy to Anxi from Han during the reign of Emperor Wu must have been the deputy envoy dispatched by Zhang Qian when he was on the mission to Wusun. Zhang Qian’s mission to Wusun occurred early in the Yuanding 元鼎 reign period, and this deputy envoy must have reached Anxi in the first or second year of the Yuandiang reign period (116 or 115 B.C.). At the time, Mithridates II’s (c. 124/123 B.C.-87 B.C.) attack against the Sakās was close to victory, and his army was gathered on the eastern border. It was probably because of this that Mithridates II sent a force of 20,000 cavalry to greet the Han envoy.

[46] “Several thousand *li*”: The figure follows the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*.

[47] The large birds’ eggs: According to Yan’s commentary on the “Zhang Qian, Li Guangli Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 61), “These birds’ eggs are as [large as] the water jars.” The large birds’ eggs brought to the Han as a present by the envoys from Anxi were originally the products of Tiaozhi.

[48] According to the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji* (ch. 123), “The people [of Tiaozhi] are expert at conjuring.” The text here also makes a similar statement. However, in both books the conjurors, as a present offered by Anxi’s envoys, were called “conjurors from Lixuan 黎軒” or “conjurors from Lijian 犁軒.” It is therefore possible that there were conjurors not only in Tiaozhi, but also in Lixuan. If the statement here about the

conjurers in Tiaozhi follows the *Shiji*, and the basis of the *Shiji* is just the hearsay of Zhang Qian, it is possible that Lixuan was the only state whose people were expert at conjuring.

3 *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書^[49]

1.3.1.1

[永元]九年，徼外蠻及揮國^[50]王雍由調遣重譯奉國珍寶，和帝賜金印紫綬，小君長皆加印綬、錢帛。^[51]（卷八六“南蠻西南夷列傳”）

In the first year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (A.D. 97), the barbarians beyond the frontier and the king of the state of Dan 揮^[50], Yongyoudiao 雍由調, all presented their treasure *via* multiple interpreters. Emperor He 和 gave [Yongyoudiao] the golden seals and purple ribbons. Other minor chiefs were added seal and ribbons, money and silk. (“Nanman Xinanyi Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*, ch. 86)

[49] The *Hou Hanshu* is complete in 90 chapters. The author is Fan Ye 范曄 in Liu Song times.

[50] It is generally believed that Danguo 揮國 is by the northeastern border of the present Myanmar.

[51] In the “Hedi Ji” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 4), it is recorded that “In the first year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period (A.D. 97), in the spring, in the first month, the barbarians beyond the frontier of Yongchang and the state of Dan 揮 presented tribute *via* multiple interpreters.”

1.3.1.2

永寧元年，揮國王雍由調復遣使者詣闕朝賀，^[52]獻樂及幻人^[53]，能變化吐火，自支解，易牛馬頭。又善跳丸，數乃至千。自言我海西人^[54]。海西即大秦^[55]也，揮國西南通大秦。（卷八六“南蠻西南夷列傳”）

In the first year of the Yongning 永寧 reign-period (A.D. 120), the king of the state of Dan 撣, Yongyoudiao 雍由調, again sent an envoy to the palace to pay respect,^[52] bringing music performers and magicians,^[53] who could transform, puff out fire, dissect themselves, change the heads of the ox and the horse, and juggle—they could catch the balls up to a thousand times. They said that they were from the West of the Sea.^[54] “The West of the Sea” refers to Da Qin,^[55] which could be reached from the southwest of the state of Dan. (“Nanman Xinanyi Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*, ch. 86)

[52] In the “Andi Ji” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 5) it is recorded that in the first year of the Yongning reign-period, in the twelfth month, the state of Dan from beyond the frontier of Yongchang sent envoys to present tribute.

[53] Magicians here must be the conjurors seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96).

[54] The “West of the Sea” refers to Da Qin. Da Qin was called “West of the Sea” because it was located to the west of the Western Sea. It is possible that the magicians came from Lijian; they described themselves as “West of the Sea,” because the state of Lijian had been annexed by Da Qin.

[55] “Da Qin” refers to the Roman Empire.²³

1.3.2.1

[永元]六年，班超^[56]復擊破焉耆^[57]，於是五十餘國悉納質內屬。^[58]其條支^[59]、安息諸國至于海^[60]瀕四萬里外^[61]，皆重譯貢獻。九年，班超遣掾甘英窮臨西海^[62]而還。皆前世所不至，《山經》^[63]所未詳，莫不備其風土，傳其珍怪焉。^[64]於是遠國蒙奇^[65]、兜勒^[66]皆來歸服，遣使貢獻。^[67]（卷八八“西域傳”）

In the sixth year, Ban Chao^[56] attacked again and defeated Yanqi.^[57] Thereupon, more than 50 states all offered hostages and entered [the Han Empire] as

²³ See this book, ch. 1.

subjects.^[58] States such as Tiaozhi 條支^[59] and Anxi 安息, and those right up to the edge of the sea,^[60] more than 40,000 *li* distant,^[61] all presented tribute *via* multiple interpreters. In the ninth year, Ban Chao dispatched his adjutant Gan Ying 甘英 all the way to the coast of the Western Sea^[62] and back. Former generations have never reached any of these places, nor has the *Classic of the Mountains* ^[63] given any details of them. He made a report on the customs and topography of all these states, and transmitted an account of their precious objects and marvels.^[64] Thereupon the distant states Mengqi 蒙奇^[65] and Doule 兜勒^[66] both came to make their submission, sending envoys to present tribute.^[67] (“Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*, ch. 88)

[56] Ban Chao (A.D. 32–102) was the second Protector General of the Eastern Han 漢; his term as Protector General must have been from B.C. 91 to 102. See his biography in the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 47).

[57] Yanqi 焉耆, an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu*. The site of the king’s government of Yanqi is generally believed to be at Bogda Qin (i.e., Dənzil kona xəhiri, 12 kilometers southwest of the seat of government of the present Yanqi County).

[58] According to the “Hedi ji” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 4), in the seventh month of the sixth year of the Yongyuan reign-period (A.D. 94), “Ban Chao, the Protector General of the Western Regions, defeated Yanqi and Weili, and killed their kings. Since then the Western Regions have been subject to [Han], and over fifty states have sent hostages.”

[59] Tiaozhi here refers to the Syrian area that was ruled by the Syrian kingdom under the Seleucidae.²⁴

[60] “The sea”: This refers to the sea by Tiaozhi and Anxi, which is also the “Western Sea” faced by Gan Ying in the subsequent text. It must refer to the Mediterranean Sea.

[61] “More than 40,000 *li* distant” refers to the distance between Chang’an and the area beyond the Mediterranean Sea.

²⁴ Cf. Yu 1992, pp. 182–209.

- [62] "The Western Sea" refers to the Mediterranean Sea.
- [63] "The Classic of the Mountains" (山經 *Shan Jing*) refers to the Classic of Mountains and Seas (*Shanhai Jing* 山海經).
- [64] The Eastern Han's management of the Western Regions attained its zenith with the three states of Yanqi and others subdued. Not only did the various states which had been subject to the Western Han Dynasty all send hostages and become attached to the court, but Tiaozhi, Anxi, and even those states and areas as far as over 40,000 *li* distant all presented tribute via multiple interpreters. It was during this situation that Ban Chao sent Gan Ying westwards. The statement, "all the way to the coast of the Western Sea and back," refers to the fact that Gan Ying returned after he had arrived at Tiaozhi by the Mediterranean. Gan Ying must have started out from Qiuci. He perhaps crossed the Congling Mountains and arrived at the town of Hedun 和犢, the capital of Anxi, via Dayuan and Da Yuezhi, after going west to Shule from Qiuci. Then he passed by Aman 阿蠻, Sibi 斯賓, and Yuluo 于羅 and reached Tiaozhi. As is recorded in this chapter, "If one turns to the north and then east, and again goes on horseback for more than 60 days, one reaches Anxi." He returned to the east by way of Mōuru 木鹿 and Tuhārestān.
- [65] "Mengqi" 蒙奇 [mong-gia] must be a transcription of Margiana.²⁵ Margiana is a province on the border of Anxi. It had been in a semi-independent state due to the decline of the Parthian royal house, which is perhaps the reason it sent envoys to Han. This chapter regards Mengqi as the name of a state, with Mōuru as its capital.
- [66] "Doule" 兜勒 [to-lək] should be a transcription of Thuhāra, and a variation on the transcription of Tuhāra.²⁶ Tuhāra is Daxia 大夏, at that time subject to Guishuang 貴霜, and it probably enjoyed a measure of autonomy, for it could send envoys to the Eastern Han.
- [67] According to the "Hedi Ji" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 4), "In the eleventh month [of the twelfth year of the Yongyuan reign-period (A.D. 100)], the two states of Mengqi and

²⁵ CH 1979, p. 1627.

²⁶ Wang G 1959–1.

Doule of the Western Regions sent envoys to acknowledge their submission to the court. Their kings were presented with gold seals and purple ribbons.” We can infer that these two states’ acknowledgment of their submission would not have happened without the mission of Gan Ying, though it was also a result of increasing influence of the Eastern Han Dynasty. Considering the timing of the two envoys, it is very likely that they came to the east together with Gan Ying.

1.3.2.2

自皮山西南經烏秣^[68]，涉懸度^[69]，歷罽賓^[70]，六十餘日^[71]行至烏弋山離國，地方數千里，時改名排特。^[72]復西南馬行百餘日至條支。^[73]

From Pishan 皮山 to the southwest, traversing Wucha 烏秣,^[68] passing through the Suspended Crossing,^[69] and crossing Jibin 罽賓,^[70] after over 60 days’ travel^[71] one reaches the state of Wuyishanli 烏弋山離. Its territory is several thousand *li* square. At this time, its name has been changed to Paite 排特.^[72] Traveling southwest again for over 100 days on horseback one reaches Tiaozhi 條支.^[73]

[68] Wucha烏秣, an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, is first seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu*. The site of the king’s government of Wucha is probably located in the present Hunza.²⁷

[69] 懸度 should be 縣度 (the Suspended Crossing) in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu*. The Suspended Crossing 縣度 is located between Darel and Gilgit in the upper reaches of the Indus.

[70] Jibin 罽賓 is located in the middle and lower reaches of the Kabul River.

[71] “Over 60 days’ travel”: The distance from the seat of the king’s government of Pishan to that of Wuyishanli via that of Jibin. According to the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu*, the distance from the seat of the king’s government of Wuyishanli to the town of Wulei 烏壘

²⁷ Matsuda 1975, Ma Y 1990–2.

is “sixty days’ travel,” which is not accurate. According to this chapter, the “sixty days’ travel” should be the distance between the seat of the king’s government of Wuyishanli and that of Pishan.

[72] The state of Wuyishanli 烏弋山離 is located in Alexandria Prophthasia, first seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu*. The “Paichi” 排持 in this chapter comes from the “Paite” 排特 in the “Xi Rong Zhuan” 西戎傳 of the *Weilüe* 魏略, when “te” 特 is confused with “chi” 持 owing to their similarity in form. “Paite” 排特 [buəi-dək] is an abbreviated transcription of Prophthasia.

[73] This is to say that one can go southwest to Tianzhi from the capital of Anxi.

條支國城在山上，周回四十餘里。臨西海，海水曲環其南及東北，三面路絕，唯西北隅通陸道。^[74]土地暑溼，出師子、犀牛、封牛、孔雀、大雀^[75]。大雀其卵如甕。^[76]

The state of Tiaozhi 條支: It has its town situated on a hill. The town is more than 40 *li* in circumference. The town borders the Western Sea. The seawater curves around it from the south to northeast, so that access is cut off on three sides. Only in the northwest corner is there communication with the land route.^[74] The land is hot and damp. It produces lions, rhinoceros, humped buffalo (*zebu*), peacocks, and ostriches,^[75] whose eggs are as large as pots.^[76]

[74] The town of the state of Tiaozhi here seems to be Seleucia, the outer harbor of Antiochia, the original capital of the Seleucids. Since “the town borders the Western Sea,” the situation that “the seawater curves around it” may be what Gan Ying 甘英 had seen with his own eyes when he was “about to take his passage across the sea.”²⁸

[75] “*Da que*” 大雀 here are ostriches.

[76] Since it is clearly recorded that Gan Ying was an envoy of the Eastern Han Dynasty who arrived at Tiaozhi, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the information in this passage derived from him.

²⁸ Cf. Miyazaki 1939.

轉北而東，復馬行六十餘日^[77]至安息，後役屬條支，爲置大將，監領諸小城焉。^[78]（卷八八“西域傳”）

If one turns to the north and then east, and again goes on horseback for more than 60 days,^[77] one reaches Anxi 安息, which later subjugated Tiaozi 條支, appointing a military governor with control over all the small towns in it.^[78] (“Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*, ch. 88)

^[77] “More than 60 days”: The distance between Tiaozi and the capital of Anxi. “If one turns to the north and then east”: This is a follow-up of “traveling southwest ... on horseback,” and should not be understood as being rigidly exact.

^[78] “後役屬條支” and so on: This can only be understood to mean that Anxi subjugated Tiaozi. The term “*yishu*” 役屬 is used the same way as in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*, while in other places in this chapter it is used differently; for example, “The state of Da Qin: ... Its territory is several thousand *li* square; it has over 400 walled cities. Small states which can be numbered in the tens are subject to it.” This is evidence that this chapter copies the *Hanshu* concerning Tiaozi. “Appointing a military governor” is something imagined, based on the record of Tiaozi in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji* that “there are minor overlords or chiefs.” This contradicts the statement that “Anxi ... later subjugated Tiaozi”: since Anxi “appoint[s] a military governor with control over all the small towns in it,” it must have annexed Tiaozi, rather than just having Tiaozi subject to it. As a matter of fact, Tiaozi, i.e., Syria, had been destroyed by Rome, and it was impossible for it to be subject to Anxi or under its control in the times of Ban Chao or Ban Yong. Anxi invaded the Syrian area, which had become Roman territory, twice: the first time in 51 B.C. (the third year of the Ganlu 甘露 of Emperor Xuan 宣), when Antiochia was besieged; the second time in 40 B.C. (the fourth year of the Yongguang 永光 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元), when Antiochia was taken, but it

lasted only for over one year, and it would seem to be out of the question to appoint a military governor to control it.²⁹

1.3.2.3

安息國居和犢城^[79]，去洛陽二萬五千里^[80]。北與康居接，南與烏弋山離接。地方數千里，小城數百，戶口勝兵最爲殷盛。其東界木鹿城^[81]，號爲小安息，去洛陽二萬里^[82]。

The state of Anxi 安息: It has its residence at the town of Hedu 和犢^[79]. It is distant by 25,000 *li*^[80] from Luoyang. In the north it adjoins Kangju 康居, and in the south Wuyishanli 烏弋山離. Its territory is several thousand *li* square. There are several hundred small towns, and in households and individuals and (in the number of) those able to bear arms, it is the most flourishing of states. On its eastern border is the town of Mulu 木鹿^[81], which is called Little Anxi, and is distant by 20,000 *li* from Luoyang.^[82]

[79] Hedu 和犢, the capital of early Anxi. “Hedu” 和犢 [huai-dok] is an abbreviated transcription of Hecatompylos.

[80] “25,000 *li*”: This is probably the distance from the capital of Anxi at that time to Luoyang via the seat of the king’s government of Da Yuezhi.

[81] Mulu 木鹿 is located in the present Merv and the surrounding areas. “Mulu” 木鹿 [mu-lok] is generally regarded as a transcription of Mōuru.

[82] “20,000 *li*”: The distance from Mulu to Luoyang via the seat of the king’s government of Da Yuezhi.

章帝章和元年^[83]，遣使獻師子、符拔^[84]。符拔形似麟而無角。和帝永元九年，都護班超遣甘英使大秦^[85]，抵條支。臨大海欲度，而安息西界船人謂英曰：“海水廣大，往來者逢善風三月乃得度，若遇遲風，亦有二歲者，故入海人皆齎三歲糧。海中善使人思土戀慕，數有死亡者”。英聞之乃止。^[86]十

²⁹ Downey 1961, pp.143–162.

三年，安息王滿屈^[87]復獻師子及條支大鳥，時謂之安息雀^[88]。（卷八八“西域傳”）

In the first year of the *Zhanghe* 章和 reign-period (A.D. 87),^[83] [Anxi] sent an envoy who presented gifts of lions and *fuba* 符拔^[84] (antelopes?). The *fuba*’s 符拔 shape resembles a *lin* 麟 (unicorn), but it has no horns. In the ninth year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 (A.D. 97), the Protector General, Ban Chao, sent Gan Ying 甘英 as an envoy to Da Qin 大秦.^[85] He arrived at Tiaozhi 條支, overlooking the great sea. When he was about to take his passage across the sea, the sailors of the western frontier of Anxi told [Gan] Ying: “The sea is vast. With favorable winds it is still only possible for travelers to cross in three months. But if one meets with unfavorable winds, it may even take two years. It is for this reason that those who go to sea always take on board three years’ provisions. There is something in the sea which is apt to make men homesick, and several have there thus lost their lives.” It was when he heard this that [Gan] Ying gave up.^[86] In the 13th year, the king of Anxi Manqu 滿屈,^[87] again offered a gift of lions and of ostriches from Tiaozhi, [which people] at the time called Anxi fowls.^[88] (“Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*, ch. 88)

[83] It is recorded in the “Hedi Ji” in the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 4) that in the second year of the *Zhanghe* 章和 reign-period (A.D. 88), “The state of Anxi 安息 sent an envoy to present lions and *fuba*.” This record is different from this chapter, which states that the event occurred in the first year. However, the record in this chapter may be incorrect. According to the “Zhangdi Ji” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 3), in the first year of the *Zhanghe* reign-period (A.D. 87), “the state of Yuezhi 月氏 sent an envoy to present lions and *fuba* 扶拔.” This record would be believable if we read it together with the related record in the “Ban Chao Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*. From this, it can be seen that the state that sent envoys to present lions and *fuba* in the first year was the Yuezhi, not Anxi.³⁰

³⁰ Cf. Yu 1995, p. 92.

- [84] “*Fuba*” 符拔 is written as “*fuba*” 扶拔 in the “Hedi Ji” 和帝紀 of the *Hou Hanshu*, which should be the “*taoba*” 桃拔 in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu*.
- [85] Da Qin 大秦 refers to the Roman Empire proper, i.e., the present Italian Peninsula.³¹
- [86] “There is something in the sea ...”: In the section “Xi Rong” 西戎 B in the chapter “Si Yi (the third)” 四夷三 of the *Tongzhi* 通志 (ch. 196), the text is quoted, but reads somewhat differently: “There is something in the sea which is apt to make men homesick, and several have thus lost their lives there. If the Han envoy did not have attachment to his parents, his wife and children, then he could enter [the sea]. It was when he heard this that [Gan] Ying gave up.” Da Qin was a place that the people of the Eastern Han had deeply admired, but Gan Ying who “was sent as an envoy to Da Qin” was just a subordinate of the Protector General of the Western Regions. He was not sent by the imperial court. From this aspect alone, it can be seen that the Eastern Han’s management of the Western Regions was not nearly as active as the Western Han’s.
- [87] Manqu 滿屈 is generally regarded as the king of Parthian Persia, Pacorus II (c. 78–115/116).
- [88] According to the “Hedi Ji” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 4), “in the eleventh month of the winter [of the thirteenth year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period (101 A.D.)], the state of Anxi sent an envoy to present lions and large birds from Tiaozi.” Tiaozi, i.e., the Syrian region, was called “the western border of Anxi,” therefore “large birds from Tiaozi” would be called “Anxi birds.” “Large birds” here are ostriches.

1.3.2.4

自安息西行三千四百里^[89]至阿蠻國^[90]。從阿蠻西行三千六百里^[91]至斯賓國^[92]。從斯賓南行度河，又西南至于羅國^[93]九百六十里^[94]，安息西界極矣。自此南乘海，乃通大秦。其土多海西珍奇異物焉。^[95]（卷八八“西域傳”）

From Anxi 安息 going west 3,400 *li*^[89] one reaches the state of Aman 阿蠻,^[90] then going west from Aman 3,600 *li*,^[91] one reaches the state of Sibin 斯賓;^[92]

³¹ See this book, ch. 1.

then from Sibin, going south, crossing a river, and continuing southwest, one reaches the state of Yuluo 于羅,^[93] after 960 *li*,^[94] the extreme western frontier of Anxi. From here one puts to sea to the south, and only then does one communicate with Da Qin 大秦. In this land are many of the jewels and exotica of the west of the sea.^[95] (“Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*, ch. 88)

[89] “3,400 *li*”: The distance between the seats of the kings’ government of Anxi and Aman.

[90] “Aman” 阿蠻 [a-mean] is a transcription of Ecbatana.

[91] “3,600 *li*”: The distance between Aman and Sibin.

[92] “Sibin” 斯賓 [sie-pien] is a transcription of Ctesiphon.

[93] “Yuluo” 于羅 [hiua-la] is probably a transcription of Hatra. “Southwest” and “south” are probably errors for “north.”

[94] “960 *li*”: The distance between Sibin and Yuluo.

[95] It is possible that this passage was from Gan Ying. The journey to Tiaozhi via Aman 阿蠻 (Ecbatana), Sibin 斯賓 (Ctesiphon), Yuluo 于羅 (Hatra) from the capital of Anxi, the town of Hedu 和犢, i.e., Hekotompylos, may be the route Gan Ying had traversed. According to the “Hedi Ji” 和帝紀 of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 4), the state of Anxi had already sent its envoys to pay tribute in the second year of the Zhanghe 章和 reign-period (A.D. 88) of Emperor Zhang 章, but it is more likely that the related records were from the Han envoys, since the distance of each section of the journey was given in the Han *li*, and Gan Ying was the only envoy of the Eastern Han dynasty known to have made the full journey.

1.3.2.5

大秦國一名犁鞞^[96]，以在海西，亦云海西國。地方數千里，有四百餘城。小國役屬者數十。以石爲城郭。列置郵亭，皆堊墍之。有松柏諸木百草。人俗力田作，多種樹蠶桑^[97]。皆髡頭而衣文繡^[98]，乘輜輶白蓋小車，出入擊鼓，建旌旗幡幟。

The state of Da Qin 大秦: It is also called Lijian 犁鞬.^[96] Since it is situated to the west of the sea, it is also called "state of West of the Sea." Its territory is several thousand *li* square; it has over 400 walled cities. Small states which can be numbered in the tens are subject to it. The outer wall of the cities is made of stone. They have established posting stations, all covered with plaster. There are pines and cypresses, as well as all other types of trees and plants. Their customs are as follows: they devote themselves to agriculture, and plant a large number of silkworm mulberry trees.^[97] They all shave their heads, but wear embroidered clothes.^[98] [The king] rides upon a small carriage, surmounted by a small wagons with white covers. When he goes out and returns, a drum is hit, and flags, banners and pennants are hoisted.

[96] "Lijian" 犁鞬 [lyei-kian] and "Lixuan" 黎軒 in the "Dayuan Liezhuan" of the *Shiji* are variations in the transcription of the same name. In the "Dayuan Liezhuan" of the *Shiji*, Lixuan refers to Ptolemaic Egypt. In this chapter, "Lijian" has, objectively, become synonymous with Da Qin. Lixuan, i.e., Ptolemaic Egypt, was so far away from Han that, by the time it became a Roman province in 30 B.C. (the third year of the Jianshi 建始 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成), it was still not well known to the Han people; all they knew was its approximate location. But when the Han people had an opportunity to understand the world in the west more thoroughly, Lixuan no longer existed, whereas the name of Da Qin was widely known. Since the former Lixuan had become a part of Da Qin, and those from there who had visited Han might have referred to themselves as the people of Da Qin, the Han people naturally confused the two names, thinking that they were one; hence the statement in this memoir: "The state of Da Qin: It is also called Lijian."

[97] "They ... plant a large number of silkworm mulberry trees": In the age described in this chapter, Da Qin, or the Roman Empire, had not grown mulberry trees or raised

silkworms. The descriptions here are the idealization or imagination about Da Qin by the Han people at that time, and should not be taken as truth.³²

[98] "They all shave their heads, but wear embroidered clothes": "They ... wear embroidered clothes" or "Hu clothes" is only a general statement. "They all shave their heads": This is not the custom of the Romans at that time.³³

所居城邑，周園百餘里。城中有五宮，相去各十里。^[99]宮室皆以水精爲柱，食器亦然。^[100]其王日遊一宮，聽事五日而後徧。常使一人持囊隨王車，人有言事者，卽以書投囊中，王至宮發省，理其枉直。各有官曹文書。置三十六將，皆會議國事。^[101]其王無有常人，皆簡立賢者。國中災異及風雨不時，輒廢而更立，受放者甘黜不怨。^[102]其人民皆長大平正，有類中國，故謂之大秦。^[103]

The city where he resides is more than 100 *li* in circumference. In this city are five palaces which are ten *li* apart from one another.^[99] In all the rooms of these palaces, the columns are made of crystal glass, as are the eating utensils in them.^[100] The king travels each day to one of these palaces to hear cases. At the end of five days, he has thus completed a circuit [of these five palaces]. A man carrying a bag is constantly charged with following the royal chariot. When anyone has anything to say to the king, his document is thrown into the bag. Having arrived at the palace, the king opens the bag, examines the contents [of the document], and decides if the petitioner is right or wrong. For each [of the palaces] there is a body of divisional officials and written archives. They have appointed 36 generals who all meet together to discuss affairs of state.^[101] As for the king, he is not a permanent figure, but is chosen as being the most worthy. When a calamity or uncanny event or winds or rains out of season occur in the state, then he is deposed immediately and someone else is put in his place. The

³² For details, see this book, ch. 3.

³³ Leslie 1996, pp. 48, 113.

one who is thus deposed accepts mildly his dismissal and does not get angry at it.^[102] The people are generally tall and straight featured. They resemble the people of the Middle Kingdom, and that is why the state is called Da Qin.^[103]

[99] Statements such as "In this city are five palaces," and "The king travels each day to one of these palaces" are not completely in agreement with the reality at that time. Some think that this is imagined in accordance with current thoughts concerning five directions.³⁴

[100] "The columns are made of crystal glass": This shows the extent of idealization of the people at that time.

[101] "A man carrying a bag is constantly charged with following the royal chariot": This does not completely conform with the reality of the Roman Empire. This, according to some, is imagined by the Chinese based on the legends about Yao 堯, Shun 舜, and Yu 禹, who used five musical instruments to discern the concerns of those who wanted to speak with them.³⁵

[102] "As for the king, he is not a permanent figure": This does not completely conform with the reality of the Roman Empire. Some think that this is an idealization of Da Qin based on the political practice of Yao 堯 and Shun 舜, when they abdicated in favor of a competent person.³⁶ This theory is plausible, but to depose the king in his lifetime would be beyond the ken of the Chinese at that time, when they had just chosen Confucianism as the state philosophy. This, therefore, awaits further study.

[103] "Da Qin" 大秦 seems to be the name of the Roman Empire among the people of Central Asia, because Qin is the name of the Central Kingdom among the people of the Northern and Central Asia. The Roman Empire was referred to as Qin, because, to the people of Central Asia, it resembled the Central Kingdom. "Da" was used, because the Roman Empire was the largest state in the west. As for the statement that "the people are

³⁴ For details, see Shiratori 1971–3, esp. 271–281.

³⁵ For details, see Shiratori 1971–3, esp. 268–271.

³⁶ For details, see Shiratori 1971–3, esp. 265–268.

generally tall," it was imagined by the people in China based on the name of Da Qin; it is also a result of idealization.³⁷

土多金銀奇寶，有夜光璧^[104]、明月珠^[105]、駭鷄犀^[106]、珊瑚、虎魄^[107]、琉璃^[108]、琅玕^[109]、朱丹^[110]、青碧^[111]。刺金縷繡^[112]、織成^[113]、金縷罽^[114]、雜色綾。作黃金塗^[115]、火浣布^[116]。又有細布，或言水羊毳^[117]，野蠶繭^[118]所作也。合會諸香，煎其汁以爲蘇合^[119]。凡外國諸珍異皆出焉。

The soil produces lots of gold, silver and rare jewels, including: the jewel which shines at night,^[104] the full-moon pearl,^[105] the rhinoceros which frightens chickens,^[106] corals, amber,^[107] opaque glass,^[108] *langgan* 琅玕 (pearl-like stone),^[109] red cinnabar,^[110] blue-green *bi* 碧,^[112] embroidered tissues with gold threads,^[112] *Zhicheng* 織成,^[113] woven gold-threaded tapestries,^[114] and damask of many colours, and make gold-painted (cloth),^[115] and "cloth washed in fire" (asbestos).^[116] They also have a delicate cloth which some say is the wool of sea sheep,^[117] but which is really made from cocoons of wild silkworms.^[118] They mix all sorts of fragrances and boil the mixture to make storax.^[119] It is from this state that all the various marvellous and rare objects of foreign states come.

[104] "The jewel which shines at night" 夜光璧: According to some, it refers to a kind of diamond.³⁸

[105] "The full-moon pearl" 明月珠: Jewelry that shines. According to some, it is a kind of diamond;³⁹ to others, it refers to the eye of the whale.⁴⁰

[106] The "Deng She" 登涉 (Into Mountains: Over Streams) chapter of the *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (Neipian內篇 [Inner Chapters], ch. 17): "If a Tongtian 通天 rhinoceros horn with a red

³⁷ See this book, ch. 1.

³⁸ Zhang H 1993, pp. 102–103.

³⁹ See Zhang H 1993, pp. 102–103.

⁴⁰ See Schafer 1963, pp. 237–239.

streak in it like a thread running from base to tip is filled with rice and placed in the midst of a flock of chickens, the chickens will wish to pick at it, but before they get within a few *cun* 寸 of it they will be frightened and run away. People from the south, therefore, sometimes call this horn a chicken-frightening rhinoceros horn.” For “red streak” 赤理, the text quoted in the Li commentary reads, “white streak” 白理.⁴¹

[107] “*Hupo*” 虎魄 (amber) is first seen in the “*Xiyu Zhuan*” of the *Hanshu*. According to Li’s commentary on the “*Wang Fu* 王符 *Zhuan*” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 49), “According to the *Guangya* 廣雅, ‘*Hupo* 虎魄 are jewels.’ They grow under the ground, reaching down eight or nine *chi* 尺. Above the ground and by its side nothing else will grow. At first they are like *prunus persica*, but they harden to become *hupo*. The local people use them as pillows. They are products of Jibin 罽賓 and Da Qin.”

[108] “Opaque glass” 琉璃: They are classified into natural and artificial types; the natural type is, according to some, the *bi liuli* 璧流離 (jade-like opaque glass).⁴²

[109] “*Langgan*” 琅玕 (pearl-like stone), according to some, is the balas ruby.⁴³

[110] “*Zhudan*” is, according to some, red cinnabar.⁴⁴

[111] “Blue-green *bi*” 青碧 is a type of malachite.⁴⁵

[112] “Embroidered tissues with gold threads” 刺金縷繡, as well as the “woven gold-threaded tapestries” 金縷罽, are fabrics woven with gold threads.⁴⁶

[113] *Zhicheng* 織成, a kind of valuable fabric.⁴⁷

[114] *Ji* 罽, a kind of wool fabric.

[115] “*Huangjin tu*” 黃金塗, according to some, is gold-painted (cloth).⁴⁸

⁴¹ Leslie 1996, p. 202.

⁴² Zhang H 1993, pp. 1–26.

⁴³ Zhang H 1993, pp. 27–34.

⁴⁴ Hirth 1885, p. 41; Leslie 1996, p. 49.

⁴⁵ Zhang H 1993, pp. 359–362.

⁴⁶ Hirth 1885, pp. 253–254.

⁴⁷ Cf. Cai 1998, pp. 30–31.

- [116] “Huo huan bu” 火浣布 (Cloth washed in fire) is generally believed to be made of asbestos.⁴⁹
- [117] “The wool of sea sheep” 水羊毳, according to some, is fabric made by mussels.⁵⁰
- [118] “Cocoons of wild silkworms” 野蠶繭: There was silk from the cocoons of wild silkworms in the state of Da Qin, which is also seen in the *Natural History* (XI, 26) of Pliny (23–79 A.D.).⁵¹
- [119] “Storax” (*suhe* 蘇合): The record in this chapter can be read in light of “Hainan zhuguo Zhuan” 海南諸國傳 of the *Liangshu* 梁書 (ch. 54). The original meaning of *suhe* 蘇合 is not clear.⁵²

以金銀爲錢，銀錢十當金錢一。與安息、天竺^[120]交市於海中，利有十倍。其人質直，市無二價。穀食常賤，國用富饒。鄰國使到其界首者，乘驛詣王都，至則給以金錢。其王常欲通使於漢，而安息欲以漢繒綵與之交市，故遮閼不得自達。^[121]至桓帝延熹九年，大秦王安敦^[122]遣使自日南徼外獻象牙、犀角、瑇瑁，始乃一通焉。^[123]其所表貢，並無珍異，疑傳者過焉。^[124]

They make coins from gold and silver, ten silver coins being equal to one gold coin. [Da Qin] trades by sea with Anxi and Tianzhu,^[120] the profit is tenfold. The people are honest and frank; there are no double prices in the market. The cereals and food are always cheap, the resources of the state are abundant. When the envoys of a neighbouring state arrive at the border, they ride with the courier services to reach the royal capital, and when they arrive they are immediately given golden coins. The king of this state always wanted to enter into diplomatic

⁴⁸ Leslie 1996, p. 215.

⁴⁹ For details, see Laufer 1919, pp. 498–501; Schafer 1963, pp. 199–200; Zhang H 1993, pp. 206–207.

⁵⁰ On the sea sheep, see Leslie 1996, p. 239 and Schafer 1963, pp. 202–204. The other theories on this subject, cf. Shiratori 1971–1, esp. 178–180.

⁵¹ Bostock 1855.

⁵² The related studies see Laufer 1919, pp. 456–460; Schafer 1963, pp. 168–169; Leslie 1996, p. 204.

relations with the Han. But the Anxi wanted to trade with them in Han silk and so put obstacles in their way, so that they could never have direct relations [with Han].^[121] Until the ninth year of the *Yanxi* 延熹 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓 (A.D. 166), Andun 安敦, king of Da Qin,^[122] sent an envoy from beyond the frontier of Rinan 日南 who offered elephant tusk, rhinoceros horn, and tortoise shell. It was only then that for the first time communication was established [between the two states].^[123] The document listing their tribute had nothing at all precious or rare. Thus one suspects that those who have written about it (Da Qin) have erred.^[124]

[120] “Tianzhu” 天竺 refers to India. The “Tianzhu” 天竺 [thyen-tiuk] here and the “Shendu” 身毒 seen in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji* and the “Tiandu” 天竺 in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* are variations in the transcription of the same name.

[121] According to Procopius (IV, 17), “About the same time certain monks arrived from the (country of the) Indians, and, learning that the Emperor Justinian had it much at heart that the Romans should no longer buy silk from the Persians, they came to the king and promised that they would so manage about silk that the Romans should not have to purchase the article either from the Persians or from any other nation.” The record in this chapter can be read in light of the statement “But the Anxi wanted to trade with them in Han silk and so put obstacles in their way, so that they could never have direct relations [with Han]” and so on.⁵³

[122] “Andun 安敦, king of Da Qin” is generally believed to be the fifth Antonine emperor of the Roman Empire, Marcus Aurelius Antonius (c. A.D. 161–180).

[123] According to the “Huandi Ji” 桓帝紀 of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 7), in the ninth month of the ninth year of the *Yanxi* 延熹 reign-period (A.D. 166), “the king of Da Qin sent an envoy to present gifts.” This shows that the first direct contact between Da Qin, i.e., the Roman Empire, and the Eastern Han did not come about until the ninth year of the *Yanxi* reign-period. From this, one can see that the envoys of the various states described as

⁵³ Dewing 1914.

“right up to the edge of the sea, more than 40,000 *li* distant, all presented tribute via multiple interpreters” after the sixth year of the Yongyuan 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 did not include envoys from Da Qin, i.e., the Roman Empire proper. In fact, the reference, which only generally mentions the various states “right up to the edge of the sea, more than 40,000 *li* distant” but does not mention Da Qin, has already hinted this. However, it should be pointed out that, in all probability, the envoys who came over to pay tribute from the dependencies of Da Qin divulged information about the state, and this inspired Ban Chao to send Gan Ying on the mission to Da Qin, which added to the Han people’s understanding about the western world.

[124] Combining this with the above-cited record in the “Xinan Yi liezhuan” 西南夷列傳 of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 86), the admiration of Da Qin on the part of the Han people at that time can be seen.

或云其國西有弱水^[125]、流沙^[126]，近西王母^[127]所居處，幾於日所入也。
《漢書》云，“從條支西行二百餘日，近日所入”；則與今書異矣。^[128]前世漢使皆自烏弋以還，莫有至條支者也。^[129]又云：“從安息陸道繞海北行出海西至大秦，人庶連屬，十里一亭，三十里一置，^[130]終無盜賊寇警。而道多猛虎、師子，遮害行旅，不百餘人，齎兵器，輒爲所食”。^[131]又言：“有飛橋數百里可度海北諸國”。^[132]所生奇異玉石諸物，譎怪多不經，故不記云。
(卷八八“西域傳”)

Some say: To the west of this state are the Weak Water^[125] and the Flowing Sands,^[126] which are near to the place where the Queen Mother of the West^[127] lives, and which are almost where the sun sets. When the *Hanshu* says, “If you travel from Tiaozi for more than 200 days you draw near the place where the sun sets,” it is not in agreement with the present work.^[128] Envoys of the Han in former generations all came back from Wuyi[shanli] [烏弋]山離; not one of them got as far as Tiaozi.^[129] It is also said that from Anxi by the land-route, one goes around north of the sea, comes out from the west of the sea, and arrives in Da Qin. The population [of Da Qin] is dense; each ten *li* there is a *ting* 亭 (relay), and

each thirty *li* a *zhi* 置 (postal station).^[130] There is thus never any alarm caused by the attacks of robbers, but on the route there are many fierce tigers and lions which intercept and harm travelers. If the party does not include over 100 men furnished with arms, they are invariably devoured.^[131] It is also said that there is a flying bridge, several hundred *li* long, over which one can pass to the various states north of the sea.^[132] The various exotica and precious stones that it produces are bizarre and often not genuine, hence are not recorded here. (“*Xiyu Zhuan*” of the *Hou Hanshu*, ch. 88)

[125] “The Weak Water” (Ruoshui 弱水) first appears in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*.

[126] According to the section of “Yongzhou” 雍州 in the “Yugong” 禹貢 of the *Shangshu* 尚書, “He [Yu 禹] surveyed the Weak Water as far as Heli 合黎, from which its superfluous waters went away among the Flowing Sands.” The Weak Water is generally believed to be the Shandan 山丹 River and the Ejina River. The Flowing Sands refers to the Tengger Desert. The Flowing Sands is mentioned because of the Weak Water; its specific location could not be ascertained.

[127] “The Queen Mother of the West” first appears in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*.

[128] “When the *Hanshu* says ...”: Originally Tiaozi was regarded as the place where the sun sets, but it is now thought that Da Qin is the place: This is a result of the widening knowledge about the west on the part of the Chinese. Note: This section is taken from the “Xi Rong Zhuan” 西戎傳 of the *Weilue* 魏略, the so-called “present work” in this chapter.

[129] “Envoys of the Han in former generations all came back from Wuyi[shanli]”: This statement follows the related records in the section on Wuyishanli in the “*Xiyu Zhuan*” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96A). The original intention was to say that there were no Han envoys who arrived at Tiaozi via Wuyishanli, not to say that no Han envoy ever arrived at Tiaozi.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Yu 1992, pp. 169–171, 187–188.

- [130] There were relay stations in Rome and Anxi, where “serai” were established for the caravans of the merchants to rest, but they should not be described as “each ten *li* there is a *ting* 亭 (relay), and each thirty *li* a *zhi* 置 (postal station).” Some scholars believe that this is only an idealized version based on the practice of Han, and should not be believed in its entirety.⁵⁵
- [131] In reference to the records in the “Xi Rong Zhuan” 西戎傳 of the *Weilüe* 魏略, the land- and sea-routes to Da Qin can be summarized as follows: On the land, one travels from Hedu 和犢 in Anxi to Sibin 斯賓 via Aman 阿蠻, then crosses the Tigris River (via Yuluo 于羅) or the Euphrates River to travel north and arrive at the town of Angu 安谷, then crosses the strait of Hellespont toward the east to reach the Italian Peninsula via the area of the Balkans (the so-called “North of the Sea”). The sea-routes include the Northern Route and the Southern Route: On the Northern Route, one crosses the Mediterranean westward from the town of Angu to reach Rome directly. On the Southern Route, he crosses the Euphrates at Yuluo to reach Sifu 汜復, or arrive there from Sitao 思陶 via Danlan 旦蘭; then goes from Sifu to Zesan 澤散 (also known as Wuchisandan 烏遲散丹, i.e., Alexandria in Egypt) via Xiandu 賢督 and Jishi 積石; and finally crosses the Mediterranean by boat to the northwest to reach Rome. The Southern Route had Sifu as its hub.
- [132] The “flying bridge” 飛橋 refers to the bridge on the Strait of Hellespont; from Propontis going westwards one can reach the Italian Peninsula.

1.3.2.6

天竺，一名身毒^[133]，在月氏之東南數千里^[134]。俗與月氏同，而卑溼暑熱。其國臨大水^[135]。乘象而戰。其人弱於月氏，脩浮圖道^[136]，不殺伐，遂以成俗。從月氏、高附國以西，南至西海，東至磐起國^[137]，皆身毒之地。^[138]身毒有別城數百，城置長。別國數十，國置王。雖各小異，而俱以身毒為名，其時皆屬月氏。^[139]月氏殺其王而置將，令統其人。土出象、犀、瑇瑁^[140]、

⁵⁵ Shiratori 1971–3, esp. 280–282.

金、銀、銅、鐵、鉛、錫，西與大秦通，有大秦珍物。⁵⁶（卷八八“西域傳”）

The state of Tianzhu: Also named Shendu 身毒，^[133] it lies several thousand *li*^[134] southeast of Yuezhi. Its customs are the same as those of Yuezhi, and it is low, damp, and very hot. It borders a large river.^[135] The inhabitants ride on elephants in warfare; they are weaker than the Yuezhi. They practise the way of *Futu* 浮圖 (the Buddha)^[136], [and therefore] it has become a custom [among them] not to kill or attack [others]. From west of the states Yuezhi and Gaofu, and south until the Western Sea, and east until the state of Panqi 磐起，^[137] all is the territory of Shendu.^[138] Shendu has several hundred separate towns, with a governor, and separate states which can be numbered in the tens, each with its own king. Although there are small differences among them, they all come under the general name of Shendu, and at this time all are subject to Yuezhi.^[139] Yuezhi have killed their kings and established a general in order to rule over their people. The land produces elephants, rhinoceros, tortoise shell,^[140] gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, and tin. It communicates to the west with Da Qin, and (so) has the exotica of Da Qin.⁵⁶ (“*Xiyu Zhuan*” of the *Hou Hanshu*, ch. 88)

⁵⁶ The ensuing statement states that “以下”和帝時，數遣使貢獻，後西域反畔，乃絕。至桓帝延熹二年、四年，頻從日南徼外來獻 (During the reign of Emperor He (89–105 A.D.) envoys were sent to present tribute time and again. This was only interrupted later when the Western Regions rebelled. When we come to the second and fourth years of the *Yanxi* 延熹 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓, they repeatedly came with tribute from beyond the frontier of Rinan 日南.)” The state that “repeatedly came with tribute from beyond the frontier of Rinan” was probably Tianzhu 天竺, not Da Qin 大秦. The ensuing statement is that “以下”和帝時，數遣使貢獻，後西域反畔，乃絕。至桓帝延熹二年、四年，頻從日南徼外來獻 (During the reign of Emperor He (89–105 A.D.) envoys were sent to present tribute time and again. This was only interrupted later when the Western Regions rebelled. When we come to the second and fourth years of the *Yanxi* 延熹 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓, they repeatedly came with tribute from beyond the frontier of Rinan 日南.)” The state that “repeatedly came with tribute from beyond the frontier of Rinan” was probably Tianzhu 天竺, not Da Qin 大秦.

- [133] Shendu 身毒, in the valley of the present Indus. Shendu [sjien-tuk] is a transcription of the Sindhu in Sanskrit and the Hindu in Iranian.
- [134] “Several thousand *li*”: This figure follows the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*.
- [135] The “large river” refers to the Indus River.
- [136] “The way of *Futu*” 浮圖道 refers to Buddhism; “*Futu*” is a transcription of Buddha.
- [137] The state of Panqi 磐起國 is located in the present Myanmar (Burma). “Panqi” 磐起 [buan-khiə] is noted as “Panyue” 盤越 [buan-hiut] in the “Xi Rong Zhuan” 西戎傳 of the *Weilüe* 魏略; it should be a transcription of Pyū (Prū or Prome).
- [138] Tianzhu 天竺 is Shendu 身毒, consisting mainly of the valleys of the Indus River. However, as is stated in this text, “From west of the states Yuezhi and Gaofu, and south until the Western Sea, and east until the state of Panqi, all is the territory of Shendu,” and if Panqi is the present Myanmar (Burma), then the name must have a more general meaning.
- [139] “All are subject to Yuezhi”: In reference to the text above, this refers to the *status quo* after Yangaozhen had ascended the throne. It seems that the Guishuang power reached part of the present Myanmar (Burma).
- [140] The “tortoise shell” 瑇瑁, according to some scholars, refers to the shell of *Chelonia imbricate*.⁵⁷

1.3.2.7

論曰：西域風土之載，前古未聞也。漢世張騫懷致遠之略^[141]，班超奮封侯之志，^[142]終能立功西遐，羈服外域。……其後甘英乃抵條支而歷安息，臨西海以望大秦，拒玉門、陽關者四萬餘里，靡不周盡焉。（卷八八“西域傳”）

Discussion: In antiquity, the customs and topography of the Western Regions were not known. In Han times, Zhang Qian 張騫 conceived a plan to attract the distant [states],^[141] and Ban Chao 班超 resolved to take the title of nobility.^[142]

⁵⁷ Cf. Schafer 1963, p. 245.

After all, both had made contributions in the distant Western Regions, convinced the outer countries and brought them to submission.... Only after this did Gan Ying 甘英 reach Tiaozhi and cross Anxi. Overlooking the Western Sea, he gazed out at Da Qin in the distance. For more than 40,000 *li* beyond the Yumen and Yang Barriers, there were no (areas) that had not been completely explored. ("Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu*, ch. 88)

[141] Zhang Qian was an envoy of the Western Han dynasty, his "Life and Works of Zhang Qian" can be found in the "Dayuan Liezhuan" 大宛列傳 of the *Shiji* and the "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli Zhuan" 張騫李廣利傳 of the *Hanshu* (ch. 61).

[142] The "Ban Chao Liezhuan" 班超列傳 of the *Hou Hanshu*: "Ban Chao came to Luoyang with his mother. His family being poor, he was often employed by officials to copy documents, so as to support his mother. The job was time-consuming and hard, and he often dropped his brush and sighed, 'Even without other ambitions and means to realize them, a man should emulate Fu Jiezi 傅介子 and Zhang Qian 張騫 to accomplish something in other lands, so as to be ennobled. How could he be a copyist, amidst brushes and inkstones, for long?' Others laughed at him. [Ban] Chao replied, 'How could little men know the ambition of a hero?' Later he visited a physiognomist, who said, 'The Libationer is an educated commoner, but he will be ennobled for his deeds in lands thousands of *li* away.' [Ban] Chao asked him to comment on his physical characteristics. 'You have the chin of a swallow and the neck of a tiger—you can fly and eat the prey,' the physiognomist replied. 'This is the look of someone who will be ennobled for his accomplishments ten thousand *li* away.'"

4 *Weilüe* 魏略 ^[143]

1.4.1

道從燉煌^[144]玉門關^[145]入西域，前有二道，今有三道。從玉門關西出，經婼羌^[146]轉西，越葱嶺，經縣度，入大月氏^[147]，爲南道。^[148]

As for the routes which, leaving the Yumen 玉門 Barrier^[145] in Dunhuang 燉，^[144] go out to the Western Regions, there used to be two, but now there are three. The Southern Route^[148] is the one which, leaving the Yumen Barrier, goes out to the west, crosses the Ruo Qiang,^[146] turns to the west, crosses over the Cong Mountains and traverses the Suspended Crossing, and comes out at the Da Yuezhi 大月氏.^[147]

^[143] The *Weilüe* is complete in fifty chapters. The author is Yu Huan 魚豢, a native of the state of Wei in Three Kingdoms times. The book was lost long ago. The present book (only one chapter) was compiled by Wang Renjun 王仁俊, a man of the Qing period.

^[144] The name in this memoir refers to the Dunhuang Prefecture of the Cao Wei 曹魏; its seat of government is to the west of the present Dunhuang 敦煌.

^[145] “The Yumen Barrier” 玉門關: First seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu*. It is the same as the “Yumen” 玉門 in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*. Its site is to the northwest of the present Dunhuang.

^[146] Ruo Qiang 婼羌 is an oasis state on the Southern Route of the Western Regions, first seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” 西域傳 of the *Hanshu*. The seat of the royal government of Ruo Qiang was probably located in the valley of the present-day Chulakkan River.⁵⁸

^[147] The “Da Yuezhi” 大月氏 here refers to the Kushan kingdom, not the Da Yuezhi who migrated west from the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers.

⁵⁸ Zhou L 1983, suggests that the site of Ruo Qiang’s king’s government is located in Akxokesay.

[148] According to the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96) and the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), the Southern Route started with the Yumen Barrier or the Yang 陽 Barrier, went west to the town of Wuni 扞泥, the capital of Shanshan 鄯善 by skirting the northern edge of the Southern Mountains, then went west to Qiemo 且末 and the various states to the west of Qiemo from the town of Wuni 扞泥. However, according to this chapter, this route, after starting out from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier, "goes out to the west and crosses the Ruo Qiang." Based on the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96), the state of Ruo Qiang was "distant by 1,800 *li* from the Yang Barrier and 6,300 *li* from Chang'an 長安," and the state of Shanshan was "distant 1,600 *li* from the Yang Barrier and 6,100 *li* from Chang'an." This shows that, at that time, travellers going to Shanshan did not pass the state of Ruo Qiang. In the same memoir it is clearly recorded that the state of Ruo Qiang was "not situated on the main route." Therefore, the record in this chapter shows that the orientation of the Southern Route in Cao Wei times was different from the route during the Western and Eastern Han times. Otherwise, it would have to be the case that the location of the state of Ruo Qiang had changed. The state of Ruo Qiang, which was not situated on the main route as indicated in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96), was only a branch of the Ruo Qiang in the Western Regions, its king "entitled Quhulai" 去胡來.⁵⁹ In fact, this branch of the Ruo Qiang had already disappeared by the end of the Western Han Dynasty. It is possible that the region inhabited by the remainder of this branch was located exactly on the route to Shanshan from the Yumen Barrier in Cao Wei times.⁶⁰

從玉門關西出，發都護井^[149]，回三隴沙^[150]北頭，經居盧倉^[151]，從沙西井^[152]轉西北，過龍堆^[153]，到故樓蘭^[154]，轉西詣龜茲^[155]，至葱嶺，爲中道。
[156]

⁵⁹ Cf. Zhou L 1983.

⁶⁰ Huang L 1987 suggests that this route did not change, the statement "goes out to the west and crosses the Ruo Qiang 婼羌" means only that the route passed through the north of the state of Ruo Qiang 婼羌.

The Middle Route^[156] is the one which, leaving the Yumen Barrier, goes out by the west, leaves the Protector General’s Well,^[149] winds around the northern tip of the desert of Sanlong 三隴,^[150] passes by the granary of Julu 居盧,^[151] then, from the Sand-West Well,^[152] turns to the northwest, passes by Dragon Mounds,^[153] arrives at old Loulan 樓蘭,^[154] and, turning to the west, arrives first at Qiuci 龜茲^[155] and then the Cong Mountains.

[149] “The Protector General’s Well” 都護井: Some scholars regard it as the Beidihou Well 卑鞞侯井.⁶¹ “Beidi” could be an indigenous name.

[150] “The desert of Sanlong” 三隴沙: According to the *Guangzhi* 廣志 quoted by the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 74), “The Flowing Sands is outside the Yumen Barrier; it is 2,000 *li* from south to north, and several hundred *li* from east to west. There are three gaps, called *sanlong* 三隴.”

[151] “The granary of Julu” 居盧倉 is first seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu*. It is located to the east of the White Dragon Mound 白龍堆, between the White Dragon Mound and the Three Long Sands 三隴沙.⁶² Another theory is that Julu is an abbreviation of Juluzi 居盧訾; this term is seen in the Han wooden documents excavated in the Lop Nor.⁶³

[152] “The Sand-West Well” 沙西井: Its specific location is unknown.

[153] “Dragon Mounds” 龍堆 is the “White Dragon Mounds” 白龍堆 in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu*. The White Dragon Mounds 白龍堆 compose the present *yardang* group to the northeast of Lop Nor.

[154] Loulan 樓蘭 is first seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu*. It is a state on the oasis at the eastern end of the Southern Route; its name was changed into Shanshan 鄯善. The seat of its king’s government is the ancient town of Quarklik near the seat of the present Ruoqing 若羌 County. The so-called “old Loulan” here is situated in the ruins of the

⁶¹ Wang G 1959–2.

⁶² Enoki 1963, esp. 146.

⁶³ See Huang W 1989, esp. 384–387.

ancient town of Loulan to the northwest of the present Lop Nor; it is also the town of Loulan seen in the *Shujing zhu* 水經注. According to the chapter "Heshui 河水 (the second)" in the *Shujingzhu* 水經注, "The [Yellow] River flows farther east and passes south of the town of Zhubin 注賓, and then flows still farther east and passes south of the town of Loulan and continues eastward. The town was a place stationed by officers who opened up wasteland, and thereupon the town continued to use the name of the state (城禪國名). The River flows farther east and empties into the You 泐 Marsh." "Shan" 禪 means to replace and to transfer. The name of the state of Loulan is changed into Shanshan, and the name of the state is transferred to the town, hence the town of Loulan.⁶⁴

[155] Qiuci is an oasis state on the Northern Route. It is first seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu*. The government of its king is generally considered to have been in the ruins of Pilang 皮郎 in the eastern suburbs of the present Kuche 庫車 County. "Qiuci" 龜茲 [khiuə-tziə] can be regarded as a transcription of the Gasiani.

[156] The so-called "Middle Route" in this chapter was opened up as early as the reign of Emperor Wu 武 in the Western Han. However, it is not recorded as a route to the Western Regions in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96) or the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88). The fact that this chapter emphasizes the passage from the Yumen Barrier to "old Loulan" seems to show that the ruins of the former town of Loulan and the surrounding area were more important in Cao Wei times than previously, evidently because the place had become the seat of the government of the Chief Official of the Western Regions.⁶⁵

從玉門關西北出，經橫坑^[157]，辟三隴沙及龍堆，出五船^[158]北，到車師^[159]
界戊己校尉^[160]所治高昌^[161]，轉西與中道合龜茲，爲新道。^[162]（卷三〇"魏
書·烏丸鮮卑東夷傳"裴注引）

⁶⁴ Cf. Yu 1992, pp. 228–241.

⁶⁵ Cf. Huang L 1987 and Meng 1990, pp. 115–125.

The New Route^[162] is the one which, leaving the Yumen Barrier, goes out to the northwest, crosses Hengkeng 橫坑,^[157] avoiding the desert of Sanlong 三隴 and Dragon Mounds, comes out from north of Wuchuan 五船,^[158] and reaches Gaochang 高昌^[161] on the frontier of Jushi 車師,^[159] where the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel^[160] had his government's seat, then turns west and joins up with the Middle Route at Qiuci 龜茲. (The "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*, quoted by Pei's Commentries to the "Wuhuan, Xianbei and Dongyi Zhuan" of Weishu in the *Sanguozhi*)

[157] The specific location of Hengkeng 橫坑 is unknown.

[158] The location of Wuchuan 五船 is unknown. There are scholars who believe that it is the "Yiwu" 伊吾 in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu*,⁶⁶ which does not seem to be inadequate.

[159] Jushi refers to the state of Nearer Jushi, an oasis state on the Northern Route. It first seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu*. The seat of the king's government is at the town of Jiaohe 交河. The government of the king is generally regarded as located at the Yār-Khoto to the west of the present Turfan County (Yār-Khoto, also known as 雅爾和圖 or 招哈和屯).

[160] "The *Wuji* Colonel" 戊己校尉: The title of an office in the Western Regions. In the "Baiguan Gongqing Biao" 百官公卿表 of the *Hanshu* (ch. 28A) it is recorded that "The *Wuji* Colonel was established in the first year of the Chuyuan 初元 reign-period (48 B.C.). His subordinate officers include one Assistant, one Major, and five Captains, who had the rank equivalent to 600 piculs." Since the Assistant had a rank equivalent to 600 piculs, the Colonel himself must have had a rank equivalent to 2,000 piculs. The establishment of the Colonel was for the agricultural colonies in the "royal court of Nearer Jushi," i.e., the town of Jiaohe 交河. Originally, the *Wuji* Colonel was established for the agricultural colonies, and its precursor was the Colonel of the Agricultural Garrison, so the title *Wuji* must have had something to do with agricultural colonies. The

⁶⁶ Matsuda 1970, pp. 118–121.

reason that the "Colonel of the Agricultural Garrison" was renamed "*Wuji* Colonel" was obviously to signify the control of [the Xiongnu] based on the idea of the cyclicity of the five elements. The Colonel resisted the Xiongnu and pacified the Western Regions by setting up agricultural colonies. For these reasons it was given the name "*Wuji*."⁶⁷ The time when Cao Wei established the *Wuji* Colonel is after the second month of the third year of the *Huangchu* 黃初 reign-period of Emperor Wen (A.D. 222). According to this chapter, the seat of the government of the *Wuji* Colonel is at Gaochang 高昌 on the frontier of Jushi. The first *Wuji* Colonel was Zhang Gong 張恭.

[161] Gaochang 高昌: Its precursor was the fortress of Gaochang 高昌壁 in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu*. Its site is the present Gaochang, which is an ancient town.

[162] It is generally believed that the "New Route" in this chapter is the same as the "Northern Route" in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96) and the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88). This is, of course, correct. However, it should be noted that the "Northern Route" recorded in the *Hanshu* and the *Hou Hanshu* is not completely equal to the "New Route." The "Northern Route" includes, in fact, the Middle Route and the New Route as described in this chapter. What was new in the "New Route" was just the passage connecting the Yumen Barrier with the "Northern Route." To the editor of the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96), the passage that had been newly opened by Xu Pu 徐普 had nothing to do with the main line of the Northern Route, the reason the preface to the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96) states that "there are two routes which lead into the Western Regions." The editor of this chapter, not understanding this, asserts that "there used to be two, but now there are three [routes]."

1.4.2.1

自是（疏勒^[163]）以西，大宛^[164]、安息^[165]、條支^[166]、烏弋^[167]。烏弋一名排特^[168]，此四國次在西，本國也，無增損。前世謬以爲條支在大秦西，今其實在東。^[169]前世又謬以爲彊於安息，今更役屬之，號爲安息西界。^[170]前

⁶⁷ On the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, for details, see Yu 1995, pp. 258–270.

世又謬以爲弱水在條支西，今弱水在大秦西。^[171]前世又謬以爲從條支西行二百餘日，近日所入，^[172]今從大秦西近日所入。（卷三〇“魏書·烏丸鮮卑東夷傳”裴注引）

From here (Shule^[163]) the states to the west are Dayuan 大宛,^[164] Anxi 安息,^[165] Tiaozi 條支^[166] and Wuyi 烏弋.^[167] Wuyi is also named Paite 排特.^[168] These four states follow one another in the west; their territories are as they originally were and have neither been added to nor subtracted from. Former generations erred in considering Tiaozi as situated west of Da Qin 大秦; the truth as now known is that it is east of it.^[169] Former generations likewise erred in considering it stronger than Anxi 安息; now we know that it was on the contrary subject to it, and called the western frontier of Anxi.^[170] Former generations also erred in considering the Weak Water as situated west of Tiaozi; now we know that the Weak Water is west of Da Qin.^[171] Former generations also erred in thinking that by going more than 200 days westward from Tiaozi one draws near to the place where the sun sets;^[172] now we know that it is from west of Da Qin that one draws near to the place where the sun sets. (The “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*, quoted by Pei’s Commentaries to the “Wuhuan, Xianbei and Dongyi Zhuan” of “Weishu” in the *Sanguozhi*)

[163] Shule, an oasis state on the Northern Route. It is first seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu*. Its king’s government is generally regarded to be near the present Kashgar.

[164] Dayuan 大宛 is located in the present Ferghāna area, first seen in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*.

[165] Anxi 安息 here refers to Parthian Persia, first seen in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*.

[166] Tiaozi 條支 refers to Seleucid Syria, first seen in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*. In this chapter it mainly refers to the Syrian areas that used to be under the Seleucid.

[167] “Wuyi” 烏弋 must be the abbreviation of the “Wuyishanli” 烏弋山離 in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu*.

- [168] “Wuyi is also named Paite”: The “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* says, “At this time, its name has been changed to Paichi 排持 [should be Paite 排特].” The text in this chapter is more plausible, for “Paite” 排特 [buəi-dək] is an abbreviated transcription of Prophthasia—there is no name change involved.
- [169] “Former generations erred in considering Tiaozhi as situated west of Da Qin” 前世謬以爲條支在大秦西: There are no such records in the extant works. We do not know what the composer of this chapter was referring to.
- [170] “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”: Soon after the founding of Anxi, it was under constant threat from Tiaozhi, i.e., Seleucid Syria, until Anxi’s strength rose steadily following Mithridates I’s ascension to the throne. In other words, Tiaozhi once *was* stronger than Anxi, and the records of “former generations” are not completely wrong. It was during the era of Zhang Qian that Tiaozhi became subject to Anxi. Over sixty years after Zhang Qian, Tiaozhi was conquered by Rome; it is hence out of the question for it to be subject to Anxi. Thus, that “it is on the contrary subject to it [Anxi]” in this text must be something learned during the era of Zhang Qian, and should not be seen as the reality of the times of Yu Huan 魚豢. Of the things in the Western Regions recorded in this chapter, many are from the Eastern Han; so are the records about Tiaozhi, Lixuan 黎軒, and Da Qin—many were incorporated by Fan Ye 范曄 into the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*. But seemingly there are some things in it from before the Eastern Han; the statement under consideration in this note is among them. Moreover, in the statement in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* quoted earlier, that “Anxi ... later subjugated Tiaozhi,” the word “later” is a result of the influence of the fact “Former generations likewise erred in considering it [Tiaozhi] stronger than Anxi; now we know that it is on the contrary subject to it.” As for the statement that Tiaozhi “is called the western frontier of Anxi,” it undoubtedly describes the situation when it was subject to Anxi. Since it is “*called* the western frontier of Anxi,” it should not be regarded as the real western frontier, nor should one try to search for Tiaozhi within the boundary of Anxi. The “western frontier” here may be taken as the

dependency, or tributary state, in the west, which testifies to the nature of the relationship between Anxi and Tiaozi—that is, Tiaozi was subject to Anxi, and Anxi treated Tiaozi as a dependency or tributary state. Later, Tiaozi was conquered by Rome, but the people in Central Asia, particularly the people in Anxi, continued to use the “western frontier of Anxi” as a synonym for Tiaozi.

[171] The “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu*: “The elders of Anxi have learned by hearsay that in Tiaozi there is the Weak Water.”

[172] The “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu*: “If you travel by water westward from Tiaozi for more than a hundred days you draw near the place where the sun sets.” The “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*: “...the *Hanshu* says, ‘If you travel from Tiaozi for more than 200 days you draw near the place where the sun sets.’” “The place where the sun sets” and the location of the Weak Water are pushed further and further westward, indicating the broadening understanding of the Chinese about the geography of the west.

1.4.2.2

大秦國一號犁靬^[173]，在安息、條支西大海之西，^[174]從安息界安谷城乘船，直截海西，遇風利二月到，風遲或一歲，無風或三歲。^[175]其國在海西，故俗謂之海西。^[176]有河出其國，西又有大海^[177]。海西有遲散城，從國下直北至烏丹城，^[178]西南又渡一河，乘船一日乃過。西南又渡一河，一日乃過。^[179]凡有大都三。^[180]

The state of Da Qin 大秦: it is also named Lijian 犁靬.^[173] It lies to the west of the great sea which is west of Anxi and Tiaozi.^[174] From the town of Angu 安谷 on the frontier of Anxi, one travels by boat directly across to the west of the sea. If one meets with favorable winds, it takes two months, but with delaying winds, it takes perhaps one year, and with no wind at all, perhaps three years.^[175] As this state lies west of the sea, it is popularly called “West of Sea.”^[176] There is a river which comes out from this state. To the west, there is also a great sea.^[177] To the west of the sea is the town of Chisan 遲散. From below the state, going due north one reaches the town of Wudan 烏丹.^[178] To the southwest again crossing a river,

only after traveling for one day by boat does one cross over. To the southwest, again crossing a river, only after one day does one cross over.^[179] There are in all three large capital cities.^[180]

- [173] “Lijian” 犁堅 must be the “Lixuan” 黎軒 in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*, the “Lijian” 犁堅 in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu*, and the “Lijian” 犁鞬 in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*; all are abbreviated transcriptions of [A]lexan[dria] in Egypt. However, the Lixuan 黎軒 and the Lijan 犁堅 in the *Shiji* and *Hanshu* refer to Ptolemaic Egypt, whereas the Lijian 犁鞬 and Lijian 犁堅 in the *Hou Hanshu* and this chapter have become synonyms for Da Qin.⁶⁸
- [174] “It lies to the west of the great sea which is west of Anxi and Tiaozhi”: This refers to the fact that the Roman Empire proper lies to the west of Anxi and Tiaozhi (Syria), i.e., west of the “great sea” (the Mediterranean).
- [175] “From the town of Angu on the frontier of Anxi, one travels by boat directly ...”: From Antiochia in Syria, one can cross the Mediterranean toward the west to reach Da Qin, i.e., the Roman Empire proper—the Italian Peninsula. The so-called “Angu on the frontier of Anxi” should be “Angu on the western frontier of Anxi.” As discussed above, “the western frontier of Anxi” has become synonymous with Tiaozhi in this chapter. “Angu” 安谷 [an-kok] is undoubtedly an abbreviated transcription of Antiochia; so is also “Tiaozhi” above. As is recorded in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*, when Gan Ying 甘英 was about to cross the sea from Tiaozhi, the sailors of the western frontier of Anxi told him, “The sea is vast. With favorable winds it is still only possible for travelers to cross in three months. But if one meets with unfavorable winds, it may even take two years. It is for this reason that those who go to sea always take on board three years’ provisions.” The time it takes to reach Da Qin from Angu is almost identical with the account here, indicating that “Angu” and “Tiaozhi” are in the same place
- [176] “As this state lies west of the sea, it is popularly called “West of Sea”: The Roman Empire proper lies west of the Mediterranean; hence the term, the state of “West of Sea.”

⁶⁸ Cf. Yu 1992, pp. 193–196.

- [177] “There is a river which comes out from this state. To the west, there is also a great sea”: The river refers to the Tiber; the sea, the Tyrrhenian Sea west of the Italian Peninsula.
- [178] 海西有遲散城 should be 海西國有遲散城. “Chisan” 遲散 and “Wudan” 烏丹 and “Wuchisan” 烏遲散 below must all be corruptions of “Wuchisandan” 烏遲散丹. For the sentence in the subsequent text, “Continuing on due south one gets to the town of Wuchisan” 復直南行經之烏遲散城, the quotation in *Xu Hou Hanshu* 續後漢書 (ch. 80) by Hao Jing 郝經 (1223–1275) reads, “one gets to the town of Wudanchisan” 經烏丹遲散城: the four characters are written together. They should be Wuchisandan 烏遲散丹, however; the mistake is caused by the “Wudan” 烏丹 and “Chisan” 遲散, and should be reverted. “Wuchisandan” 烏遲散丹 [a-diei-san-tan] is a transcription of Alexandria. The statement, “From below the state, going due north one reaches the town of Wudan 烏丹,” means that one can travel north, from the southern end of Da Qi, to Alexandria in Egypt.
- [179] “To the southwest again crossing a river, only after traveling for one day by boat does one cross over. To the southwest, again crossing a river, only after one day does one cross over”: This repeats what is stated in the subsequent text, and is therefore redundant.
- [180] “There are in all three large capital cities” 凡有大都三: It is suspected that something is missing. The “three capital cities” refers to the three metropolises in the Roman Empire: Rome in Italy, Antioch in Syria, and Alexandria in Egypt.

卻從安谷城陸道直北行之海北，復直西行之海西，^[181]復直南行經之烏遲散城^[182]，渡一河，^[183]乘船一日乃過。周迴繞海，凡當渡大海六日乃到其國^[184]。國有小城邑合四百餘，東西南北數千里。^[185]

Now, from the town of Angu 安谷, going due north by land one gets to north of the sea. Continuing on due west one gets to west of the sea.^[181] Continuing on due south one gets to the town of Wuchisan 烏遲散.^[182] Crossing a river,^[183] only after one day’s journey by boat does one get across. Going all the way round the sea, one must still always cross over a great sea, and only after six days does one arrive at this state.^[184] There are in the state in all over 400 small towns and

settlements. Its territory stretches from east to west and from north to south over several thousand *li*.^[185]

- [181] “Now, from the town of Angu, going due north by land one gets to north of the sea. Continuing on due west one gets to west of the sea”: One travelling north from Antiochia in Syria can reach “north of the sea,” i.e., the north of the Mediterranean: Asia Minor and the Balkans. If he travels further west he can reach “west of the sea,” i.e., Da Qin proper.
- [182] 復直南行經之烏遲散〔丹〕城: “復” and “經” are redundant. One travelling south from Antiochia along the shores of the Mediterranean can reach Alexandria.
- [183] “Crossing a river”: This river refers to the Nile. “Going all the way round the sea” 周迴繞海: Alexandria is on the delta of the Nile, protruding into the sea.
- [184] “One must still always cross over a great sea, and only after six days does one arrive at this state”: It takes six days for one travelling by sea from Antiochia in Syria to reach Alexandria. The “state” here refers to Da Qin’s dependency, i.e., “their feudatory (vassal) petty kingdoms” below; here it refers to the state of Zesan 澤散. It has been stated above that it takes two months at the quickest and three years at the slowest to reach Da Qin from the town of Angu, indicating that the “state” does not refer to Da Qin.
- [185] “There are in the state in all over 400 small towns and settlements”: Here the state of Da Qin refers to the Roman Empire in its entirety, not an isolated area of the empire.

其王治濱側河海，以石爲城郭。其土地有松、柏、槐、梓、竹、葦、楊柳、梧桐[186]、百草。民俗，田種五穀，畜乘有馬、騾、驢、駱駝。桑蠶。[187]俗多奇幻，口中出火，自縛自解，[188]跳十二丸巧妙。[189]

其國無常主，國中有災異，輒更立賢人以爲王，而生放其故王，王亦不敢怨。[190]其俗人長大平正，似中國人而胡服，自云本中國一別也。[191]常欲通使於中國，而安息圖其利，不能得過。[192]其俗能胡書。其制度，公私宮室爲重屋，旌旗擊鼓，白蓋小車，郵驛亭置如中國。

從安息繞海北到其國，[193]人民相屬，十里一亭，三十里一置[194]，終無盜賊。但有猛虎、獅子爲害，行道不羣則不得過。[195]其國置小王數十，其王所治城周回百餘里，有官曹文書。王有五宮，一宮間相去十

里，其王平旦之一宮聽事，至日暮一宿，明日復至一宮，五日一周。置三十六將，每議事，一將不至則不議也。[196]王出行，常使從人持一韋囊自隨，有白言者，受其辭投囊中，還宮乃省爲決理。[197]以水晶作宮柱及器物。[198]作弓矢。

The king's seat of government overlooks a river and the sea. The city walls are made of stone. Its soil produces pine, cypress, the sophora tree, the *zhi* 梓 (*Catalpa Kaempferitae*); bamboos, rushes, poplars, willows, the *wutong* 梧桐 (phoenix tree, *Calophyllum inophyllum*),^[186] and all manner of plants. Its customs are the following: they are agriculturalists and grow the five grains. For domestic animals, they have horse, donkey, mules, camels, and the mulberry silkworm.^[187] They practise lots of unusual magic: they can spit fire from their mouths, bind and release themselves,^[188] juggle 12 balls with their feet, and do marvellous tricks.^[189]

They have no fixed ruler. Whenever there is a calamity or uncanny event in the state, they immediately change the ruler, establishing a worthy man as king, dismissing the former king but letting him live. He does not dare complain.^[190] The people are generally tall and straight featured with faces resembling those of the Middle Kingdom, but they wear barbarian clothes. They themselves say that they stem from the Middle Kingdom as one of its branches.^[191] They always wanted to have diplomatic relations with the Middle Kingdom, but because Anxi looked to its own profits, they could not get through.^[192] They are able to write in Hu script. Their institutions are as follows: they have public and private palaces and houses, with multiple storeys. Their flags and drums, white canopies over small chariots, and postal stations are just like those in the Middle Kingdom.

From Anxi, one goes round the north of the sea to reach this state.^[193] The population is dense, with every ten *li* a *ting* 亭, and every 30 *li* a *zhi* 置.^[194] They have eliminated robbers, but there are fierce tigers and lions which imperil the routes. Only a (large) body of travelers can get through.^[195] This state has

established petty kings which can be numbered in the tens. The city where the king has his seat of government is over 100 *li* in circumference, with officials and archives. The king has five palaces, ten *li* apart from one another. Early in the morning the king goes to one of the palaces to hear cases, and at sunset stays there for the night. The next day, he continues on to another palace, doing the round in five days. They have appointed 36 generals, who discuss everything together. If one general does not come, then no discussion takes place.^[196] When the king goes out, they always have a man following him carrying a leather bag. Those with petitions have their requests thrown into the bag. On his return to the palace, the king inspects them and makes his decision.^[197] The pillars of the palace and (eating) utensils are made of crystal glass.^[198] They make bows and arrows.

[186] “Pine, cypress, the sophora tree, the *zhi* 梓 (*Catalpa Kaempferitae*); bamboos, rushes, poplars, willows, the *wutong* 梧桐 (phoenix tree, *Calophyllum inophyllum*)”: These are trees and plants with strong spiritual connotations in China, especially the sophora tree, the *zhi*, bamboos, and the *wutong*. These are not necessarily grown in Da Qin; the emphasis on them is a result of idealization of Da Qin on the part of the Chinese at that time.⁶⁹

[187] “The mulberry silkworm”: There are similar descriptions in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*.

[188] The text quoted from this chapter in the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱 (ch. 123) reads, “In Lijin 犂靬 there are people who practise lots of unusual magic: they can spit fire from their mouths, bind and release themselves.” “Lijin” 犂靬 must be a corruption of “Lijian” 犁靬.

[189] “They practise lots of unusual magic ...”: This is what is meant by “magicians” 幻人 from Da Qin in the “Xinan Yi Zhuan” 西南夷傳 of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 86). The magicians (眩人 or 幻人) should be from Lixuan, i.e., Alexandria of Egypt.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ For details, see Shiratori 1971–3, esp. 288–289.

⁷⁰ Cf. Leslie 1996, pp. 150–152, 222–223.

- [190] "They have no fixed ruler ...": There are similar descriptions in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu*.
- [191] "The people are generally tall and straight featured ...": This shows that the people at that time called the Roman Empire Da Qin because it "resembles the Middle Kingdom" 有類中國. Qin was a name for the Middle Kingdom used by the people of North Asia and Central Asia. As is recorded in the "Xiongnu Zhuan" 匈奴傳 of the *Hanshu*, "Weilü 衛律 gave counsel to the Chanyu: Dig wells, build walls around towns, build towers to store the grains, and guard them with the people of Qin." Yan's commentary: "In the times of Qin there were people who had defected to the Xiongnu; their descendants were still called people of Qin." The *Hanshu buzhu* 漢書補注 by Wang Xianqian 王先謙 quoted Gu Yanwu 顧炎武: "Yan is wrong. The Xiongnu at that time called the people of Middle Kingdom the people of Qin, just as later generations refer to [the people of Middle Kingdom] as the Han people." The "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu*: "The Xiongnu were tethering the fore and hind feet of their horses, setting them down beside the walls, and galloping up to say, 'A present of horses for you, men of Qin.'" Yan's commentary: "'Men of Qin' refers to the men of the Middle Kingdom, an old way of expression." The "Dayuan Liezhuan" of the *Shiji* (Ch. 96): The Ershi 貳師 General "heard that inside the town the population had recently acquired men of Qin who knew how to dig wells." In the "Li Guangli Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 61), "men of Han" has taken the place of "men of Qin." These cases should corroborate the point. If so, "Da Qin" should be the name of the Roman Empire used by the people of Central Asia. It is unlikely that the people of Han would use the name of a previous dynasty as the name of a large state in the Western Regions.
- [192] "They always wanted to have diplomatic relations with the Middle Kingdom ...": There is a similar description in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [193] "From Anxi, one goes round the north of the sea to reach this state": One travelling north from Anxi on land can reach "north of the sea," i.e., the north of the Mediterranean. If he travels further west he could reach Da Qin proper.

- [194] “Every ten *li* a *ting* 亭, and every 30 *li* a *zhi* 置”: There is a similar description in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [195] The text from 從安息繞海北到其國 to 行道不羣則不得過 can be, on the basis of the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), amended to the following: 從安息陸道繞海北到其國，人民相屬，十里一亭，三十里一置，終無盜賊寇警。但有猛虎、獅子，爲害行旅，不百餘人，齎兵器，輒爲所食 — “From Anxi by the land-route, one goes around north of the sea, and arrives in Da Qin. The population is dense; each ten *li* there is a *ting* 亭 (relay), and each thirty *li* a *zhi* 置 (postal station). There is thus never any alarm caused by the attacks of robbers, but on the route there are many fierce tigers and lions that intercept and harm travelers. If the party does not include over 100 men furnished with arms, they are invariably devoured.”
- [196] “The king has five palaces ...”: There is a similar description in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [197] “When the king goes out ...”: There is a similar description in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [198] Some regard “pillars of crystal glass” as embellishments and exaggerations.⁷¹

其別枝封小國，曰澤散王^[199]，曰驢分王^[200]，曰且蘭王^[201]，曰賢督王^[202]，曰汜復王^[203]，曰于羅王^[204]，其餘小王國甚多，不能一一詳之也。

Their feudatory (vassal) petty kingdoms are: Zesan 澤散,^[199] Lüfen 驢分,^[200] Qielan 且蘭,^[201] Xiandu 賢督,^[202] Sifu 汜復,^[203] Yuluo 于羅.^[204] The remaining petty kingdoms are so numerous that we cannot enumerate them individually.

- [199] “Zesan” 澤散 [deak-san] can be seen as an abbreviated transcription of Alexandria; it also refers to Alexandria of Egypt.
- [200] “Lüfen” 驢分 [lia-piuan] is an abbreviated transcription of Propontis.

⁷¹ For details, see Shiratori 1971–3, esp. 285.

- [201] “Qielan” 且蘭 is a textual error for “Danlan” 旦蘭 [dan-lan]. “Danlan” 旦蘭 is a transcription of Tadmor or Tadmora, the ancient name of Palmyra.
- [202] “Xiandu” 賢督 [hyen-sjiuk] is a transcription of Hierosōlyma, the ancient name of Jerusalem.
- [203] “Sifu” 汜復 [ziə-biuk] is a transcription of Damascus.
- [204] “Yuluo” 于羅 [hiua-la] is a transcription of Hatra. Yuluo is seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

國出細絺^[205]。作金銀錢，金錢一當銀錢十。有織成細布，言用水羊毳，名曰海西布^[206]。此國六畜皆出水^[207]，或云非獨用羊毛也。亦用木皮或野繭絲^[208]作。織成^[209]、氍毹^[210]、毼毼^[211]、罽帳^[212]之屬皆好，其色又鮮于海東諸國^[213]所作也。又常利得中國絲，解以爲胡綾，故數與安息^[214]諸國交市於海中。海水苦不可食，故往來者希到其國中。山出九色次玉石^[215]，一曰青，二曰赤，三曰黃，四曰白，五曰黑，六曰綠，七曰紫，八曰紅，九曰紺。今伊吾^[216]山中有九色石，卽其類。陽嘉三年時，疎勒王臣槃^[217]獻海西^[218]青石、金帶各一。^[219]又今《西域舊圖》^[220]云：罽賓、條支諸國出琦石，卽次玉石也。

The state produces fine cloth (linen).^[205] They make coins of gold and silver, one gold coin being equal to ten silver ones. They weave fine cloth, using, it is said, the wool of the water-sheep, and it is called “cloth from the west of the sea.”^[206] All the six domestic animals of the state come from the water.^[207] Some say that they use not only (the sea) sheep’s wool, but also the bark of trees, or even the silk of wild silkworms,^[208] to produce this thread. Their *zhicheng*^[209] *qushu* 氍毹^[210] (fine woollen carpets), *tadeng* 毼毼^[211] (fine woollen blankets with decorative patterns) and (other textiles) of the class of woollen rugs (*ji* 罽) and curtains^[212] are all good. These are also brighter than those produced by the various states of east of the sea.^[213] They also commonly profit by obtaining silk from the Middle Kingdom and unravelling it to make Hu 胡 damask. So they frequently trade by sea with the various states such as Anxi.^[214] The water of the

sea is bitter and undrinkable, so travelers rarely (succeed in) reaching there. The mountains of this state produce second-class jewels of nine colours:^[215] blue, red, yellow, white, black, green, purple, scarlet, and crimson. Now the nine-coloured stones found in the Yiwu 伊吾 mountains^[216] are of this kind. In the third year of the *Yangjia* 陽嘉 reign-period (A.D. 134), the king of Shule 疎勒, Chenpan 臣槃,^[217] offered a blue stone from west of the sea^[218] and a gilt belt.^[219] The extant *Xiyu jiutu* 西域舊圖^[220] also says that the stones produced by the various states such as Jibin 罽賓 and Tiaozhi 條支 are in fact second-class jade-stones.

大秦多金、銀、銅、鐵、鉛、錫、神龜^[221]、白馬、朱髦^[222]、駭雞犀^[223]、瑇瑁^[224]、玄熊^[225]、赤螭^[226]、辟毒鼠^[227]、大貝^[228]、車渠^[229]、瑪瑙^[230]、南金^[231]、翠爵^[232]、羽翮、象牙^[233]、符采玉^[234]、明月珠^[235]、夜光珠^[236]、真白珠、虎珀^[237]、珊瑚、赤白黑綠黃青紺縹紅紫十種流離^[238]、璆琳^[239]、琅玕^[240]、水精^[241]、玫瑰^[242]、雄黃^[243]、雌黃^[244]、碧^[245]、五色玉、黃白黑綠紫紅絳紺金黃縹留黃十種氈毼、五色氈毼、五色九色首下氈毼^[246]、金縷繡^[247]、雜色綾、金塗布^[248]、緋持布^[249]、發陸布^[250]、緋持渠布^[251]、火浣布^[252]、阿羅得布^[253]、巴則布^[254]、度代布^[255]、溫宿布^[256]、五色桃布^[257]、絳地^[258]金織帳、五色斗帳^[259]、一微木^[260]、二蘇合^[261]、狄提^[262]、迷迷^[263]、兜納^[264]、白附子^[265]、薰陸^[266]、鬱金^[267]、芸膠^[268]、薰草木十二^[269]種香。

The following are found in large quantities in Da Qin: gold, silver, copper (bronze), iron, tin, marvellous tortoises,^[221] white horses with red (vermilion) manes,^[222] the rhinoceros which frightens chickens,^[223] tortoise shell,^[224] black bears,^[225] red *chi* 螭 (dragon)^[226], the rat which avoids poison,^[227] large cowries,^[228] *cheju* 車渠,^[229] agate,^[230] southern gold,^[231] kingfisher gems,^[232] kingfisher feathers, elephant tusks (ivory),^[233] *fucai* 符采 jade,^[234] the full moon pearl,^[235] the night shining pearl,^[236] true white pearls, amber,^[237] coral, opaque glass of ten colours: carnation, white black, green, yellow, blue, purple, azure, red, and red-brown,^[238] *qiulin* 璆琳 (a kind of jade-stone),^[239] *langgan* 琅玕 (a

beautiful pearl-like stone),^[240] crystal,^[241] mica,^[242] realgar,^[243] orpiment,^[244] *bi* 碧 stones,^[245] multi-coloured jade, *qushu* 毳毼 cloth of ten colours: yellow, white, black, green, red-brown, red, crimson, purple, gold-yellow, azure-tinged yellow, multi-coloured *tadeng* 毼毼 cloth, multi-coloured or nine-coloured *tadeng* 毼毼 scarves,^[246] gold-threaded embroideries,^[247] damasks of various colours, gold-painted cloth,^[248] *Feichi* 緋持 cloth,^[249] Falu 發陸 cloth,^[250] *Feichiqu* 緋持渠 cloth,^[251] fire-washed cloth (asbestos),^[252] *Aluode* 阿羅得 cloth,^[253] *Baze* 巴則 cloth,^[254] *Dudai* 度代 cloth,^[255] *Wensu* 溫宿 cloth,^[256] multi-coloured peach cloth,^[257] curtains woven with gold on a crimson background,^[258] curtains embroidered with gold threads 金織帳, multi-coloured bracketed curtains,^[259] *weimu* 微木,^[260] storax,^[261] *diti* 狄提,^[262] *mimi* 迷迷,^[263] *Douna* 兜納,^[264] monk’s hood^[265] and wolf’s-bane (aconitum),^[266] frankincense,^[267] rue (or glue made from rue),^[268] and twelve kinds of perfumes from fragrant trees and plants.^[269]

[205] *Zhi* 絺, fine cloth (linen).⁷²

[206] 水羊毼 (the wool of the water-sheep) is also seen in the “*Xiyu Zhuan*” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

[207] “All the six domestic animals of the state come from the water” 六畜皆出水: There are scholars who suspect that the text is corrupted, while others think that 水 should be followed by 中.⁷³ This may be an association or analogy resulting from water-sheep (水羊).

[208] “The silk of wild silkworms” 野繭絲 is also seen in the “*Xiyu Zhuan*” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

[209] 織成 is also seen in the “*Xiyu Zhuan*” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

[210] *Qushu* 毳毼, woollen carpets. Its etymology is yet to be decided.⁷⁴

⁷² On Da Qin’s products, cf. Yu 2003, pp. 284–312.

⁷³ *Sanguozhi Jijie* 三國志集解, p. 709.

⁷⁴ For related studies, cf. Fujita 1943–3; Ma Y 1990–1; Leslie 1996, p. 214.

- [211] “*Tadeng*” 氍毹, a kind of wool product. *Tadeng* 氍毹 could be a transcription of the *tāpetān* of the Middle Persian.⁷⁵ Li’s commentary quotes the *Picang* 埤蒼: it is a “wool mat.” Li also quotes the *Shiming* 釋名, “It is spread on the stool in front of the couch; one reaches the couch by stepping on it.”
- [212] *Jizhang* 罽帳, textiles of the class of woollen rugs and curtains.
- [213] “The various states of east of the sea” 海東諸國: States like Tiaozhi and Anxi east of the Mediterranean.
- [214] After “Anxi” 安息, “Tianzhu” 天竺 should be added, following the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [215] *Ciyu shi* 次玉石, second-class jade-stone.
- [216] Yiwu 伊吾 located in the vicinity of the present-day Hami 哈密.
- [217] “The king of Shule 疏勒, Chenpan 臣槃”: His life and works can be found in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [218] “West of the sea” 海西 refers to Da Qin.
- [219] The *Weilüe* quoted in the *Beitang shuchao* 北堂書鈔 (ch. 129) reads, “The king of Shule offered a belt decorated with red precious stones of Da Qin.”
- [220] *Xiyu jiutu* 西域舊圖 is not seen in the “Jingji zhi” 經籍志 of the *Suishu* 隋書; it was lost long ago.
- [221] “Marvellous tortoises” 神龜: Tortoises or tortoise shells. According to some scholars, the record about Da Qin producing tortoises is not necessarily true; it is perhaps a result of idealization about Da Qin by Chinese at that time.⁷⁶
- [222] The entry on Da Qin in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Weishu* reads 白馬朱鬣. According to some, the four characters should be read together, meaning “white horses with red manes.”⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Cf. Laufer 1919, pp. 492–493; Fujita 1943–3

⁷⁶ For details, see Shiratori 1971–3, esp. 287.

⁷⁷ Leslie 1996, p. 202.

- [223] “The rhinoceros which frightens chickens” 駭雞犀 is also seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [224] “Tortoise shell” 瑇瑁: This is the shell of the *Chelonia imbricate* according to some.⁷⁸
- [225] *Xuanxiong* 玄熊 are black bears.
- [226] “Red *chi* (dragon)” 赤螭: Some scholars regard it as referring to a kind of reptile,⁷⁹ while others think that *chi* is a kind of dragon, which is an intelligent animal in the imagination of the Chinese. It goes without saying that there are no such animals in Da Qin; it is mentioned in this chapter that there are many *chi* in Da Qin, a result of idealization at that time.⁸⁰
- [227] “The rat which avoids poison” 辟毒鼠: Some scholars think that it refers to the stoat or the yellow weasel, i.e., the *rute* rat 褥特鼠 that the state of Jibin 罽賓 presented to the emperor in the sixteenth year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign-period (A.D. 642) as is recorded in the “Xiyu Zhuan” 西域傳 of the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (ch. 221A): “With a pointed mouth and a red tail, it can eat snakes. When one is bitten [by a snake], if he can take a sniff of the rat and then urinate, the wound will soon heal.”⁸¹
- [228] “Large cowries” 大貝: Some say they are huge seashells, conches, or clams.⁸²
- [229] *Chequ* 車渠: *Tridacna gigas*.⁸³ *Cheju* were originally produced in India, regarded as one of the seven treasures by the Buddhists. Here they are seen as a product of Da Qin, which might be a mistake.
- [230] “Agate” 瑪瑙: A kind of chalcedony.⁸⁴ The *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (ch. 84) quotes the “Manao le fu xu” 馬瑙勒賦序 by Cao Pi 曹丕: “*Manao* 馬瑙 is a kind of jade. It is a

⁷⁸ Cf. Schafer 1963, p. 245.

⁷⁹ Leslie 1996, p. 203.

⁸⁰ For details, see Shiratori 1971–3, esp. 288.

⁸¹ See Leslie 1996, p. 203.

⁸² See Leslie 1996, p. 202.

⁸³ Cf. Schafer 1963, p. 245.

⁸⁴ Cf. Zhang H 1993, pp. 35–41; Schafer 1963, pp. 228–229.

product of the Western Regions, with patterned grains, like the horse brains; hence the name among the indigenous people.”

- [231] “The southern gold” 南金: This refers to the bronze produced in the south. The “Panshui” 泮水 in the *Shijing* 詩經: “Their large tortoises and their elephants’ teeth, / And great contributions of the southern metals 元龜象齒，大賂南金.” (The Mao Exegesis 毛傳: “By ‘south’ is meant Jing 荆 and Yang 揚.” Zheng’s commentary: “In Jing and Yang provinces, among their articles of tribute are the three classes of metal [i.e., gold, silver, copper].” Kong’s subcommentary 孔疏: “*Jin* 金 refers to copper.” Here, it is likely that the term is used to refer to the production of fine bronze in Da Qin.
- [232] “Kingfisher gems” 翠爵: Some believe that this and the following item, “kingfisher feathers” 羽翮, should be read together. The 翠爵羽翮 does not refer to feathers of the kingfisher, but rather a kind of treasure like jadeite or emerald.⁸⁵
- [233] “Elephant tusks (ivory)”: According to the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), “Until the ninth year of the *Yanxi* 延熹 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓 (A.D. 166), Andun 安敦, king of Da Qin, sent an envoy from beyond the frontier of Rinan 日南 Prefecture which offered elephant tusk.”⁸⁶
- [234] “*Fucai* jade” 符采玉: Jade with horizontal veins. The “Shudu fu” 蜀都賦 by Zuo Si 左思 in the *Wenxuan* 文選 (ch. 4): “The horizontal veins are splendid” 符采彪炳. The commentary: “*Fucai*: Jade with horizontal veins.”
- [235] “The full moon pearl” 明月珠 is also seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [236] “The night shining pearl” 夜光珠 should be the 夜光璧 (the jewel which shines at night) in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [237] “*Hupo*” 虎珀 (amber) should be the same as the “*hupo*” 虎魄 in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [238] “Opaque glass” 琉璃 is also seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

⁸⁵ Cf. Leslie 1996, p. 212.

⁸⁶ Cf. Schafer 1963, pp. 239–241.

- [239] “*Qiulin*” 璆琳 (a kind of jade-stone): Some regard it as a kind of opaque glass, i.e., *bi liuli* 璧流離 (jade-like opaque glass).⁸⁷
- [240] “*Langgan*” 琅玕 (a beautiful pearl-like stone) is also seen in the “*Xiyu Zhuan*” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [241] “*Shuijing*” 水精 is the same as “*Shiying*” 石英 (crystal).⁸⁸
- [242] “*Meigui*” 玫瑰 should be “*yunmu*” 雲母 (mica).⁸⁹
- [243] “*Xionghuang*” 雄黃 is realgar.⁹⁰
- [244] “*Cihuang*” 雌黃 is orpiment (*auripigmentum*).⁹¹
- [245] “*Bi* stones” 碧 should be the “*qing bi*” 青碧 in the “*Xiyu Zhuan*” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [246] “*Tadeng* scarves” 首下毳毼: Probably a kind of woolen scarf.
- [247] “Gold-threaded embroideries” 金縷繡 must be the “embroidered tissues with gold threads” 刺金縷繡 in the “*Xiyu Zhuan*” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88). The “*jinzhizhang*” 金織帳 in the subsequent text must be of the same kind.
- [248] “Gold-painted cloth” 金塗布 must be the same as the “*huangjin tu*” 黃金塗 (gold-painted cloth) in the “*Xiyu Zhuan*” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [249] “*Feichi* cloth” 緋持布 was produced in Wuyishanli 烏弋山離. “*Feichi*” 緋持 should have been “*Paite*” 排特. According to this chapter, “Wuyi is also called *Paite*.”
- [250] “*Falu* cloth” 發陸布 was produced in Propontis. “*Falu*” 發陸 [piuat-liuk] is a transcription of Propontis. Propontis is also called “*Lüfen*” 驢分 in this chapter. The variations in the transcription may be caused by different sources.

⁸⁷ Zhang H 1993, pp. 1–26.

⁸⁸ Cf. Schafer 1963, pp. 227–228; Zhang H 1993, pp. 42–48.

⁸⁹ Zhang H 1993, pp. 51–57.

⁹⁰ Cf. Schafer 1963, p. 219–220; Zhang H 1993, pp. 218–220.

⁹¹ Cf. Schafer 1963, pp. 213–214; Zhang H 1993, pp. 218–220.

- [251] “*Feichiqu* cloth” 緋持渠布 was also produced in Wuyishanli. “*Paitequ*” 排特渠 [buəi-dək-gia] is probably the full transcription of Prophthasia, and is mistakenly differentiated from Paite.
- [252] “Fire-washed cloth” 火浣布 (asbestos) is also seen in the “*Xiyu Zhuan*” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88). The “*San shaodi ji*” 三少帝紀 of the “*Weishu*” in the *Sanguozhi*: In the third year of the Jingchu 景初 reign-period (A.D. 239), “[Envoys from] the Western Regions [came over] and presented the fire-washed cloth [as tribute] after their language had gone through multiple interpreters.” Pei’s 裴 commentary: “Emperor Wen thought that fire was fierce in the extreme; nothing can survive in it intact, without being seared. He discussed this in the *Dianlun* 典論, exposing the things that are impossible and freeing the wise from listening to such [nonsense]. When Emperor Ming ascended the throne, he decreed to the three most senior ministers of court: ‘In the past the former Emperor had written the *Dianlun*, which is immortal in its exemplary words. Let it be carved on the steles outside the gates to the imperial temple and the imperial academy, and stand together with the [Confucian] Canon, so as to guide the future generations for ever.’ Now, the envoys from the Western Regions came over and presented the fire-washed cloth. He therefore had the treatise erased, which was laughed at by people under heaven.”
- [253] *Aluode* cloth 阿羅得布 is produced in Alexandria of Egypt. “*Aluode*” 阿羅得 [a-lai-tək] is an abbreviated transcription of Alexandria. Alexandria in Egypt is one of the three metropolises in the Roman Empire; it is noted as “*Zensan*” 澤散, “*Chisan*” 遲散, “*Wudan*” 烏丹, or “*Wuchisan*” 烏遲散 in this chapter.
- [254] *Baze* cloth 巴則布 was produced in Damascus. “*Baze*” 巴則 [pea-tsiək] is an abbreviated transcription of Damascus. In this memoir, Damascus is also called “*Sifu*” 汜復.
- [255] *Dudai* cloth 度代布 was produced in Tadmora. “*Dudai*” 度代 [dak-dək] is a transcription of Tadmor or Tadmora, the ancient name of Palmyra. In this chapter, Tadmora is also called “*Danlan*” 旦蘭. In the “*Bubo* (the 7th)” 布帛七 of the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 820), the text quoted read “*Ludai*” 鹿代.

- [256] Wensu cloth 溫宿布 is produced in Antiochia. The “Wensu” 溫宿 here is obviously not the small state on the Middle Route in the Western Regions. It seems that the “Wensu cloth” should be written as the “Wense cloth” 溫色布 after a different edition.⁹² “Wense” 溫色 [uən-shiək] seems to be an abbreviated transcription of Antiochia. In this chapter, Antiochia is also called “Angu” 安谷, i.e., the capital of Tiaozi in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji* (ch. 123). In the period of this chapter, it belonged to Rome, one of the three metropolises of Da Qin.
- [257] The meaning of the “multi-coloured peach cloth” 桃布 is unknown. The “Bubo” 布帛 (the 7th) of *Taiping yulan* (ch. 820) reads “*zhenbu*” 枕布, which is perhaps right.
- [258] “Crimson background” 絳地: The “Dong Yi Zhuan” 東夷傳 of the *Weishu* in *Sanguozhi* records an edict by Emperor Ming 明 to the queen of Wo 倭 in the twelfth month in the second year of the Jingchu 景初 reign-period: “In recognition of the gifts you have presented, we are sending you five rolls of brocade embroidered with recoiled dragons on a crimson background 絳地交龍錦, ten woolen carpets with grain patterns in relief on a crimson background, fifty rolls of crimson brocade, and fifty rolls of reddish black brocade.” For the 絳地交龍錦, Pei’s 裴 commentary reads, “‘*di*’ 地 should be ‘*di*’ 緹. The robe of the black colour worn by Emperor Wen of the Han Dynasty is called *yidi* 弋緹 is an example. This character was not written correctly; if this was not a mistake of the Wei Dynasty, then the mistake must be the scribes.” In my opinion, “*jiangdi*” 絳地 should mean the crimson fabric or the crimson background.⁹³
- [259] “Bracketed curtains” 斗帳: Their shapes are like a *dou* 斗 measure placed upside down; hence the name, *douzhang* 斗帳.
- [260] The name of *weimu* 微木 is unknown.
- [261] “*Suhe*” 蘇合 (storax) is also seen in the “*Xiyu Zhuan*” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [262] “*Diti*” 狄提: Name of a spice; its meaning is unknown. The “*Wang zhi*” 王制 of the *Liji* 禮記: “The west is referred to as *Diti* 狄鞮.” Perhaps “*diti*” 狄提 here is the same as

⁹² *Sanguozhi Jijie* 三國志集解, p. 710.

⁹³ Cf. Hirth 1885, pp. 253–254; Leslie 1996, p. 216.

“diti” 狄鞮; it is used to stand for the incense from the Western Regions. The “Tongsheng ge” 同聲歌 by Zhang Heng 張衡 in the *Yutai xinyong* 玉臺新詠 (ch. 1): “I sprinkle and sweep, cleaning the mat and pillows, / And perfume them with the *diti* incense 灑掃清枕席，鞮芬以狄香.”

- [263] “*Mimi*” 迷迷: The “Xiang” 香 (the 2nd) of the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 982) reads “*misong*” 迷送. It quotes the *Guangzhi* 廣志: “*Misong* is a product from the Western Sea.” Its nature is like that in the “*Misong fu*” 迷送賦 by Emperor Wen 文 of Wei and the “*Misongxiang fu*” 迷送香賦 by Chen Ban 陳班. One version of “*misong*” 迷送 is “*midie*” 迷迭.⁹⁴ It is generally believed that it should be “*midie*” 迷迭, the *Rosmarinus officinalis*, a kind of *Labiatae*, produced mainly in the Mediterranean area. In the spring and summer tiny blue or white flowers bloom; their needle-shaped leaves are fragrant.

- [264] *Douna* 兜納, according to the *Guangzhi* 廣志, is “produced in the mountains of the state of Piao 票” (“Cao” 草 (the 3rd) of the *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 (ch. 14) quoting the *Haiyao bencao* 海藥本草 by Li Xun 李珣). *Douna* 兜納 seems to be the *aina* 艾納 in the “Xiang” 香 (the 2nd) of the *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (ch. 982), a corruption due to the similarity in form of the two terms. In the same chapter, the *Guangzhi* is also quoted, but the text reads, “*Aina* is produced in the state of Piao.” Also quoted in this context is the “Yuefu ge” 樂府歌, which mentions *aina* together with *misong*: “Where is the itinerant man of Hu from? / What has he brought from the various states? / *Tadeng* and five incenses, / *Misong*, *aina*, and *duliang* 迷送艾納及都梁.”

- [265] “Monk’s hood” 白附子: Others think that it refers to the stem of a kind of *Iatrophia janipha*.⁹⁵

- [266] “Xunlu” 熏陸: Wolf’s-bane (aconitum), i.e., *Boswellia thurifera*.

⁹⁴ *Sanguozhi Jijie* 三國志集解, p. 710.

⁹⁵ Schafer 1963, p. 190.

- [267] Frankincense 鬱金, according to the nature and form that are described by the following quoted "Hainang Zhuguo Zhuan" 海南諸國傳 of the *Liangshu* 梁書 (ch. 54), it must be saffron (*Crocus sativus*).
- [268] Rue (or glue made from rue) 芸膠 should be *Ruta graveolens*. The "Cao Bu" 艸部 in the *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字 (ch. 2): "Yun 芸 is a kind of grass 草; it looks like lucerne 苜蓿." The "Xiang (the 2nd)" in the *Taiping yulan* (ch. 982) quoting the *Guangzhi* 廣志: "Of the glue made of rue, there is the Anxi glue 安息膠 and the black glue 黑膠."
- [269] "Twelve kinds of perfumes" 十二種香: The character *er* 二 is suspected to be redundant, since there are ten kinds of perfumes.

大秦道既從海北陸通，又循海而南，與交趾七郡^[270]外夷比，又有水道通益州^[271]、永昌^[272]，故永昌出異物。前世但論有水道，不知有陸道，今其略如此。其民人戶數不能備詳也。（卷三〇“魏書·烏丸鮮卑東夷傳”裴注引）

Not only is there a route to Da Qin 大秦 communicating from north of the sea by land, but there is also one coming south following the sea, which connects with the barbarians outside the seven prefectures of Jiaozhi 交趾^[270] and the others. There is also a water route communicating with Yizhou 益州^[271] and Yongchang 永昌^[272], and that is why Yongchang produces exotica. Former generations only mentioned a sea route, they did not know a land route. Here now is a summary. As for the numbers of individuals and households, we cannot set them out in detail. (The "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*, quoted by Pei's *Commentaries* on the "Wuhuan, Xianbei and Dongyi Zhuan" of *Weishu* in the *Sanguozhi*)

- [270] "The seven prefectures of Jiaozhi" 交趾七郡 is the same as the "seven prefectures of Jiaozhou" 交州七郡: Nanhai 南海 (its seat of government is in the present Guangzhou 廣州, Guangdong 廣東 Province), Cangwu 蒼梧 (its seat of government is in the present Wuzhou 梧州, Guangxi 廣西 Province), Yulin 鬱林 (its seat of government is to the west of the present Guiping 桂平), Hepu 合浦 (its seat of government is to the southwest of the present Pubei 浦北, Guangxi 廣西), Jiaozhi 交趾 (its seat of

government is to the northwest of Hanoi), Jiuzhen 九真 (its seat of government is to the northwest of the present Thanh Hóa 清化), Rinan 日南 (its seat of government is in the valleys of the Quảng Trị 廣治 and Cam Lộ 甘露 rivers in Bình Trị Thiên 平治天 Province, Vietnam).

[271] Yizhou 益州 is the name of a prefecture; its seat of government is to the east of the present Jinning 晉寧, Yunnan 雲南 Province.

[272] Yongchang 永昌 is the name of a prefecture; its seat of government is to the northeast of the present Baoshan 保山, Yunnan Province.

1.4.2.3

自葱嶺西，此國最大，置諸小王甚多，故錄其屬大者矣。^[273]

This state is the largest west of the Cong 葱 Mountains. The various petty kings it has established are very many, so [only] the largest vassals are listed here.^[273]

[273] “This state is the largest west of the Cong Mountains”: The Da Qin in this chapter refers to the entire Roman Empire with Rome as its center, excluding its vassal states.

澤散王屬大秦，^[274]其治在海中央，北至驢分，水行半歲，風疾時一月到，最與安息安谷城相近，西南詣大秦都不知里數。驢分王屬大秦，^[275]其治去大秦都二千里。從驢分城西之大秦渡海，飛橋長二百三十里^[276]，渡海道西南行，繞海直西行。且蘭王屬大秦。^[277]從思陶國^[278]直南渡河，乃直西行之且蘭三千里。道出河南，乃西行，從且蘭復直西行之氾復國六百里。南道會氾復，乃西南之賢督國。且蘭、氾復直南，乃有積石^[279]，積石南乃有大海，出珊瑚、真珠。且蘭、氾復、斯賓^[280]、阿蠻^[281]北有一山，東西行。大秦、海西東各有一山，皆南北行。^[282]賢督王屬大秦，^[283]其治東北去氾復六百里。氾復王屬大秦，^[284]其治東北去于羅三百四十里渡海也。于羅屬大秦，^[285]其治在氾復東北，渡河^[286]，從于羅東北又渡河，斯羅東北又渡河。^[287]斯羅國屬安息^[288]，與大秦接也。大秦西有海水，^[289]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^[290]，西

王母西有脩流沙。流沙西有大夏國、堅沙國^[291]、屬繇國^[292]、月氏國，四國西有黑水，所傳聞西之極矣。（卷三〇“魏書·烏丸鮮卑東夷傳”裴注引）

The king[dom] of Zesan 澤散.^[274] It is subject to Da Qin. The seat of the king's government is right in the middle of the sea. To the north one reaches Lüfen 驢分, going by water for half a year, [but] with favorable winds you arrive after one month. It is nearest to the town of Angu in Anxi. To the southwest, one reaches the capital of Da Qin, how many *li* distant we do not know. The king[dom] of Lüfen 驢分.^[275] It is subject to Da Qin. His seat of government is distant 2,000 *li* from the capital of Da Qin. From the town of Lüfen going west to Da Qin one crosses over a flying sea-bridge 230 *li* long.^[276] The route across the sea goes southwest; if one goes round the sea, it is due west. The king[dom] of Qielan 且蘭.^[277] It is subject to Da Qin. From the state of Sitao 思陶,^[278] one goes due south crossing a river, then goes due west to Qielan, 3,000 *li*. When the route leads out to the south of the river, one goes west. From Qielan, one continues on due west to arrive at the state of Sifu 氾復, 600 *li*. After the southern route meets Sifu, one goes southwest to get to the state of Xiandu 賢督. Going due south from Qielan and Sifu, [one comes to] Jishi 積石 (Accumulated Rocks).^[279] To the south of Jishi is the great sea which produces corals and true pearls. To the north of Qielan, Sifu, Sabin 斯賓^[280] and Aman 阿蠻^[281] is a mountain running east–west. To the west and the east of the sea of Da Qin, each has mountains running north–south.^[282] The king[dom] of Xiandu 賢督: It is subject to Da Qin.^[283] His seat of government is distant by 600 *li* from Sifu 氾復 to the northeast. The king[dom] of Sifu 氾復: It is subject to Da Qin.^[284] His seat of government is distant by 340 *li* from Yuluo 于羅 to the northeast across the sea. [The state] of Yuluo 于羅: It is subject to Da Qin.^[285] The seat of the king's government is northeast of Sifu across a river.^[286] From Yuluo to the northeast, again crossing a river, [is Anxi]. From Siluo to the northeast, again crossing a river, [is also Anxi].^[287] The state of Siluo 斯羅: it is subject to Anxi;^[288] and

adjoins Da Qin. To the west of Da Qin are sea waters,^[289] 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 Mountain. The White Jade Mountain has the Queen Mother of the West.^[290] West of the Queen Mother of the West are the Flowing Sands; and west of the Flowing Sands are the states of Daxia 大夏, Jiansha 堅沙,^[291] Shuyou 屬繇,^[292] and Yuezhi. To the west of these four states is the Black Water, which tradition has as the extreme west. (The “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weiliue*, Quoted by Pei’s Commentries to the “Wuhuan, Xianbei and Dongyi Zhuan” of “Weishu” in the *Sanguozhi*)

[274] “The king[dom] of Zesan: It is subject to Da Qin”: Zesan is Alexandria in Egypt. It became a dependency of Da Qin in 30 B.C.

[274a] The word “southwest “ is a textual error for “northwest.”

[275] “The king[dom] of Lüfen: It is subject to Da Qin”: In 190 B.C., Asia Minor became subject to Rome. It was at this time that Lüfen, i.e., the Propontis area, became subject to Da Qin.

[276] “From the town of Lüfen going west to Da Qin one crosses over a flying sea-bridge 230 *li* long”: One travelling west from Propontis over the bridge across the Helespont Strait could reach the Italian Peninsula. The length of the bridge, 230 *li*, could be a mistake of hearsay.

[277] “The king[dom] of Qielan: It is subject to Da Qin”: Danlan 旦蘭 (Qielan 且蘭) is Palmyra, subject to Da Qin as early as the first century A.D. The laws of the Roman Empire, proclaimed in A.D. 17, had provisions about tax collection in this town.

[278] “Sitao” 思陶 [sə-du] must be a transcription of Sittake.

[279] “Jishi” 積石 refers to the transportation hub, Petra (Greek: Πέτρα), which lies north of Arabia and west of Hamad. “Πέτρα” means rocks; “Jishi” is its literary translation.

[280] “Sibin” 斯賓 [sie-pien] is a transcription of Ctesiphon. “Sibin” is seen also in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

- [281] "Aman" 阿蠻 [a-mean] is a transcription of Ecbatana. "Aman" is seen also in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [282] "To the west and the east of the sea of Da Qin, each has mountains running north–south": The Apennine Mountains in the Italian Peninsula and the Lebanon Mountains to the east of the Mediterranean; both mountain ranges run north–south.
- [283] "The king[dom] of Xiandu: it is subject to Da Qin": This started in 63 B.C. When Rome quelled the Jewish rebellion in Palestine in A.D. 70, the town was destroyed. Later, a new town, called Aelia Capitalina, was built on the site of the old one.
- [284] "The king[dom] of Sifu: it is subject to Da Qin": This started in 64 B.C.
- [285] "[The state] of Yuluo: it is subject to Da Qin": There are no records as to when Yuluo 于羅 (i.e., Hatra) began to be subject to Rome. The few known facts are the following: Late in his reign, Trajan (c. 98–117) laid a siege on Hatra, but he was unable to breach it. In 198, Septimius Severus (c. 193–211) again besieged the town, but again to no avail. This indicates how important Hatra was; both Anxi and Rome fought for it. The possibility cannot be ruled out that it once belonged to Rome. This chapter could supplement the western histories, where there is not much information about Hatra.
- [286] The river here refers to the Euphrates. Yuluo is located on its left side.
- [287] "From Yuluo to the northeast, again crossing a river, [is Anxi]. From Siluo to the northeast, again crossing a river, [is also Anxi]": One could reach Anxi by crossing the Euphrates at Hatra or Seleucia.
- [288] "The state of Siluo: It is subject to Anxi": This chapter states that Yuluo "is subject to Da Qin," and that Siluo "is subject to Anxi and adjoins Da Qin," indicating that in the age described in this chapter, the line separating the spheres of influence of Anxi and Rome is between Siluo and Yuluo.
- [289] "To the west of Da Qin are sea waters" and the text after may be hearsay.
- [290] "Queen Mother of the West" 西王母 is first seen in the "Dayuan Liezhuan" of the *Shiji* (ch. 123). Her prototype may be Koubaba, i.e., Cybele, the great goddess of Anatolia.
- [291] "Jiansha" 堅沙 [kyen-shea] seems to be a variation in the transcription of Guishang 貴霜.

- [292] “Shuyou” 屬繇 [zjiuok-jio] seems to be a transcription of Sugda, which used to be dependency of Guishuang. This memoir lists Daxia, the Yuezhi, and Jiansha together despite their different historical eras, reflecting, in a round-about way, the historical process in which Daxia was destroyed by the Yuezhi, and the Yuezhi in turn destroyed by Guishang (Jiansha).

1.4.3.1

又有奄蔡國^[293]一名阿蘭^[294]，皆與康居同俗。西與大秦、東南與康居接。其國多名貂，畜牧逐水草，臨大澤^[295]，故時羈屬康居，今不屬也。（卷三〇“魏書·烏丸鮮卑東夷傳”裴注引）

There is in addition the state of Yancai 奄蔡,^[293] which is also named Alan 阿蘭.^[294] These states all have the same way of life as that of Kangju. [These states] to the west adjoin Da Qin, to the southeast, Kangju. There are many renowned martens in the state [of Yancai]. In company with their stock animals [the inhabitants] go in search of water and pasture. It borders the Great Marsh.^[295] Formerly, the state was subject to Kangju, but now is not subject to it. (The “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*, Quoted by Pei’s *Commentaries* to the “Wuhuan, Xianbei and Dongyi Zhuan” of “Weishu” in the *Sanguozhi*)

- [293] Yancai 奄蔡 is a state of nomadic tribes north of the Aral Sea and the Caspian Sea, first seen in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*.

- [294] “Alan” 阿蘭 [a-lan] is a transcription of “Alan” in Western history. According to this chapter, “the state of Yancai ... is also named Alan.”⁹⁶

- [295] “The Great Marsh” here refers to the Black Sea. Yancai, according to this chapter, adjoins Da Qin, i.e., the Roman Empire in the west. We may conclude that the center of the activities of the Yancai people had shifted from the north of the Aral Sea and the Caspian Sea to the north of the Black Sea.

⁹⁶ Yu 1992, pp. 118–130.

1.4.3.2

短人國^[296]在康居西北，男女皆長三尺，人衆甚多，去奄蔡諸國甚遠。康居長老傳聞常有商度此國，去康居可萬餘里。（卷三“魏書·烏丸鮮卑東夷傳”裴注引）

The state of the Dwarfs (short people):^[296] it is located to the northwest of Kangju. Its men and women are all (only) three *chi* 尺 tall. The population is very numerous. It is very far from the various states such as Yancai 奄蔡 and others. The elders of Kangju relate that travelers have often crossed this state. It is about 10,000 *li* and more from Kangju. (The “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*, quoted by Pei’s *Commentaries* to the “Wuhuan, Xianbei and Dongyi Zhuan” of “Weishu” in the *Sanguozhi*)

^[296] The location of the state of the Dwarfs 短人國 is unknown. Some believe that the state of the Dwarfs must be the land of Zhouao 周饒 in the “Haiwai nan jing” 海外南經 of the *Shanhai jing* 山海經 and the land of Jiaojiao 焦僥 (*junren* 菌人) and *jingren* 靖人 respectively in the “Dahuang nan jing” 大荒南經 and the “Dahuang dong jing” 大荒東經 of the same book. “Zhouao” 周饒, “jiaojiao” 焦僥, “junren” 菌人, and “jingren” 靖人 are all synonyms for dwarfs (“zhuru” 侏儒). Legends concerning dwarfs and cranes can be found in the *Geography* of Strabo ⁹⁷(I, 2–35; XV, 1–57) and the *Natural History* of Pliny ⁹⁸(VII, 26); such legends could have reached China through the Eurasian Steppe. ⁹⁹

1.4.4

魚豢^[297]議曰：俗以爲營廷之魚^[298]不知江海之大，浮游之物^[299]不知四時之氣，是何也？以其所在者小與其生之短也。余今汎覽外夷大秦諸國，猶尚曠

⁹⁷ Jones 1916.

⁹⁸ Rackham 1949.

⁹⁹ See Sun P 1986.

若發蒙矣，況夫鄒衍之所推出^[300]，《大易》^[301]、《太玄》^[302]之所測度乎！（卷三〇“魏書·烏丸鮮卑東夷傳”裴注引）

Yu Huan 魚豢^[297] makes the following observations: It is generally realized that a fish living in a small pond^[298] is unaware of the grandeur of [Yangtze] River or the ocean, and that an insect like the *fuyou* 浮游 (which lives only for a day)^[299] knows nothing of the four seasons. Why is this? It is because the place where the one lives is too small, and the life of the other too short. As for me now, looking at the foreign tribes and upon such states as Da Qin, I have found it a great task from which I have learnt a lot, let alone those deduced by Zou Yan 鄒衍^[300] and those estimated by the *Dayi* 大易^[301] and *Taixuan* 太玄!^[302] (The “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*, quoted by Pei’s *Commentaries* to the “Wuhuan, Xianbei and Dongyi Zhuan” of “Weishu” in the *Sanguozhi*)

[297] Yu Huan 魚豢, a native of the state of Wei in Three Kingdoms times, is the author of *Weilüe* 魏略.

[298] “Yingting zhi yu” 營廷之魚 refers to fish that swim in shallow water. “Yingting” 營廷 is also written 滢潏 or 鼎潏, meaning a puddle of stagnant water.

[299] “Fuyou zhi wu” 浮游之物: An insect with a very short life.

[300] “Those deduced by Zou Yan” 鄒衍之所推出 refer to the works of Zou Yan. The “Yiwen zhi” 藝文志 of the *Hanshu* (ch. 30) lists *Zouzi* 鄒子, consisting of 49 pieces, and *Zouzi Zhongshi* 鄒子終始, consisting of 56 pieces. Zou Yan, from the state of Qi, is a sophist, known for his discourses on astronomy and cosmogony. The “Mengzi Xunqing Liezhuan” 孟子荀卿列傳 of the *Shiji* (ch. 74): “The art of Zou Yan can be characterized by pedantry, absurdity, and sophistry.”

[301] The *Dayi* 大易 refers to the *Yi jing* 易經 (*Book of Changes*).

[302] *Taixuan* 太玄 was authored by Yang Xiong 揚雄 of the Western Han. *Yijing* and *Taixuan Jing* 太玄經 both make divinations according to the sixty-four hexagrams.

5 *Jinshu* 晉書^[302]

1.5.1

太康五年十二月庚午”林邑^[304]、大秦^[305]國各遣使來獻”。（卷三“武帝紀”）

In the fifth year of Taikang reign-period (284), in the twelfth month, on the day gengwu 庚午, “Linyi^[304] and Da Qin^[305] states sent respectively an envoy with tribute.” (The “Wudi Ji” of the *Jinshu*, ch. 3)

^[303] The *Jinshu* is complete in 130 chapters. The author is Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 in Tang times.

^[304] Linyi is an ancient state, which was located in the middle of Vietnam.

^[305] Da Qin refers to the Roman Empire, which is first seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* and the “Xirong Zhuan” of *Weilüe*.

1.5.2.1

大秦國，一名犁鞞，^[306]在西海^[307]之西，其地東西南北各數千里。有城邑，其城周迴百餘里。屋宇皆以珊瑚爲椳栳，琉璃爲牆壁，水精爲柱礎。^[308]其王有五宮，其宮相去各十里，每旦於一宮聽事，終而復始。若國有災異，輒更立賢人，放其舊王，被放者亦不敢怨。^[309]有官曹簿領，而文字習胡，亦有白蓋小車、旌旗之屬，及郵驛制置，一如中州。其人長大，貌類中國人而胡服。^[310]

其土多出金玉寶物、明珠^[311]、大貝，有夜光璧^[312]、駭雞犀^[313]及火浣布^[314]，又能刺金縷繡^[315]及織錦縷罽^[316]。以金銀爲錢，銀錢十當金錢之一。

安息^[317]、天竺^[318]人與之交市於海中，其利百倍。鄰國使到者，輒廩以金錢。途經大海，海水鹹苦不可食，商客往來皆齎三歲糧，是以至者稀少。^[319]

The state of Da Qin 大秦: It is also called Lijian 犁鞞,^[306] and is situated to the west of the Western Sea.^[307] Its territory stretches from east to west and from

north to south over several thousand *li*. There are cities in it. Its [capital] city is more than 100 *li* in circumference. In its dwellings, coral is used for the joists and beam supports, opaque glass for walls, and crystal glass for pillars.^[308] The king has five palaces, ten *li* apart from one another. Early in the morning the king goes to one of the palaces to hear cases, and when he has finished (the round) he starts again. Whenever there is a calamity or uncanny event in the state, they immediately change the ruler, establishing a worthy man [as king], dismissing the former king. The one dismissed does not dare complain.^[309] There are officials and scribes, and they use Hu 胡 written characters. They also have small chariots with white canopies, and flags and pennants, and postal stations established just like those in the Central Plains. Their people are tall and large with faces resembling [those of people in] the Middle Kingdom, but they wear Hu clothes.^[310]

Their land produces much gold, jade, jewels, (full-moon) pearls^[311] and large cowries. They have the jewel which shines at night,^[312] the rhinoceros which frightens chickens,^[313] and “cloth washed in fire” (asbestos).^[314] They also are able to sew embroidered tissues with gold threads^[315] [to form] gold-threaded tapestries.^[316] They make coins from gold and silver, ten silver coins being equal to one gold coin.

The men of Anxi 安息^[317] and Tianzhu 天竺^[318] trade with them by sea, and the profit is a hundred fold. When envoys of neighbouring states arrive, they are given gold coins. Crossing over the great sea, the sea water is salty and bitter, and is undrinkable. Merchants who travel always take on board three years’ provisions; that is why those who arrive are few.^[319]

[306] “Lijian” 犁鞬 must be the “Lixuan” 黎軒 in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji*, the “Lijian” 犁鞬 in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu*, the “Lijian” 犁鞬 in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*, and the “Lijian” 犁鞬 in the “Xi Rong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*; all are abbreviated transcriptions of [A]lexan[dria] (Alexandria in Egypt).

However, the “Lixuan” 黎軒 and “Lijian” 犁軒 in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji* and the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* refer to Ptolemaic Egypt, whereas the “Lijian” 犁鞬 and “Lijian” 犁軒 in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*, the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*, and this memoir have become synonymous with Da Qin.

[307] “The Western Sea” 西海 refers to the Mediterranean Sea. This all copies from former histories.

[308] “In its dwellings, coral is used for the joists and beam supports ...”: Such statements, like the descriptions in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* (“The pillars of the palace ... are made of crystal glass”) are exaggerations.

[309] From “The king has five palaces” to “The one dismissed does not dare complain”: There are similar descriptions in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* and the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

[310] “Their people are tall and large ...”: We can see that it is because the Romans had “faces resembling [those of people in] the Middle Kingdom” that they were called Da Qin, since “Qin” was the name for the Middle Kingdom among the peoples in the North and Central Asia. Da Qin must be the name for the Roman Empire among the peoples of Central Asia.

[311] “(Full-moon) pearls” 明珠 (*mingzhu*) should be the “*mingyuezhu*” 明月珠 in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

[312] “The jewel which shines at night” 夜光璧 (*yeguangbi*) is seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

[313] “The rhinoceros which frightens chickens” 駭雞犀 (*haiji xi*) is seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

[314] “Cloth washed in fire” 火浣布 (*huohuan bu*) is seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

[315] “Embroidered tissues with gold threads” 金縷繡 (*jinlǚ xiu*) is seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

[316] “Gold-threaded tapestries” 織錦繡罽 (*zhijinlǚ ji*) should be the same as the “*zhicheng*” 織成 and “*jinlǚji*” 金縷罽 in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*.

- [317] Anxi 安息 refers to the Parthian Persia, first seen in the "Dayuan Liezhuan" of the *Shiji* (ch. 123).
- [318] Tianzhu 天竺 refers to the Subcontinent of South Asia with the valley of the Indus River as its center, first seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [319] The record on Da Qin is mostly taken from the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*; nothing new is offered here.

1.5.2.2

漢時都護班超遣掾甘英使其國，入海，船人曰：「海中有思慕之物，往者莫不悲懷。若漢使不戀父母妻子者，可入」。英不能渡。^[320]武帝太康中，其王遣使貢獻。^[321]（卷九七“西戎傳”）

In Han times, the Protector General Ban Chao 班超 sent his adjutant Gan Ying 甘英 as envoy to this state. As he was about to go to sea, the sailors said: "The sea has something in it that makes one homesick; travellers all feel sad. If the Han envoy has forgotten his father and mother and wife and child, he can go to sea." [Gan] Ying was unable to cross.^[320] During the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (A.D. 280–290), their king sent an envoy to present tribute.^[321] (The "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Jinshu*, ch. 97)

- [320] Gan Ying's western mission to Da Qin is included in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88): "In the ninth year [of the Yongyuan reign-period (A.D. 97)], Ban Chao dispatched his adjutant Gan Ying all the way to the coast of the Western Sea (the Mediterranean) and back."
- [321] This is also recorded in "Wudi ji" 武帝紀 of the *Jinshu* (ch. 3).

6 *Liangshu* 梁書^[322]

1.6.1

中天竺國^[323]……其西與大秦、安息交市海中，多大秦珍物，^[324]珊瑚^[325]、琥珀^[326]、金碧^[327]、珠璣^[328]、琅玕^[329]、鬱金^[330]、蘇合^[331]。

蘇合是合諸香汁煎之，非自然一物也。又云大秦人採蘇合，先笮其汁以爲香膏，乃賣其滓與諸國賈人，是以展轉來達中國，不大香也。

鬱金獨出罽賓國^[332]，華色正黃而細，與芙蓉華裏被蓮者相似。國人先取以上佛寺，積日香稿，乃糞去之，賈人從寺中徵雇，以轉賣與佗國也。（卷五四“海南諸國傳”）

To the west, Zhong Tianzhu^[323] carries on trade by sea with Da Qin and Anxi. (It has) many of the rare objects of Da Qin: ^[324] coral^[325], amber^[326], *jinbi*^[327], pearls^[328], *langgan*^[329], turmeric^[330], and storax^[331].

Suhe 蘇合 is made by mixing various fragrances and boiling them up; it is not a single natural product. It is also said that the people of Da Qin gather *suhe* and only after squeezing its juice out to make a fragrant balm do they sell its dregs to the traders of other countries. It thus goes through several hands to reach the Middle Kingdom and is not very fragrant.

Frankincense 鬱金 is only produced in the state of Jibin 罽賓^[332]. Its flowers are yellow and thin, like the lotus flowers with seeds. The people in that state first present them to the Buddhist temples. After a few days the fragrance fades and they are discarded. The merchants purchase them from the temples and then sell them to the other states.” (The “Hainan Zhuguo Zhuan” of the *Liangshu*, ch. 54)

^[322] The *Liangshu* is complete in 56 chapters. The author is Yao Silian 姚思廉 in Tang times.

^[323] “Zhong Tianzhu” (Madhyadeśa) refers to the Midland of India. The idea that India was divided into Madhyadeśa, Udīcyā (Uttarāpatha), Prācyā, Dakṣiṇāpatha and Aparānta,

comes from a centuries-old tradition. This division is first seen in the “Bhuvanakośa” of the *Purāṇa*.¹⁰⁰

- [324] The statement “To the west, (Zhong Tianzhu) carries on trade by sea with Da Qin and Anxi (Parthia). (It has) many of the rare objects of Da Qin” is based on the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Houhan shu*.
- [325] Coral is produced in Da Qin, which is seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [326] Amber is produced in Da Qin, which is seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88). “琥珀” is read “虎魄” in the latter.
- [327] *Jinbi* 金碧 must be “qingbi” 青碧, as seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Houhan shu*, and “bi” 碧 in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.
- [328] “Pearls” refers to “mingyue zhu” as seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), and “yeguang zhu” in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.
- [329] Langan is seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), etc.
- [330] Frankincense is produced in Da Qin, which is seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), the *Yiqiejing Yinyi* 一切經音義 (ch. 24), etc.
- [331] Suhe is produced in Da Qin, which is seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* etc.
- [332] “Jibin” in the historical books in Northern and Southern Dynasty times is generally considered to refer to Kashmir.

1.6.2

漢桓帝延熹九年，大秦王安敦遣使自日南徼外來獻，漢世唯一通焉。^[333]其國人行賈，往往至扶南^[334]、日南^[335]、交趾^[336]，其南徼諸國人少有到大秦者。

In the ninth year of Yanxi of Emperor Huan of the (Eastern) Han (166), the king of Da Qin, Andun, sent an envoy from outside the border of Rinan with tribute. This is the only communication with them in Han times.^[333] Their people are

¹⁰⁰ *Datang Xiyuji Jiaozhu* 大唐西域記校注, pp. 164–165.

traders and often visit Funan^[334] and Rinan^[335] and Jiaozhi^[336], but people of various countries beyond our southern border rarely reach Da Qin.

孫權^[337]黃武五年，有大秦賈人字秦論來到交趾，交趾太守吳邈^[338]遣送詣權，權問方土謠俗，論具以事對。

In the fifth year of the Huangwu 黃武 reign-period of Sun Quan 孫權^[337] (226), a merchant of Da Qin named Qin Lun came to Jiaozhi. The Grand Administrator of Jiaozhi Wu Miao^[338] sent him to visit [Sun] Quan, who asked him about the land and its customs. [Qin] Lun gave a detailed reply.

時諸葛恪討丹陽^[339]，獲黝、歙短人^[340]，論見之曰：“大秦希見此人”。權以男女各十人，差吏會稽^[341]劉咸送論，咸於道物故，論乃徑還本國。（卷五四“海南諸國傳”）

At the time, Zhuge Ke was carrying out a punitive campaign in Danyang^[339] and captured some dwarfs from the Counties of Yi 黝 and Xi 歙.^[340] [Qin] Lun saw them and said: “Such men are rarely seen in Da Qin”. So [Sun] Quan 孫權 took ten male and ten female dwarfs and sent an officer Liu Xian of Kuiji^[341] to accompany [Qin] Lun. [Liu] Xian died on the way; thereupon, [Qin] Lun went straight back to his country. (The “Hainan Zhuguo Zhuan” of the *Liangshu*, ch. 54)

[333] The story of Andun is seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Houhan Shu* (ch. 88).

[334] The state of Funan was located in the present Cambodia, the southern part of Laos and Vietnam, and the southeastern part of Thailand.

[335] Rinan Prefecture: Its seat of government is located where the Quảng Trị and Cam Lộ rivers meet in the present Bình Trị Thiên Province of Vietnam.

[336] Jiaozhi Prefecture: Its seat of government is located to the northwest of Hanoi.

[337] Sun Quan (182–252), the founder of the state of Wu in Three Kingdom times.

[338] Wu Miao: His story is not known in detail.

- [339] Zhuge Ke (203–253) was a minister of the state of Wu in the Three Kingdoms period, his biography appears in “Wushu” in the *Sanguo zhi* (ch. 64). The statement “Zhuge Ke was carrying out a punitive campaign in Danyang” means that Zhuge Ke, as the Grand Administrator of Danyang 丹楊, was carrying out a punitive campaign against the Shan Yue 山越 in the third year of the Jiahe (234) in the eighth month. Dayang is a prefecture under Yang Province.
- [340] Both “黟 (i.e. 黟)” and “黟” are names of counties. They were under the Danyang Prefecture.
- [341] Kuiji Prefecture: Its seat of government is located in the present Shaoxing of the Zhejiang Province.

7 Weishu 魏書^[342]

1.7

大秦國^[343]，一名黎軒^[344]，都安都城^[345]。從條支西渡海曲^[345]一萬里^[346]，去代三萬九千四百里^[348]。其海傍出，猶勃海也，而東西與勃海相望，蓋自然之理。^[349]地方六千里，居兩海^[350]之間，其地平正，（人）〔民〕居星布。其王都城分爲五城，各方五里，周六十里。王居中城。城置八臣以主四方，而王城亦置八臣，分主四城。若謀國事及四方有不決者，則四城之臣集議王所，王自聽之，然後施行。^[351]王三年一出觀風化，人有冤枉詣王訴訟者，當方之臣小則讓責，大則黜退，令其舉賢人以代之。^[352]其人端正長大，衣服車旗擬儀中國，故外域謂之大秦。^[353]其土宜五穀桑麻，人務蠶田^[354]，多璆琳^[355]、琅玕^[356]、神龜^[357]、白馬朱鬣^[358]、明珠^[359]、夜光璧^[360]。東南通交趾^[361]，又水道通益州^[362]、永昌郡^[363]，多出異物。大秦西、海水之西有河，河西南流。河西有南、北山，山西有赤水，西有白玉山。玉山西有西王母山，玉爲堂云。^[364]從安息西界循海曲，亦至大秦，回萬餘里。^[365]于彼國觀日月星辰，無異中國，而前史^[365]云條支西行百里日入處，失之遠矣。（卷一〇二“西域傳”）

The state of Da Qin 大秦:^[343] It is also called Lixuan 黎軒.^[344] Its capital is located at the city of Andu 安都.^[345] From Tiaozhi one goes west across the sea, winding around^[346] 10,000 *li*^[347] [and reaches the city of Andu]. It is distant by 39,400 *li*^[348] from Dai. The sea comes out on one side like the bay of Bo 勃 Sea. The sea and the Bo Sea face each other in the east and west. This is a natural configuration.^[349] Its area extends for 6,000 *li*, and it is situated between two seas.^[350] Its land is flat and regular, with the civilian residential housing scattered all over like stars in the sky. The capital city of the king is divided into five cities, each five *li* square; and 60 *li* in circumference. The king dwells in the central city. Each city has eight officials to rule over the four quarters [of the state]; but in the royal city there are also established eight high officials to rule over the four quarters [of the country]. The royal city has also established eight officials who divide up the rule of the four cities. If a discussion of affairs of state or of the four quarters [of the state] does not produce a decision, then the officials of the four cities meet at the king's residence to discuss [the matter]. Only after the king himself has heard the matter is any action taken.^[351] Every three years the king goes out to see how the people are behaving. If there is a complaint to the king about wrongdoing, the responsible official of the quarterly region is admonished if it is a small matter, but if it is a serious matter, he is degraded and dismissed, with an order to appoint a worthy man in his place.^[352] The people are regular-featured and tall, with clothes and chariots and banners resembling those of the Middle Kingdom, thus other states call it Da Qin 大秦 [Great Qin].^[353] The soil is suitable for the five grains, mulberry, and hemp. The people work at sericulture and agriculture.^[354] There are lots of *qiulin* 璆琳^[355] [a kind of jadestone], *langgan* 琅玕^[356] [a kind of pearl-like stone], marvellous tortoises,^[357] white horses with red manes,^[358] the full-moon pearl,^[359] and the jewel which shines at night.^[360] To the southeast it communicates with Jiaozhi 交趾,^[361] and there is also a sea route communicating with Yizhou 益州.^[362] That is why Yongchang 永昌 Prefecture^[363] produces many exotica [from Da Qin]. It is said that to the

west of the water of the sea and west of Da Qin is a river, which flows southwest. To the west of the river is a mountain running north–south. To the west of the mountain is the Red Water. To the west [of the Red Water] is the White Jade Mountain. To the west of the [White] Jade Mountain is the mountain of the Queen Mother of the West, where a hall is made of jade.^[364] From the western border of Anxi, following the sea bend, one also reaches Da Qin, going round 10,000 *li*.^[365] Looking at the sun, moon, stars and constellations from that state is no different than from the Middle Kingdom, thus when former histories^[366] say that one goes 100 *li* from Tiaozhi west to reach the place where the sun sets, they are very much astray. (The “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Weishu*, ch. 102)

[342] The *Weishu* is complete in 114 chapters. The author is Wei Shou 魏收 in Northern Qi times. “The Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Weishu* has been lost, but the paragraph to be quoted in this paper can be regarded as the original text by Wei Shou.¹⁰¹

[343] The records about Da Qin here are mostly copies and alterations from former histories. In the period of the Northern Wei, the Roman Empire had already been replaced by the Byzantine Empire, but no records about Byzantium were ever added in this paragraph, which means that the records about Da Qin in this chapter certainly are far from being “new wine in old bottles.”¹⁰²

[344] “It is also called Lixuan”: This is nothing more than a copy of the former histories. The confusion of Da Qin and Lixuan is essentially a result of the annexation of Lixuan, i.e., Ptolemaic Egypt, into the Roman Empire.

¹⁰¹ See Yu 2003, pp. 65–94.

¹⁰² The “Xiyu Zhuan 西域傳” of the *Weishu* 魏書 says that “The people work at sericulture and agriculture” in the state of Da Qin. Uchida 1972 suggests that this refers to the sericulture in the Byzantine Empire as seen in the records by Procopius, Theophanes and others. Note: The “Xirong Zhuan 西戎傳” of the *Weilüe* 魏略 has already recorded that the state of Da Qin had “mulberry silkworms.” Moreover, Uchida 1980 suggests that Andu 安都 must refer to Constantinople. In my opinion, this theory is also unconvincing.

- [345] “Andu” 安都 [an-ta] must be a transcription of Antiochia; it refers to the town of Angu, i.e., the town of Antiochia in Syria.¹⁰³ This is because Syria used to be Roman territory, and the town of Antiochia was the capital of the area. The cause is the same as that leading to the belief that “It [Da Qin] is also called Lixuan.”
- [346] “*Hai qu*” 海曲 refers to the gulfs and bays in the Mediterranean.
- [347] “10,000 *li*”: The distance from the seat of the king’s government of Tiaozhi to the town of Andu by crossing the gulfs and bays in the Mediterranean. This memoir states that the capital of Da Qin is the town of Andu, and then states that Da Qin is 10,000 *li* to the west of Tiaozhi—these statements are contradictory.
- [348] “39,400 *li*”: The distance from the town of Andu to Dai via the seat of the king’s government of Tiaozhi; i.e., the sum of 10,000 *li*, the distance between the town of Andu and the seat of the king’s government of Tiaozhi, and 29,400 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king’s government of Tiaozhi and Dai.
- [349] “The sea comes out ...”: The sea here refers to the Mediterranean. Tiaozhi and Da Qin are located to the east and the west of the Mediterranean respectively, and face each other in the east and west.
- [350] The state of Da Qin “is situated between two seas”: This is copying the records in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* among others: The state of Da Qin “lies to the west of the great sea which is west of Anxi and Tiaozhi.... To the west, there is also a great sea.”
- [351] “The capital city of the king is divided into five cities”: This is modeled after the statement in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*: “The king has five palaces,” among others.
- [352] “Every three years the king goes out to see how the people are behaving ...”: This is no more than an elaboration of the writings in the “Shundian” (The Canon of Shun) 舜典 of the *Shangshu* 尚書: “Every three years there was an examination of merits, and after three examinations the undeserving were degraded, and the deserving promoted. By this

¹⁰³ Shiratori 1971–3, esp. 270–310; Shiratori 1971–5, esp. 405–416

arrangement the duties of all the departments were fully discharged.” This, however, is not the reality at that time.¹⁰⁴

[353] “Thus other states call it Da Qin ...”: This indicates that to the people of other states, the culture of Rome is comparable to that of Han. It is true that “the people are regular-featured and tall,” but the statement that their “clothes and chariots and banners resembl[e] those of the Middle Kingdom” is mostly misinformation.¹⁰⁵

[354] “The soil is suitable for the five grains, mulberry, and hemp ...”: This is a copy from former histories, and not necessarily the information obtained in the age of the Northern Wei, but it is objectively an accurate account. The people in the Mediterranean area learned the technique of sericulture in the reign of Justinianus I (c. 527–565). The “hemp” here refers to linen (*Linum usitatissimum*)—in the Mediterranean area people in ancient times wove it into fabrics, which are different from those made of hemp (*Cannabis sativa*) in traditional China.¹⁰⁶

[355] *Qiulin* 璆琳 is seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

[356] *Langgan* 琅玕 is seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

[357] Marvellous tortoises is seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

[358] “White horses with red manes” 白馬朱鬣¹⁰⁷ is seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

[359] For *Mingzhu* 明珠, the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* reads *yueming zhu* 明月珠 (the full-moon pearl).

[360] *Yeguang bi* 夜光璧 (the jewel which shines at night) is seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou-Han Shu* (ch. 88).

[361] *Jiaozhi* 交趾 was a prefecture, whose seat of government was to the northwest of the present Hanoi.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Shiratori 1971–3, esp. 279–281.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Shiratori 1971–3, esp. 243–247.

¹⁰⁶ Laufer 1919, pp. 288–296.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Leslie 1996, p. 202.

- [362] Yizhou 益州 was a prefecture, whose seat of government was to the east of the present Jinning 晉寧, Yunnan 雲南 Province.
- [363] The seat of the Yongchang prefecture was to the northeast of the present Baoshan 保山, Yunnan Province.
- [364] "It is said that to the west of the water of the sea and west of Da Qin is a river ...": The account hereafter is only legendary or hearsay. There is no way to verify this account.
- [365] "From the western border of Anxi, following the sea bend, one also reaches Da Qin, going round 10,000 *li*": This follows the account in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88). However, "the western border of Anxi" refers to Syria, which is different from what "Anxi" means in this chapter.
- [366] The "former histories" 前史 refers to the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96): "If you travel by water westward from Tiaozhi for more than a hundred days you draw near the place where the sun sets."

8 *Songshu* 宋書^[367]

1.8

若夫大秦^[368]、天竺^[369]，迺出西溟，二漢銜役，特艱斯路，^[370]而商貨所資，或出交部^[371]，汎海陵波，因風遠至。又重峻參差，氏眾非一，殊名詭號，種別類殊，山琛水寶，由茲自出，通犀^[372]翠羽^[373]之珍，蛇珠^[374]火布^[375]之異，千名萬品，並世主之所虛心，故舟舶繼路，商使交屬。（卷九七“夷蠻傳·史臣曰”）

As regards Da Qin^[368] and Tianzhu^[369], which are beyond the Western Sea, although the envoys of the two Han dynasties have experienced the special difficulties of this road,^[370] yet traffic in merchandise has been effected, and goods have been sent out sometimes from Jiaobu^[371], the force of winds driving them far away across the waves of the sea. Moreover, there are lofty (ranges of) irregular mountains and populous tribes having different names and bearing uncommon designations, they being of a class quite different. All the precious

things of land and water come from there to us, as well as such rarities as rhinoceros horn^[372] and kingfisher feathers^[373], snake pearl^[374] and fire[-washed] cloth^[375], there being innumerable varieties of these curiosities, all of which the rulers eagerly coveted. All this has caused navigation and trade to be extended to these parts, merchants and envoys were in sight of each other on the roads. (The "Yiman Zhuan" of the *Songshu*, ch. 97 卷九七“夷蠻傳·史臣曰”)

[367] The *Songshu* is complete in 100 chapters. The author is Shen Yue in Liang times.

[368] “Da Qin” refers to the Roman Empire.

[369] “Tianzhu” refers to India.

[370] “The two Han” and so on means that communications with the above-mentioned territories had already started in the Western and Eastern Han dynasties.

[371] Jiaobu refers to the Jiaozhi 交趾 Province, the provincial territory that included a large part of the present Guangdong-Guangxi and the midlands of Vietnam. Its seat of the government is not known with certainty.

[372] Tongxi (lined rhinoceros horn) must be the same as “駭鷄犀” (the rhinoceros which frightens chickens) in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

[373] “翠羽” must be the same as “翠爵羽翮” (kingfisher gems and kingfisher feathers) in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

[374] “Snake pearl” must be the same as “隋侯之珠” (Suihou’s pearl) in the “Lanmin Xun” of *Huainanzi*. Gao You’s comment says that “The Marquis of Sui 隋, a state that was located to the east of the Han, was a prince of the surname Ji 姬. The Marquis of Sui 隋 discovered that a big snake had been wounded and he applied medicine to it. Later the snake fetched a big pearl from a river to repay him. The pearl thus is called “Suihou’s pearl”, which may be the full-moon pearl.” “Snake pearl” here is the same as 明月珠 (full-moon pearl) and 夜光珠 (pearl which shines at night) in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Houhan Shu* (ch. 88) and the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

[375] “Huo bu” must be the same as “火浣布” (fire-washed cloth) in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), etc.

B. Historical Works Not in the Official Histories

1 *Hanji* 漢紀 ^[376]

2.1.1

烏弋國，去長安萬五千三百里。^[377]出獅子、犀牛。其錢文爲人頭，曼爲騎馬。^[378]（卷一二“孝武皇帝紀”）

The state of Wuyi is distant 15,300 *li* from Chang’an.^[377] It produces lions and rhinoceros. On the obverse of their coins is the head of a man, on the reverse a rider on horseback.^[378] (The “Xiaowu Huangdi Ji” of the *Hanji*, ch. 12)

^[376] The *Hanji* is complete in 30 chapters. The author is Xun Yue 荀悅 in Eastern Han times.¹⁰⁸

^[377] “15,300 *li*” is read as “12,200 *li*” in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96). The latter distance is the same as the distance to Chang’an from Jibin, a state that was located to its northeast, thus this is obviously erroneous. “15,300 *li*” in the *Hanji* is comparatively accurate.

^[378] “It produces lions” and the following is based on the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96).

2.1.2 自烏弋行可百餘日，至條支國，去長安萬二千三百里^[379]，臨西海。出善幻人。有大鳥，卵如甕。長老傳聞條支西有弱水，西王母所居，亦未嘗見。條支西行可百餘日，近日所〔入〕處。^[380]（卷一二“孝武皇帝紀”）

After travelling for some 100 or more days from Wuyi, one reaches the state of Tiaozi. It is distant 12,300 *li* from Chang’an.^[379] It overlooks the Western Sea. It produces skilled magicians, and has ostriches with eggs as large as pots. The

¹⁰⁸ The text is based on the version that was punctuated and checked by Zhang Lie 張烈 (Zhonghua Press, 2002).

elders [of Anxi] relate that they have heard that the Weak Water and the home of Xi Wang Mu are situated west of Tiaozhi, but that they have not seen them. If one travels west from Tiaozhi for some 100 or more days, one draws near to the place where the sun sets.^[380] (The “Xiaowu Huangdi ji” of the *Hanji*, ch. 12)

[379] The distance “12,300 *li*” is obviously erroneous, because it is nearly 3,000 *li* more than the distance to Chang’an from Wuyi. Since Tiaozhi is located to the west of Wuyi, and the distance is 3,000 *li*, so to Chang’an from Tiaozhi should be 25,300 *li*.

[380] This paragraph is an abridged edition of the records concerned in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96).

2 *Hou Hanji* 後漢紀 ^[381]

2.2.1

和帝永元中，西域都護班超遣掾甘英臨大海而還，具言葱嶺西諸國地形風俗，而班勇亦見記其事，或與前史異，然近以審矣。^[382]（卷一五“孝殤皇帝紀”）

During the Yongyuan reign-period of Emperor He (89–104), the Protector-General of the Western Regions Ban Ch’ao sent his adjutant Gan Ying to the edge of the great sea and back. He reported everything about the terrain and customs of the various states west of the Congling Mountains, and Ban Yong also recorded these matters. Some differences from former histories, but more accurate.^[382] (The “Xiaoshang Huangdi Ji” of the *Hou Hanji*, ch. 15)

[381] The *Hou Hagi* is complete in 30 chapters. The author is Yuan Hong 袁宏 in Eastern Jin times.¹⁰⁹

[382] The basis of this paragraph is the same as that of the concerned records in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*.

¹⁰⁹ See note 108.

2.2.2

焉耆治河南城^[383]，去洛陽八千二百里^[384]。東南與山離國^[385]接，其餘危須^[386]、尉黎^[387]、龜茲、姑墨^[388]、溫宿^[389]、疏勒、休修^[390]、大宛、康居、大月氏^[391]、安息、大秦、烏弋、罽賓^[392]、莎車^[393]、于闐^[394]、且彌^[395]諸國轉相通。是爲西域。（卷一五“孝殤皇帝紀”）

The state of Yanqi: The seat of the king’s government is at the town of Henan^[383], and it is distant by 8,200 *li* from Luoyang^[384]. To the south-east, (these states) are contiguous with the state of Shanli^[385]. Of the other states, Weixu^[386], Weili^[387], Qiuci, Gumo^[388], Wensu^[389], Shule, Xiuxiu^[390], Dayuan, Kangju, Da Yuezhi^[391], Anxi, Da Qin, Wuyi, Jibin^[392], Suoju^[393], Yutian^[394], Qiemi^[395] are in communication with one another. These are called the Western Regions. (The “Xiaoshang Huangdi Ji” of the *Hou Hanji*, ch. 15)

[383] The “town of Henan” reads as the “town of Nanhe”. It must be the town of Yuanqu in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 96). The site of the town is generally believed to be at Bogda Qin (i.e., Dənzil kona xəhiri, 12 kilometers southwest of the seat of the government of Yanqi County).

[384] The distance “8200 *li*” is based on the distance to Chang’an from the town of Yuanqu. The latter is copied from the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96). That is the sum of 7330 *li*, the distance between the town of Yuanqu and Chang’an, and about 1000 *li*, the distance between Chang’an and Luoyang. “八千二百里” must be a textual error for “八千三百三十里”. This is evidence for identifying “town of Nanhe” with “town of Yuanqu.”

[385] The state of Shanli must be a textual error for “state of Shan”. The character “離” is redundant. The state of Shan, an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, is first seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96). The seat of the king’s government is probably located at Kizil-sangir or Singer, the critical juncture of transportation along the way linking the ruins of Loulan 樓蘭 and Jiaohe 交河.

- [386] Weixu, an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, is first seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96). The seat of its king's government is probably located in the ancient town of Quhui 曲惠.
- [387] Weili, an oasis state on the Northern Route, is first seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96). The seat of its king's government is probably located in the ancient town of Shah Qalandar, about 6 kilometers south of the present-day Korla.
- [388] Gumo, an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96). The seat of its king's government is perhaps in the vicinity of the present-day Aksu.
- [389] Wensuo, an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, is first seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96). The seat of its king's government is generally considered to be in the vicinity of the present-day Ush.
- [390] Xiuxiu must be Xiuxun in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96). It is generally considered that the seat of its king's government is in the east of the Alai Plateau.
- [391] Da Yuezhi here refers to the Kushan Empire.
- [392] Jibin here refers to the middle and lower reaches of the Kabul River.
- [393] Suoju, an oasis state on the Southern Route, first seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96). The seat of its king's government is generally considered to be in the vicinity of the present-day Suoju County (Yarkand).
- [384] Yutian, an oasis state on the Southern Route, first seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96). The seat of its king's government is near the present-day Khotan.
- [395] Qiemi, an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, should be "Eastern Qiemi" as seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88). The seat of its king's government should be to the north of the Bogda Mountain.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Yu 1995, pp. 198–253.

2.2.3

大月〔氏〕，去洛陽萬六千三百七十里^[396]。其東南數千里通天竺。^[397]天竺，一名身毒，俗與月氏同。臨大水，西通大秦。從月氏南至西海，東至盤越國，皆身毒地。又有別城數十，置王，而皆總名身毒。〔其〕俗修浮圖道，不伐殺，弱而畏戰。^[398]本傳曰：西域〔城〕郭俗造浮圖，本佛道，故大國之衆內數萬，小國〔數〕千，而終不相兼并。及內屬之後，漢之姦猾與無行好利者，守其中，至東京時，作謀茲生，轉相吞滅，習俗不可不慎，所以動之哉。^[399]（卷一五“孝殤皇帝紀”）

The [seat of the king's government] of Da Yue[zhi] is 16,370 *li*^[396] from Luoyang. Several thousand *li* to the south-east it communicates with Tianzhu.^[397] Tianzhu is also called Shendu, its customs are the same as those of the Yuezhi. It overlooks a great river and communicates with Da Qin to the west. From the Yuezhi south to the Western Sea, and east to Panyue state, all is the territory of Shendu. There are separate towns which can be numbered in the tens, each with its own king. They all come under the general name of Shendu. Their custom is to practise the way of *Futu* 浮圖 (the Buddha), the people do not kill or attack [others]. They are weak and afraid of fighting.^[398] This memoir says: Because the *Futu* 浮圖 was built in the walled towns in the Western Regions based on the way of the Buddha, the great states in which there were several tens of thousands of people did not annex the small states in which there had always been several thousand people. After the Western Regions had acknowledged allegiance [to Han], the treacherous people, the morally bankrupt people, and those who hunt after gain among the Han people mingled with the local residents. After arriving in the eastern capital (Luoyang) they resorted to schemes and intrigues and caused trouble, which eventuated in their annexation of one another. Thus it can be seen that more prudent heed should be paid to customs. This is the cause of such alteration.^[399] (The “Xiaoshang Huangdi Ji” of the *Hou Hanji*, ch. 15)

- [396] “16,370 *li*”: The distance from the town of Lanshi 藍氏 to Luoyang via the seats of the kings’ governments of the states of Nandou 難兜, Wulei 無雷, Puli 蒲犁, and Suoju; i.e., a total of 4,000 *li*, the distance between the town of Lanshi and the seat of the king’s government of Nandou, equivalent to forty days’ journey; 340 *li*, the distance between the seats of the kings’ governments of Nandou and Wulei; 540 *li*, the distance between those of Wulei and Puli; 540 *li*, the distance between those of Puli and Suoju (the three figures are based on the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu*); and, finally, 10,950 *li*, the distance between the seat of the king’s government of Suoju and Luoyang.
- [397] The basis of the statement “Several thousand *li* to the south-east it communicates with Tianzhu” is the same as that in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88). This figure “Several thousand *li*” follows the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji* (ch. 123).
- [398] The basis of the statement “Tianzhu is also called Shendu.... They are weak and and afraid of fighting” is the same as that in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [399] “This memoir says” and the following statements attribute “their annexation of one another”, and even the change in prevailing habits and customs to “the treacherous people, the morally bankrupt people, and those who hunt after gain among the Han people mingled with the local residents.” In my opinion, this view has no basis. The circumstance that various states of walled towns annexed one another appeared at the time when the dynasties in the Middle Plain were unable to control the Western Regions.¹¹¹ Only the force of the Western-Eastern Han Dynasties could control the Western Regions, and the states would then be harmonious.

2.2.4

西域之遠者，安息國也，去洛陽二萬五千里。北與康居，南與烏弋山離相接，其地方數〔千里〕。西至條支，馬行六〔十〕日。臨海，暑熱卑〔濕〕，出師子、犀牛、犍牛，孔雀，〔大雀〕，〔大雀〕卵大如瓮。與西海接。自安息西關西至阿蠻國三千四百里。自阿蠻西至斯賓國，渡河西南至于

¹¹¹ Yu 2003, pp. 495–507.

羅國有九百六十里，安息西界極〔矣〕。其南乘海，乃通大秦，或數月歲云。^[400]（卷一五“孝殤皇帝紀”）

The furthest state in the Western Regions is the state of Anxi. It is 25,000 *li* distant from Luoyang, adjacent in the north to Kangju, in the south to Wuyishanli. It is several thousand *li* square. [From Anxi] one goes west and reaches Tiaozhi, after sixty days riding on horseback. It overlooks the sea, is hot, low-lying and humid, and produces lions, rhinoceros, *fengniu*, peacocks, and ostriches with eggs as large as pots. Its territory is adjacent to the Western Sea.

From the western pass of Anxi, going west you reach the state of Aman, 3,400 *li*, and from Aman going west you reach the state Sibin. Across a river, going southwest, you reach the state Yuluo, after 960 *li*. [It is] the extreme western border of Anxi. To the south you put to sea and only then communicate with Da Qin, some several years or months [journey], it is said.^[400] (The “Xiaoshang Huangdi Ji” of the *Hou Hanji*, ch. 15)

^[400] The basis of this paragraph is the same as that in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

2.2.5

大秦國一名黎軒，在海西。漢使皆自烏弋還，莫能通條支者。^[401]甘英踰懸度、烏弋山離抵條支，^[402]臨大海欲渡。人謂英曰：”〔海〕廣大，水鹹苦不可食。往來者逢善風時，三月而渡；如風遲，則三歲。故入海者皆齎三歲糧。海中善使人思土戀慕，數有死亡者”。英聞之乃止，具問其土風俗。^[403]

The state of Da Qin is also called Lixuan 黎軒. It lies west of the sea. Envoys of the Han all returned from Wuyi[shanli], not one was able to communicate with Tiaozhi.^[401] Gan Ying crossed Xuandu (the Suspended Crossing) and Wuyi[shanli] to reach Tiaozhi.^[402] Overlooking the Great Sea, he wanted to cross, but some one said to [Gan] Ying: “The sea is vast and the water salty and bitter, you cannot drink it. Travellers take three months to cross with a favourable wind,

but if there are delaying winds, it takes three years, so those who put to sea all prepare three years' provisions. The sea is apt to make a man homesick, thus several have died". On hearing this, [Gan] Ying gave up, but enquired about the customs of its land.^[403]

[401] The basis of the statement "The state of Da Qin ...Tiaozhi" is the same as that in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

[402] The statement "Gan Ying crossed Xuandu (the Suspended Crossing) and Wuyishanli to reach Tiaozhi" is a judgement by the author of the *Hou Hanji* who has insisted on following the records in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 88). It is possible that Gan Ying first arrived in the town of Hedun of Anxi via Dayuan and Da Yuezhi after he had travelled west to Shule from Qiuci and got across the Congling Mountains, then arrived at Tiaozhi via Aman, Sibir and Yuluo.¹¹²

[403] The basis of the statement "Overlooking the Great Sea" and the following is the same as that of the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

大秦地方數千〔里〕，四百餘城。小國役屬者數〔十〕。〔石〕爲城郭，〔列〕置郵亭，皆堊墍之；有松柏、諸木、百草，民俗力田作、種植，樹蠶桑。

國〔王〕髡頭而衣文繡，乘輜輶白蓋〔小車〕，出入擊鼓，有旌旗旛幟，起宮室，以水精爲柱及餘食器。

王所治城周環百餘里。王有五宮，各相去十里。平旦至一宮聽事，止宿；明旦復至一宮，五日一遍而復還。常使一人持囊隨王車，民欲有言事者卽以書投囊中，王至宮散省，分理其枉直。

各有官曹，又置三十六相，皆會乃議事。王無常人，國中有災異，風〔雨〕不時，輒放去之，而更求賢人以爲王，〔受放〕者終無怨。^[404]（卷一五“孝殤皇帝紀”）

¹¹² Yu 1995, pp. 214–220.

The area of Da Qin is several thousand *li* square, with over 400 walled cities. Several tens of small states are subject to it. The outer wall of the cities is made of stone, and courier stations are established, all covered with plaster. They have pines and cypresses and all manner of trees and plants. The customs of the people are (the following): They devote themselves to agriculture, growing cereals, and planting silkworm mulberries.

Their king shaves his head and wears embroidered clothes. He rides a chariot with a white canopy. When he goes in and out drums are sounded with flags and pennants. The pillars of their houses and palaces are made of crystal glass and their eating utensils also.

The city where the king has his seat of government is over 100 *li* in circumference. The king has five palaces ten *li* apart. In the morning, he goes to one palace to hear cases, and stops there the night. The following morning, he continues on to another palace, doing the round in five days. They commonly have a man carrying a bag following the king's chariot, and when any one wishes to make a petition, he writes (a note) which is thrown into the bag. When the king arrives at the palace, he inspects (the note) and decides the rights and wrongs of the matter.

Each palace has officials and scribes, and 36 ministers have been appointed. Only when all meet do they discuss affairs (of state). There is no permanent king. Whenever there are calamities or unusual events or wind or rain out of season, they immediately dismiss the king and look for a worthy man to replace him as king. (The previous king) does not complain.^[404] (The "Xiaoshang Huangdi Ji" of the *Hou Hanji*, ch. 15)

^[404] The basis of this paragraph is the same as that in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

多金銀、真珠、珊瑚、琥魄、琉璃、金縷罽繡、雜色綾、塗布，又有細布，或言水羊毛，野蠶繭所作。會諸香煎以爲蘇合，凡外國諸珍異皆出焉。以金〔銀爲錢〕，銀錢十當金錢一。

與天竺、安息交市於海中，其利十倍。其民質直，市無二價。穀食常賤，國內富饒。鄰國使到其界首者，乘驛詣王都，至則廩以金錢。^[405]

They have much gold and silver, true pearls, coral and amber and opaque glass, gold-embroidered tapestries, delicate silk cloth of various colours, and asbestos cloth. They also have a fine cloth, some say from the wool of a water-sheep, (but) it is made from the cocoons of wild silkworms. They collect all kinds of fragrant substances, the juice of which they boil into storax. All the various rare exotica of foreign countries come from them. They make coins from gold and silver, ten silver coins being equal to one gold coin.

They trade by sea with Tianzhu and Anxi, the profit being ten-fold. The people are upright and honest, there are no double prices in the market. The grain and food are always cheap, the state is affluent. When the chief envoys from neighbouring states arrive at its border, they ride the courier service to the king's capital, and on arrival are given gold coins.^[405]

^[405] The basis of this paragraph is the same as that in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

及安帝元初中，日南塞外檀國獻幻人，能變化吐火，自支解，又善跳丸，能跳十丸。其人曰：“我海西人”。則是大秦也，自交州外塞檀國諸蠻夷相通也。又有一道與益州塞外通大秦。^[406]

During the Yuanchu reign-period of Emperor An (114–120), the state of Tan beyond the frontier Rinan offered magicians who could make transformations, spit fire, (bind and) release themselves, and also were skilled in juggling balls up to ten at once. These men said: "We are men of Haixi," that is Da Qin. From outside the frontier of Jiaozhou, the state of Tan and the various barbarian tribes

are in communication with one another. There is also a route [from Da Qin] which communicates with the outside of the frontier of Yizhou.^[406]

[406] The basis of this paragraph is the same as that in the “Nanman Xinanyi Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 86) and the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88). The “state of Tan 檀” is the “state of Dan 撣.”

人皆（羆）長大平正，若中國人，故云外國之大秦，而其國常自言是〔中〕國一別。其王常欲通使於漢奉貢獻，而安息欲以漢繒綵與之交市，故遮不得令通。及桓帝建初中，王安都遣使者奉獻象牙、犀角、瑇瑁，始一通焉。
[407]

The people of Da Qin are all tall and regular featured, resembling the Chinese, this is why they are called the Da Qin by the foreign countries, and their own people always say that they are another Middle Kingdom.

Their king always wanted to have diplomatic relations with the Han and offer tribute, but Anxi wanted to trade with them in Han silk, and put obstacles in the way so that they could not communicate. When the Yanxi reign-period of Emperor Huan (159–166), its king Andu sent envoys to offer tribute of elephant tusks, rhinoceros horn, and tortoise shell. This was the first communication with them.^[407]

[407] The basis of this paragraph is the same as that in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88). “Jianchu 建初” should be corrected to “Yanxi 延熹”, and “Andu 安都”, “Andun 安敦”.

其長老或傳言”其國西有弱水，近日人所矣”。又云”從安息陸道繞海北行出〔海〕西至大〔秦〕，人相連屬，十里一亭，三十里一〔置〕，終無盜賊驚，而有猛虎、師子遮食行者，不有百餘人、齎〔兵〕器，輒害之，不得過”。又言”旁國渡海飛橋數百里”。所出奇異玉石諸物，多譎怪不經，故不述云，西南極矣。^[408]（卷一五“孝殤皇帝紀”）

One tradition of their elders relates that “west of their state is the Weak Water, near where the sun sets.” It is also said that “from Anxi by the land route going round the north of the sea you come out west of the sea and reach Da Qin. The population is dense, with a *ting* every ten *li*, and a *zhi* every 30 *li*. They have eliminated robber alarms, but there are fierce tigers and lions which intercept and eat travellers. Unless there are over 100 men together, furnished with tools (weapons), they are invariably harmed and cannot get through. They also mention a flying bridge across the sea of several hundred *li* to the neighbouring states. The rare and unusual jade stones and other objects which they produce are often weird and not genuine, so they are not discussed here. It is the extreme southwestern [frontier of Anxi].^[408] (The “Xiaoshang Huangdi Ji” of the *Hou Hanji*, ch. 15)

[408] The basis of this paragraph is the same as that in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

2.2.6

……〔前世漢使皆自烏弋〕山離還，〔莫有至條支者也〕。^[409]自條支東北通烏弋山離，可百餘日行。^[410]而烏弋山離、罽賓、莎車、于寘^[411]、寧彌^[412]諸國相接，遠者去洛陽二萬一千里^[413]，近者萬餘里^[414]焉。（卷一五“孝殤皇帝紀”）

[Envoys of the Han in former generations all] came back from [Wuyi]shanli [烏弋]山離; [not one of them got as far as Tiaozhi.]^[409] From Tiaozhi you communicate with Wuyishanli to the north-east, some 100 plus days journey;^[410] and Wuyishanli, Jibin, Suoju, Yutian^[411] and Ningmi^[412] are all each individually contiguous, the furthest away being 21,000 *li* ^[413] from Luoyang, the nearer ones over 10,000 *li*.^[414] (The “Xiaoshang Huangdi Ji” of the *Hou Hanji*, ch. 15)

[409] Based on the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), eight characters “前世漢使皆自烏弋” could possibly have been lost before the three characters “山離還”, and seven characters “莫有至條支者也” should be added after them.

- [410] The basis of the statement "From Tiaozi you communicate with Wuyishanli to the north-east, some 100 plus days journey" is the same as that in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [411] "Yutian" 于寘 should be "Yutian" 于阗.
- [412] Ningmi must be "Wumi" in "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96) and "Jumi" in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Houhan Shu* (ch. 88). The site of the seat of its king's government is generally regarded as the present-day ruins of Dandān-Uiliq, 90 kilometers northeast of the seat of Cele 策勒 county. In the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96) it is recorded that the state of Wumi "is now named Ningmi 寧彌." In the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) it is recorded that "The state of Jumi: It has its residence at the town of Ningmi 寧彌." From this it is can be seen that "Ningmi" also is the name of the seat of its king's government. In the ninth year of the Jianwu reign-period (A.D. 33), the king of Suoju, Xian 賢, defeated Jumi 拘彌, killed its king, and established a son of his brother named Kang 康 as the king of Jumi. Following that, the state of Jumi was in constant turmoil, until after Emperor Zhang ascended the throne, when it submitted to Han and saw peace. Hence the name of "Wumi" 罽彌 was changed into "Ningmi" 寧彌.
- [413] "21,000 *li*" is the distance to Luoyang from Tiaozi. According to the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96), the distance to Chang'an from Wuyishanli is "12,200 *li*", and the distance to Tiaozi from Wuyishanli is "travelling for over 100 days" i.e. 10,000 *li*.
- [414] "Over 10,000 *li*" refers to the distance to Luoyang from Ningmi. According to the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96), the distance from Wumi to Chang'an is "9,280 *li*", and from Chang'an to Luoyang is 1,900 *li*.

3 *Tongdian* 通典 ^[415]

2.3.1

大秦，一名犁軒（一云^[416]前漢時犁軒國也），後漢時始通焉。^[417]其國在西海之西，亦云海西國。^[418]其王理安都城^[419]。宮室皆以水精爲柱。^[420]從條支西度海曲萬里，^[421]去長安蓋四萬里。^[422]其地平正，人居星布。其地東西

南北各數千里，有四百餘城。小國役屬者數十。^[423]西有大海^[424]。海西有遲散城^[425]。王城有官曹簿領，而文字習胡。人皆髡頭，而衣文繡，^[426]亦有白蓋小車、旌旗之屬。^[427]及十里一亭，三十里一墩，一如中州。^[428]地多師子，遮害行旅，不百餘人持兵器，輒爲所食。^[429]其王無常人，皆簡立賢者，有災異及風雨不時，輒廢而更立，受放者無怨。^[430]其人長大平正，有類中國，故謂之大秦，^[431]或云本中國人也。^[432]

Da Qin is also called Lijian 犁靬. (It was the state of Lijian during the Former Han.^[416]) It was first reached during the Later Han.^[417] This country is to the west of the Western Sea and is also called the state of Haixi 海西.^[418] The royal capital is the town of Andu 安都^[419] and in the palace all the pillars are made of crystal.^[420] From Tiaozhi one goes west across the sea, winding round 10,000 *li*.^[421] It is perhaps 40,000 *li* from Chang'an.^[422] Its land is flat and the people live in it scattered about like the stars in the sky. Its territory stretches from east to west and from north to south over several thousand *li*. It has over 400 walled cities. Small states which can be numbered in the tens are subject to it.^[423] To the west there is a large sea.^[424] To the west of the sea is the town of Chisan 遲散.^[425] The royal city has officials and secretaries, and the writing system was learned from the barbarian people. They all shave their heads, but wear embroidered clothes,^[426] and also have small wagons with white covers, flags and banners,^[427] and things of that sort. Each ten *li* there is a relay and each thirty *li* a postal station, just like in the Middle Kingdom.^[428] The territory abounds in lions who intercept and do injury to travelers, the latter often being devoured if they do not travel in companies of over 100 men and make it a point to carry weapons.^[429] As for the king, he is not a permanent figure but is chosen as being the most worthy. When a calamity or uncanny event or winds or rains out of season occur in the stte, then he is deposed immediately and someone else is put in his place. The one who is thus deposed accepts his dismissal mildly and does not get angrey at it.^[430] The people [of Da Qin] are tall and their features are well-formed,

resembling the Middle Kingdom,^[431] and therefore [the country] is called Da Qin.
Some say they are originally Chinese.^[432]

- [415] The *Tongdian* is complete in 200 chapters. The author is Du You 杜佑 in Tang times. The records relating to Da Qin in the *Tongdian* mostly are based on the former historical books; here the most important part among them are extracted.
- [416] The statement "it was the state of Lijian during the Former Han" is based on the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) and the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.
- [417] The statement "it was first reached during the Later Han": Da Qin is first seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88). According to the chapter, Da Qin first sent envoys to go to offer tribute in the ninth year of the Yanxi 延熹 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓 (A.D. 166).
- [418] The statement "this country is to the west of the Western Sea and is also called the state of Haixi 海西" is based on the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [419] The statement "The royal capital is the town of Andu 安都" is based on the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Weishu* (ch. 102).
- [420] The statement "in the palace all the pillars are made of crystal" is based on the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [421] The statement "From Tiaozhi one goes west across the sea, winding round 10,000 *li*" is based on the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Weishu* (ch. 102).
- [422] The distance "40,000 *li*" is based on the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [423] The statement "Its land" and so on is based on the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [424] The statement "To the west there is a large sea" is based on the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.
- [425] The statement "To the west of the sea is the town of Chisan 遲散" is based on the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

- [426] The statement "They all shave their heads, but wear embroidered clothes" is based on the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88). "髡頭" should be read as "髡頭", following the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu*. This is a textual error owing to similarity in shape.
- [427] The statement "also have small wagons with white covers, flags and banners, and things of that sort" is based on the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [428] The statement "Each ten *li* there is a relay" and so on is based on the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [429] The statement "The territory abounds in lions" and so on is based on the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88). The original text in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) is that "on the route there are many fierce tigers and lions." This is to say that there were many lions on the way by the overland route, and not to say that the territory of Da Qin abounds in lions.
- [430] The statement "As for the king, he is not a permanent figure" and so on is based on the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [431] The statement "The people [of Da Qin] are tall" and so on is based on the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).
- [432] The statement "Some say they are originally Chinese" is based on the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

土有駭雞犀^[433]（《抱朴子》^[434]云：“通天犀有一白理如縊者，以盛米，置羣雞中，欲啄米，至輒驚去，故南人名爲駭雞也”。^[435]），合會諸香，煎其汁以爲蘇合。土多金、銀、奇寶、夜光璧^[436]、明月珠^[437]、琥珀^[438]、琉璃^[439]、神龜^[440]、白馬朱髦^[441]、瑇瑁^[442]、玄熊^[443]、赤螭^[444]、辟毒鼠^[445]、大貝^[446]、車渠^[447]、（《廣雅》^[448]云：“車渠，石，似玉”。）瑪瑙^[449]。（《廣雅》云：“瑪瑙，石，似玉”。）寶，出西海，有養者，似狗，多力，獷惡。^[450]

The land has the rhinoceros which frightens chickens^[433]. (The *Baopuzi*^[434] says: "There is a type of 'sky-reaching' rhinoceros horn that is white and that, when polished, presents a tasseled pattern: if you fill it with rice and set it down among

a flock of chickens, they will want to peck at the rice grains, but upon approaching they will usually be frightened back, and therefore the people of the south call it *haijixi*.”^[435]) They mix together various spices, concocting their fluids to make storax. The land abounds in gold, silver, and precious stones: [it has] the jewel which shines at night^[436], the full-moon pearl^[437], amber^[438], opaque glass^[439], marvellous tortoises^[440], white horses with red (vermillion) manes^[441], tortoise shell^[442], black bears^[443], red *chi* 螭 (dragon)^[444], the rat which avoids poison^[445], large cowries^[446], chequ 車渠^[447] (the *Guangya* 廣雅^[448] says chequ is a stone resembling jade), and agate^[449] (the *Guangya* says agate is a stone resembling jade). *Zong* 贛 come from the Western Sea; there are those that have been raised and which resemble dogs, are very powerful, and are vicious.^[450]

北附庸小邑有羊羔，自然生於土中；候其欲萌，築牆院之，恐爲獸所食也；其臍與地連，割之絕則死，擊物驚之，乃驚鳴，遂絕；逐水草，無羣。^[451]又有木難，出〔金〕翅鳥，口中結沫，所成碧色珠也，土人珍之。（曹子建詩云：“珊瑚閒木難”。）^[452]

To the north is a wapentake that is subject to [Da Qin] where lambs grow naturally out of the ground. Waiting for them to sprout, the people build small enclosures for them lest they be eaten by predators. The navel is connected to the ground, but if you cut [the umbilical cord the lamb] will die; so they throw things [at it] to frighten it, when frightened it bleats, and then [the cord] is severed. [These sheep] go where there is water and grass and do not form flocks.^[451] They also have *munan* 木難: [there is] a bird with golden wings in whose mouth bubbles form which congeal into pearls the colour of green jade. The natives value them. (Cao Zijian 曹子建 has written saying “*munan* among the coral”).^[452]

有幻人，能額上爲炎燼，手中作江湖，舉足而珠玉自墮，開口則旛旄亂出。^[453]（前漢武帝時，遣使至安息，安息獻犁軒幻人二，皆蹙眉峭鼻，亂髮拳

鬢，長四尺五寸。^[454]有織成，細布，言用水羊毛，名曰海西布。^[455]出細布，作氍毹^[456]、氍毹^[457]、罽帳^[458]之屬，其色又鮮於海東諸國^[459]所作也。又常利得中國縑素，解以爲胡綾紺紋，數與安息諸胡^[460]交市於海中。西南漲海^[461]中可七八百里，行到珊瑚洲，水底有盤石，珊瑚生其上。大秦人常乘大舶，載鐵網，令水工沒，先入視之，可下網乃下。初生白，而漸漸似苗坼甲。歷一歲許，出網目閒，變作黃色，支格交錯，高極三四尺者，圍尺餘。三年色乃赤好。後沒視之，知可採，便以鐵鈔發其根，乃以索繫網，使人於舶上絞車舉出。還國理截，恣意所作。若失時不舉，便蠹敗。^[462]

They have magicians who can produce fire from their foreheads, who can produce rivers and lakes from their hands, who can lift a foot and down fall pearls and jade, and who can open their mouths and pull out a riot of flags and pennants.^[453] (In the reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 of the Former Han an ambassador was sent to Anxi and Anxi presented a gift of two Lijian 犁靬 magicians. They had knit eyebrows, pointed noses, disheveled hair, and curly beards four *chi* 尺 five *cun* 寸 long.^[454]) [Da Qin] have *zhicheng*, delicate cloth which some say is the wool of sea sheep called "*cloth from the west of the sea*."^[455] They produce [this] delicate cloth [and also] make *qushu* 氍毹 (fine woollen carpets)^[456], *tadeng* 氍毹 (fine woollen blankets with decorative patterns) woollen carpets^[457], *ji-zhang* 罽帳 (woollen curtains)^[458], and the like. These are also brighter than those produced by the various states of east of the sea.^[459] They also commonly profit by obtaining silk from the Middle Kingdom and unravelling it to make Hu 胡 purple embroidered damask, and they often trade by sea with Anxi and other various barbarians.^[460] In the southwestern Swollen Sea ^[461] after a voyage of perhaps seven or eight hundred *li*, they reach the coral islands where the ocean floor has great rocks on which the coral grows. The men of Da Qin regularly board large ships on which they load iron nets. They order a sailor to dive down first to look around, and if the conditions are right the net will be lowered. At first [the coral] is white, then gradually it seems to sprout and grow. After a little more than a year it grows up through the meshes of the net and becomes yellow in colour. It develops an interlocked branching pattern and reaches a height of at most three or four *chi* and a circumference of a *chi* or more. In three years its colour is red and ready. Later [a diver] goes

down to look at it: it being determined that it can be harvested, it is uprooted with an iron tool, and then the net is tied up with a rope and they have the men on the ship haul it up with a capstan. Having returned to their country they sort and cut it, and carve it as they like. If they fail to bring it up on time, it will be ruined.^[462]

[433] The rhinoceros that frightens chickens is seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

[434] The *Baopuzi* is complete in 40 chapters (20 chapters for basic principles and 20 chapters for appendices). The author is Ge Hong 葛洪 in Jin times.

[435] The passage quoted by Li's commentary is seen in "Dengshe" of the Neipian of *Baopuzi* (ch. 17). In the present version "白理 (white streak)" reads as "赤理 (red streak)".

[436] The jewel which shines at night is seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

[437] The full-moon pearl is seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

[438] Amber is seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

[439] "Opaque glass" is seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

[440] "Marvellous tortoises" is seen in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

[441] "白馬朱鬣" reads as "白馬朱鬣" in the section on Da Qin of the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weishu*. According to some, the four characters should be read together, meaning "white horses with red manes."

[442] "Tortoise shell" is seen in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

[443] "Black bears" is seen in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

[444] "Red *chi* (dragon)" is seen in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

[445] "The rat which avoids poison" is seen in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

[446] "Large cowries" is seen in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

[447] *Cheju* 車渠 (*Tridacna gigas*) is seen in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

[448] The *Guangya* is complete in three chapters. The author is Zhang Ji 張揖, a native of the state of Wei in Three Kingdoms times.

[449] Agate is seen in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

- [450] According to some, *Zong* is “hyaena”.¹¹³ This is based on Guo’s commentary on the “Shishou釋獸” of the *Erya*爾雅. *Zong* were found in Fulin拂菻. This record includes them because Da Qin and Fulin were regarded as the same in this source.
- [451] Munan (māarakata): The record that *munan* is indigenous to Da Qin must be based on the *Nanyue zhi*南越志by Shen Huaiyuan沈懷遠.¹¹⁴
- [452] The statement “To the north a wapentake that is subject to [Da Qin] where lambs grow naturally out of the ground” and so on is based on the *Yiwu zhi*異物志 by Zhu Ying 朱應 .
- [453] “Magicians”: The record that there are magicians in the state of Da Qin is seen in the “Xinanyi Liezhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 86).
- [454] Anxi took magicians from Lijian as a present for the Han 漢 emperor: In the “Zhang Qian, Li Guangli Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 61) it is recorded that “[the king] took the occasion to send out [his own] envoys to come to Han 漢 in company with the Han 漢 envoys so as to observe Han 漢 territory. They took large birds’ eggs and conjurors from Lixuan 黎軒 as a present for the Han 漢 [emperor].” “眩人” should be “幻人”. As for the images of the magicians from Da Qin in this record “knit eyebrows, pointed noses, disheveled hair, and curly beards four feet five inches long” has no convincing provenance.
- [455] “Zhicheng, delicate cloth” is seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.
- [456] 穉穉, i. e. *qusou* 毳毼 is seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.
- [457] 毼毼, i.e., *Tadeng* 毼毼 is also seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*.
- [458] *Ji-zhang* 罽帳 (woollen curtains) is also seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu*.
- [459] “The various states of east of the sea”: states like Tiaozi and Anxi east of the Mediterranean.
- [460] “Anxi and the other various barbarians”: according to the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), it can be seen that Tianzhu is also included.

¹¹³ Laufer 1919, p. 436.

¹¹⁴ Shiratori 1971–6.

[461] "Swollen Sea": According to some, the sea refers to the Red Sea.¹¹⁵

[462] To take coral with net is based on the *Qiawen Ji* 沘聞記 by Zheng Sui 鄭遂.

其王常欲通使於漢，塗經大海，商客往來皆齎三歲糧，是以至者稀。桓帝延熹初，大秦王安敦遣使自日南徼外獻象牙、犀角、瑇瑁，始乃一通焉。其所表貢，並無珍異，疑傳者隱之。^[463]至晉武帝太康中，其王遣使貢獻。^[463]

The king of this state always wanted to enter into diplomatic relations with the Han, but the route lay across the ocean and required that merchants who travel always take on board three years' provisions; that is why those who arrive are few. At the start of the Yanxi 延熹 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓, Andun 安敦, king of Da Qin, sent an envoy from beyond the frontier of Rinan 日南 who offered elephant tusk, rhinoceros horn, and tortoise shell. It was only then that for the first time communication was established [between the two states]. The document listing their tribute had nothing at all precious or rare. Thus one suspects that the envoys who delivered them had withheld those items that were.^[463] During the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (A.D. 260–289) its king sent an embassy to present tribute.^[463]

[463] This paragraph is based on the "Huandi ji" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 7). and "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88).

[464] "During the *Taikang* reign-period of Emperor Wu" and the following statements are based on the "Wudi Ji" of the *Jinshu* (ch. 3) and "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Jinshu* (ch. 97).

或云^[465]其國西有弱水、流沙，近西王母所居處，幾於日所入也。^[466]（卷一九三“邊防典·西戎五”）

Some say^[465] that west of this state are the Weak Water and the Flowing Sands, which are near to the place where the Queen Mother of the West lives, and which

¹¹⁵ Cf. Leslie 1996, p. 110.

are almost where the sun sets.^[466] (The "Xirong the Fifth" of the "Bianfangdian" of the *Tongdian*, ch. 193)

[465] "Some say" and the following are based on the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) and the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

[466] The notes that originally followed are omitted. The *Waiguo Tu* 外國圖 and the records concerned can be seen below; "Da Qin" in the *Jingxing Ji* 經行記 by Du Huan 杜環 is in fact the Byzantine Empire.

2.3.2

小人^[467]，在大秦之南。軀纔三尺，其耕稼之時，懼鶴所食，大秦每衛助之，小人竭其珍以酬報。（卷一九三“邊防典·西戎五”）

The pygmies^[467] are south of Da Qin. They stand only three *chi* 尺 tall, and when they work in the fields they are afraid of being eaten by storks. Whenever Da Qin helps them by furnishing them with protection, the pygmies exhaust [their store] of pearls by way of remuneration. (The "Xirong the Fifth" of the "Bianfangdian" of the *Tongdian*, ch. 193)

[467] The legend of the pygmies is based on the *Kuodi Zhi* 括地志.

2.3.3

軒渠^[468]，其國多九色鳥^[469]，青口，綠頸，紫翼，紅膺，紺頂，丹足，碧身，緗背，玄尾。亦名九尾鳥，亦名錦鳳。其青多紅少謂之繡鸞，常從弱水西來，或云是西王母之禽也。其國幣貨同三童國也。（卷一九三“邊防典·西戎五”）

Xuanqu^[468]. This country abounds in nine-coloured birds^[469]: the mouth is turquoise, the neck green, the wings purple, the breast red, the crest dark red, the legs red, the body azure, the back pale yellow, and the tail black. It is called the nine-tailed bird and also called *jin feng* 錦鳳. If it has more blue-green and less

red, it is called *xiu feng* 鏽鳳. It often comes from west of the Weak Water and some people say it is the bird of the Queen Mother of the West. The currency of this country is the same as that of the state of San Tong. (The "Xirong the Fifth" of the "Bianfangdian" of the *Tongdian*, ch. 193)

[468] Xuanqu is unknown. From the description given, it is largely a country of folklore.

[469] Nine-coloured birds: In the *Hanwu Neizhuan* 漢武內傳, quoted by the *Taiping Yulan*, ch. 915, it is recorded that "The Queen Mother of the West says that the nine-coloured phoenix brain is a celestial being's fine medicine." This seems to assume a relationship between the Queen Mother of the West and the nine-coloured birds. It is possible that, based on a western legend, the editor of the *Tongding* made an analogy with the Queen Mother of the West.¹¹⁶

2.3.4

三童^[470]，在軒渠國西南千里。人皆眼有三睛珠，或有四舌者，能爲一種聲，亦能俱語。常貨多用蕉越犀象。作金幣，率效國王之面，亦效王后之面。若丈夫交易，則用國王之面者。王死則更鑄。^[471]（以上三國與大秦隣接，故附之。）（卷一九三“邊防典·西戎五”）

San Tong^[470] is 1,000 *li* to the southwest of the state of Xuanqu. The people's eyes all have three pupils. Some of them have four tongues which can make one sound in unison and also speak all four at once separately. For money, normally they mostly use hempen linen, rush mats, rhinoceros horn, and ivory: when they make gold coins, they generally put the king's face on them, but also [sometimes] the queen's face. If a man engages in trade, he will use [those with] the king's face. When the king dies [the coinage] is reminted. (The above three countries are Da Qin's neighbors across the border and are therefore dependencies.)^[471] (The "Xirong the Fifth" of the "Bianfangdian" of the *Tongdian*, ch. 193)

¹¹⁶ Cf. Leslie 1996, p. 112.

[470] “三童” is “三瞳”, and is also “three pupils”, adding four tongues etc: We can only assume that San Tong also is a country of folklore.

[471] We do not know which book the sources on Xuanqu and San Tong were taken from by the *Tongdian*.

2.3.5 澤散，魏時聞焉。^[472]屬大秦，其理在海中央，北至驢分，水行半歲，風疾時一月到。最與安息安谷城相近。西南詣大秦都，不知里數。^[473]（卷一九三“邊防九·西戎五”）

Zesan was learned of during the Wei.^[472] It is subject to Da Qin. The seat of the king's government is right in the middle of the sea. To the north one reaches Lüfen 驢分, going by water for half a year, [but] with favorable winds you arrive after one month. It is nearest to the town of Angu in Anxi. To the southwest, one reaches the capital of Da Qin, how many *li* distant we do not know.^[473] (The Xirong the Fifth” of the “Bianfangdian” of the *Tongdian*, ch. 193)

[472] This is because of the fact that Lufen is first seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

[473] This paragraph is based on the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

2.3.6

驢分，魏時聞焉。^[474]屬大秦，其理去大秦都二千里。從驢分城西之大秦度海，飛橋長二百三十里，發海道西南，繞海道直西行至焉。^[475]（卷一九三“邊防九·西戎五”）

Lüfen was learned of during the Wei.^[474] It is subject to Da Qin. Its seat of government is distant 2,000 *li* from the capital of Da Qin. From the town of Lüfen going west to Da Qin one crosses over a flying sea-bridge 230 *li* long. The route across the sea goes southwest; if one goes round the sea, it is due west.^[475] (The Xirong the Fifth” of the “Bianfangdian” of the *Tongdian*, ch. 193)

[474] This is because Lüfen is first seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

[475] This paragraph is based on the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

C. Descriptions of Foreign Countries

1 *Waiguo Zhuan* 外國傳^[476]

3.1.1

康泰《扶南傳》曰：“從迦那調洲^[477]西南入大灣^[478]，可七八百里，乃到枝扈黎^[479]大江口，度江徑西行，極大秦也”。（《水經注》^[480]卷一“河水”引）^[481]

The *Funan Zhuan* by Kang Tai says: “Southwest of Jianatiao^[477] one enters a great bay^[478]. It is about 700 or 800 *li* away; one reaches the great estuary of the Zhiheli 枝扈黎^[479] river. One crosses the river and continues west and arrives in Da Qin. (This is quoted by “Heshui” of the *Shuijing Zhu* 水經注^[480], ch. 1.)^[481]

^[476] The *Waiguo Zhuan* was composed by Kang Tai, a native of the state of Wu in Three Kingdoms times. In the fifth year of the Huangwu 黃武 reign-period (226), in his capacity as a courtier, Kang Tai was sent as an envoy to the state of Funan, etc., and when he returned home he wrote the book.¹¹⁷ The book was lost long ago; only stray fragments of text can be found in the *Shuijing Zhu* 水經注, etc.

^[477] Jianatiao is on the seacoast of southwest Burma. “Jianatiao” is a transliteration of Kanadvîpa.

^[478] “Great bay” refers to the present Bay of Bengal.

^[479] “Zhiheli river” is a transliteration of Bhagirathi. “枝 zhi” is a textual error for “拔 ba”; “枝扈黎” should be “拔扈利” (See the *Kuodi Zhi* 括地志 quoted by “Dayuan Liezhuan Zhengyi” of the *Shiji Zhengyi*.)

^[480] The *Shuijing Zhu* is complete in 40 chapters. The author is Li Daoyuan 酈道元 in Northern Wei times.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Leslie 1996, p. 112.

[481] The name of the book is read as "*Wushi Waiguo Zhuan*" 吳時外國傳 in the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, ch. 770. The text is: "From Jianatiao 迦那調, one boards a great merchant ship. Seven sails are unfurled, and, with the seasonal wind, one enters Da Qin in a month and some days." The *Wushi Waiguo Zhuan* 吳時外國傳 should be the *Funan Zhuan* 扶南傳. "加那調州" should be "迦那調洲."

3.1.2

《吳時外國傳》^[482]云：“大秦國人皆着袴褶絡帶”。（《北堂書鈔》^[483]卷一二九引）^[484]

The *Wushi Waiguo Zhuan*^[482] says: "The natives of Da Qin wear trousers, pleated skirt and riband." (This is quoted by the *Beitang Shuchao* 北堂書鈔^[483], ch. 129.)^[484]

[482] The *Wushi Waiguo Zhuan* is another name of the *Waiguo Zhuan*.

[483] The *Beitang Shuchao* is complete in 173 chapters. The editor is Yu Shinan 虞世南 in Tang times.

[484] In the *Wushi Waiguo Zhuan* quoted by the *Taiping Yulan*, ch. 696, it is recorded that "In the state of Da Qin [the natives] wear trousers, pleated skirt and riband."

3.1.3

康泰《外國傳》云：“外國稱天下有三衆：中國爲人衆，〔大〕秦爲寶衆，月氏^[485]爲馬衆也”。^[486]（《史記正義·大宛列傳》^[488]引）^[488]

The *Waiguo Zhuan* by Kang Tai says: "A foreign country says that there are three numerous things in the world. The Middle Kingdom has numerous people. [Da] Qin 大秦 has numerous treasures. Yuezhi 月氏^[485] has numerous horses."^[486] (This is quoted by "Dayuan Liezhuan Zhengyi" the *Shiji Zhengyi* ^[487], ch. 123.)^[488]

[485] "Yuezhi" here refers to the Kushan Empire.

- [486] This is the Indian version of the way to divide the world into four that first appears in the Chinese historical books. Kang Tai's 康泰 *Waiguo Zhuan* 外國傳 (Memoir on Foreign Countries) divided the world into three parts, but this was a version from the standpoint of a certain foreign country. That is the statement "a foreign country says...". The foreign country that had "numerous elephants" was certainly India. Therefore, the version that Kang Tai 康泰 heard also in fact was a division of the world into four parts.¹¹⁸
- [487] The *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義 was composed by Zhang Shoujie 張守節 in Tang times.
- [488] The text of the *Waiguo Zhuan* quoted by "Dayuan Liezhuan Suoyin" of the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱 is about the same: "A foreign country says that there are three numerous things in the world. The Middle Kingdom has numerous people. Da Qin 大秦 has numerous treasures. Yuezhi 月氏 has numerous horses."

3.1.4

康氏《外國傳》云：“其國城郭皆青水精爲〔礎〕，及五色水精爲壁。^[489]人民多巧，能化銀爲金。國土市買皆金銀錢”。（《史記正義·大宛列傳》引）^[490]

The *Waiguo Zhuan* 外國傳 by Kang Tai 康泰: "Their towns all had green crystal glass as foundations, and five-coloured crystal glass as walls.^[489] The people there were capable craftsmen; they could transform silver into gold. On their land people conducted trade using money of gold and silver." (This is quoted by "Dayuan Liezhuan Zhengyi" the *Shiji Zhengyi*, ch. 123.)^[490]

- [489] There are similar records in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) and the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.
- [490] It is read as the *Wushi Waiguo Zhuan* in the *Taiping Yulan*, ch. 767, which says that "In the state of Da Qin the crystal glass is used as tile." Moreover, it is read as the *Wu Waiguo*

¹¹⁸ Cf. Yu 1986.

Zhuan in the *Gezhi Jingyuan* 格致鏡原, ch. 20, which says that "The tiles of the royal palace in Da Qin are made of crystal."

3.1.5.1

《吳時外國志》曰：“大秦有棗榛胡桃”。（《太平御覽》^[491]卷九七一引）

The *Wushi Waiguo Zhuan* says: "Da Qin produces jujube, nut-tree and walnut."
(This is quoted by *Taiping Yulan*^[491], ch. 971.)

^[491] The *Tiaping Yulan* is complete in 1000 chapters. The editor is Li Fang and the others in Song times.

3.1.5.2

《吳時外國志》曰：“大秦國有蓮藕雜菓”。（《太平御覽》卷九七五引）

The *Wushi Waiguo Zhuan* says: "The state of Da Qin has various fruits of the lotus plant." (This is quoted by *Taiping Yulan*, ch. 975.)

3.1.6

《吳時（魏）〔外〕國傳》曰：“大秦國、天竺國皆出金縷織成^[492]”。
（《太平御覽》卷八一六引）

The *Wushi [Wai]guo Zhuan* says that "Both Da Qin and Tianzhu produced *Zhicheng*^[492] with gold threads." (This is quoted by *Taiping Yulan*, ch. 816.)

^[492] "Zhicheng": There is *Zhicheng* in the state of Da Qin, which is seen in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) and the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

2 *Funan Yiwuzhi* 扶南異物志 ^[493]

3.2.1

宋膺^[494]《異物志》云：“〔大〕秦之北附庸小邑，有羊羔自然生於土中，候其欲萌，築牆繞之，恐獸所食。其臍與地連，割絕則死。擊物驚之，乃驚鳴，臍遂絕，則逐水草爲羣”。^[495]（《括地志》引，見《史記正義·大宛列傳》）^[496]

The *Yiwuzhi* by Song Ying^[494] says that “In a northern small vassal city of [Da] Qin, there is a lamb which grows spontaneously in the earth. They wait until it is about to sprout, then build a wall around it, lest it get eaten by wild beasts. Its umbilicus is attached to the ground. If you cut it or sever it, it dies. Only when they beat objects to frighten it is it startled and cries out, and the umbilical cord is severed. Then it runs after water and grass and forms flocks.”^[495] (This is quoted by the *Kuodi Zhi* 括地志, which is seen in the “Dayuan Liezhuan Zhengyi” of the *Shiji Zhengyi*.)^[496]

^[493] The *Funan Yiwu Zhi* 扶南異物志 is complete in one chapter. Its author is Zhu Ying 朱應. The book is recorded in the “Jingji Zhi B” of the *Suishu* 隋書. The advent of *Yiwuzhi* 異物志 probably had to do with attaching importance to the policy that “those whose customs were strange could be brought to court”, that began in the reign-period of the Emperor Wu in the Western Han. Undoubtedly the “strange customs” included the local products from “four barbarian tribes on the borders” and dependencies. The main content of the policy that “those whose customs were strange could be brought to court” is having four barbarian tribes on the borders or dependencies present their local products. The presentation of local products was symbolic representation that the “four barbarian tribes on the borders” had come over and submitted, and that a facade of peace and stability could be maintained. To some extent, this practice led to the social result that the Chinese elite came to love rare valuables. The higher authorities developed that taste, and the courtiers further intensified it. The books called “*Yiwu Zhi*” mainly appeared in southern

China, growing out of the fact that the Chinese had deeply admired Da Qin since the Eastern Han dynasty, and one of the main causes for the covetous attention accorded Da Qin was that "in this land are many of the jewels and exotica of the west of the sea." For these the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe* is not niggardly of space. In the ninth year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 (A.D. 97) of the Eastern Han, the Protector General, Ban Chao, sent Gan Ying 甘英 as an envoy to Da Qin 大秦 by land, an enterprise that did not succeed. At that time the failure must have been a lamentable matter for people whether in or out of the imperial court of the Eastern Han. According to the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), The communications of the Eastern Han with the Western Regions were finally fulfilled by sea. In the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe* it is recorded that "Not only is there a route to Da Qin 大秦 communicating from north of the sea by land, but there is also one coming south following the sea, which connects with the barbarians outside the seven prefectures of Jiaozhi. There is also a water route communicating with Yizhou 益州 and Yongchang 永昌, and that is why Yongchang produces exotica (*yiwu*)."¹¹⁹ From this it is can be seen that Yongchang also became a growing area of exotica (*yiwu*), because there were communications between Da Qin and "the barbarians outside the seven prefectures of Jiaozhi."

[494] "Song Ying" is commonly considered to be a textual error for "Zhu Ying 朱應". When Kang Tai was sent as an envoy to the state of Funan, etc., Zhu Ying followed him under the order of Lu Dai 呂岱, the governor of Jiaozhi Province.

[495] What legend in the West is this record based on? So far we do not find a reasonably exact equivalent.¹¹⁹

[496] The *Yiwu zhi* quoted by the *Taiping Guangji*, ch. 439, says that "In the north of Da Qin country is a lamb growing in the earth. The men of [Da] Qin wait until it is about to sprout. They make a fence to surround it. Its umbilicus is attached to the ground. It

¹¹⁹ On this problem, cf. Hirth 1885, pp. 260–263; Shiratori 1971–5, esp. 446–448; Leslie 1996, pp. 236–239; and so on.

cannot be cut off with a knife. They beat drums to frighten it, and it becomes severed. It thereupon gallops off crying out, and eats the grass. 100–200 make a flock.”

3.2.2

宋膺《異物志》云：“大秦金二枚，（觀之）皆大如瓜，植之滋息無極，〔觀之〕如〔瓜〕，用則真金也”。^[497]（《括地志》引，見《史記正義·大宛列傳》）

The *Yiwu Zhi* 異物志 by Song Ying 宋膺 says that “Da Qin has two gold stems both as large as gourds. If one plants them, they would propagate unceasingly. If one spends they would be true gold.”^[497] (This is quoted by the *Kuodi Zhi*, which is seen in the “Dayuan Liezhuan Zhengyi” of the *Shiji Zhengyi*.)

^[497] The original text “觀之如用則真金也” should be read as “觀之如瓜，用則真金也.” (They look like gourds; if one spends they would be true gold.) In my opinion, this may be a description of the conjuring of Da Qin.

3 *Nanzhou Yiwuzhi* 南州異物志

3.3.1

萬震《南州志》^[498]云：大月氏^[499]在天竺北可七千里，地高燥而遠。國王稱“天子”，^[500]國中騎乘常數十萬匹，城郭宮殿與大秦國同。人民赤白色^[501]，便習弓馬^[502]。土地所出，及奇瑋珍物，被服鮮好，天竺不及也。（《史記正義·大宛列傳》引）

The *Nanzhou Zhi* by Wan Zhen^[498] says that the country of the Great Yuezhi^[499] lies some 7,000 *li* north of Tianzhu. The ground is dry and gently elevated. The king is called “Son of Heaven”,^[500] In the country there are often several tens of thousands of horses. Their towns and palaces are like those of Da Qin. The people have a reddish-white colour^[501], and are very good at riding, and toxophily^[502]. In

produce of the soil, peculiar treasure, or bright costume Tianzhu does not measure up to it. (This is quoted by the "Dayuan Liezhuan Zhengyi" of the *Shiji Zhengyi*.)

[498] The *Nanzhou Yiwu Zhi* 南州異物志 is complete in one chapter. Its author is Wan Zhen 萬震, the governor of Danyang Prefecture in the state of Wu in Three Kingdoms times.

[499] Da Yuezhi here refers to the Kushan Empire.

[500] "The king is called 'Son of Heaven'": e.g., on Kujula Kadphise's coins the title "devaputra" is used.

[501] The record "The people have a reddish-white colour" is valuable data concerning the characteristics of figure and appearance of the Kushan people.

[502] "Very good at riding, and toxophily": The Kushan people are associated with the Sakās, who are a nomadic tribe, "very good at riding, and toxophily."

3.3.2

萬震《南州志》云：“〔大秦〕大家屋舍，以珊瑚爲柱，琉璃爲牆壁^[503]，水精爲礎^[504]”。（《史記正義·大宛列傳》引）

The *Nanzhou Zhi* by Wan Zhen says that "The houses of prominent families [in Da Qin] use coral for pillars, opaque glass for walls^[503], crystal for foundations.^[504] (This is quoted by the "Dayuan Liezhuan Zhengyi" of the *Shiji Zhengyi*.)

[503] The *Nanzhou Yiwuzhi* 南州異物志 quoted in "Qiang (the eleventh) 牆 11" of the *Chuxue Ji* 初學記 says: "the state of Da Qin uses opaque glass for walls." In the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe* there is a similar record.

[504] The *Nanzhou Yiwuzhi* 南州異物志 quoted in the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, ch. 188, reads: "The state of Da Qin uses crystal to make foundations."

3.3.3

《異物志》云：“大秦國以野蠶絲織成氍毹，以羣獸五色毛雜之，爲鳥獸人物草木雲氣，千奇萬變，惟意所作。上有鸚鵡，遠望軒軒若飛”。（《北堂書鈔》卷一三四引）^[505]

The *Yiwu Zhi* says that “In the state of Da Qin they weave *qusou* 氍毹 (fine woollen carpets) from wild silkworms, and by means of wool of different colours taken from all kinds of beasts, they weave into them (patterns of) birds, beasts, human figures, and other objects; grass, trees, clouds and numerous oddities, to do as one pleases. On these *qusou* they represent parrots flying gaily at a distance. (This is quoted by the *Beitang Shuchao*, ch. 134.)^[505]

^[505] The paragraph is said to be quoted from the *Weilüe* by another version of the *Beitang Shuchao* 北堂書鈔, with the words slightly different: “In the state of Da Qin they weave *qusou* 氍毹 from wild silkworms, not only from wool, and by means of wool of different colours, 6–7 *cun* long, they weave alternately into them (patterns of) birds, beasts, human figures, and other objects; grass, trees, clouds. There is a kaleidoscopic effect, to do as one pleases. On these *qusou* they represent parrots flying gaily at a distance.”

3.3.4

《南州異物志》曰：“珊瑚生大秦國。有洲在漲海^[506]中。距其國七八百里，名珊瑚樹洲。底有盤石。水深二十餘丈。珊瑚生於石上，初生白，軟弱似菌。國人乘大船、載鐵網先沒在水下，一年便生網目中。其色尚黃，枝柯交錯，高三四尺。大者圍尺餘。三年色赤，便以鐵鈔發其根，繫鐵網於船，絞車舉網，還，栽鑿恣意所作。若過時不鑿，便枯索蟲蠱。其大者輸之王府，細者賣之”。（《世說新語·汰侈第三〇》^[507]（卷下）劉孝標注引）^[508]

The *Nanzhou Yiwuzhi* says that “Coral grows in the state of Da Qin. There is an island in the midst of the Swollen Sea^[502], seven or eight hundred *li* distant from

their country, called Coral-tree Island. On the sea floor there are large rocks where the water is over twenty *zhang* 丈 deep. The coral grows on the surface of the rocks. When it first grows, it is white and soft like fungus. The men of the country board great ships carrying iron nets, which they first submerge beneath the water. After one year the coral grows through the interstices of the net, and its colour is still yellow, with its branches and twigs interlocking to a height of three or four *chi* 尺. The trunks of the largest ones are a *chi* or more in circumference. After three years, when the colour is carnation, then by means of the iron net they wrench free their roots and draw the iron net into a ship, lifting the net back up with a windlass. They then cut and carve the coral into any shape they wish. But if too much time passes before it is carved, then it becomes brittle and shatters into tiny pieces. The large ones are transported to the king’s treasury, and the small ones are sold.” (This is quoted by the Liu Xiaobaio’s 劉孝標 commentaries on “Taichi (the thirty)” 汰侈 30 of the *Shishuo Xinyu* 世說新語^[503], Vol. C.)^[504]

[506] “Swollen Sea”: According to some, the sea refers to the Red Sea.¹²⁰

[507] This paragraph is considered to be quoted from the *Waiguo Zhuan* 外國傳 in the *Fanyi Mingyi Ji* 翻譯名義集 (A collection of the meanings of the Sanskrit names translated into Chinese), ch. 3. The text is reduced.¹²¹

[508] The *Shishuo Xinyu* is complete in three chapters. The author is Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 in Liu Song 劉宋 times, and Liu Xiaobiao’s comments appear on it. Liu Xiaobiao lived in Liang times.

3.3.5

《南州異物志》：“扈利國^[509]，古奴（斯）調^[510]西南入大灣中，七八百里，有大江，源出崑崙，西北流，東南注大海。自江口西行，距大秦國萬餘

¹²⁰ Cf. Leslie 1996, p. 110.

¹²¹ T54, No. 2131, p. 1105.

里。乘大舶載五六百人，張七帆。時風一月乃到大秦國”。^[511]（《太清金液神丹經》卷下引）

The *Nanzhou Yiwuzhi* says that “The country of Huli^[509] is to the southwest of Kunu and Sitiao^[510]. Entering into a great bay at 700–800 *li*, there is a great river which rises in the north-west of the Kunlun, and which, flowing to the south-east, empties into the Great Sea. From the estuary of the river going to the west one is over 10,000 *li* from the state of Da Qin. One boards large boats which can hold 500–600 persons, with seven sails. With a favourable wind, one reaches Da Qin in one month.”^[511] (This is quoted by the *Taiqing Jinye Shendanjing* 太清金液神丹經, Vol. 3.¹²²)

[509] The country of Huli is generally considered to be located near the mouth of the Hugli River, in the West Bengal area of India.

[510] Of “古奴斯調”，“斯” is a redundant character. “古奴調” should be “迦那調” as seen in Kang Tai’s *Funan Zhuan* 扶南傳.

[511] “Great river” must be the Zhihuli 拔扈黎 River, as seen in the *Funan Zhuan* 扶南傳.

3.3.6

《南方異物志》^[512]：“薰陸^[513]出大秦。在海邊自有大樹，生於沙中。盛夏，樹膠流出沙上，狀如桃膠。夷人採取之，賣與賈人”。（《證類本草》^[514]卷一二引）^[515]

The *Nanfang Yiwuzhi* 南方異物志^[512] says that *xunlu* (frankincense)^[513] comes out of Da Qin [country]. At the seaside there is a large tree. It grows in the sand. In the height of summer, the tree’s sap flows out and spreads over the sand, like gum of peach in form. The barbarians take and sell it to merchants. (This is quoted by the *Zhenglei Bencao* 證類本草^[514], ch. 12.)^[515]

¹²² *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏, Book XXXI, pp. 25047–25048.

- [512] The *Nanfang Yiwuzhi* 南方異物志 is probably a textual error for “*Nanzhou Yiwuzhi* 南州異物志.”
- [513] *Xunlu* 薰陸 is *Boswellia thurifera*.¹²³
- [514] *Zhenlei Bencao* 證類本草 is complete in 30 chapters. The author is Tang Shenwei 唐慎微 in Song times.
- [515] The *Nanfang Yiwuzhi* 南方異物志 quoted by Zhang Yuxi’s 掌禹錫 *Jiayou Buzhu Shennong Bencao* 嘉祐補注神農本草 gives the paragraph as: “*Xunlu* 薰陸 comes out of Da Qin country. At the seaside there is a large tree, with branches and leaves as straight as an old pine. It grows in the sand. In the height of summer, the tree’s sap flows out and spreads over the sand, like gum of peach in form. The barbarians take and sell it to merchants. They eat it by themselves if no merchants buy.” (See *Bencao Gangmu* 本草綱目, ch. 34)

4 *Liangzhou Yiwu Zhi* 涼州異物志

3.4

《涼州異物志》^[516]曰：“大秦之國，斷首去軀，操兩刀屠人”。^[517]（《太平御覽》卷八二八引）

The *Liangzhou Yiwuzhi* ^[516] says that “In the state of Da Qin they cut off the head and separate the body using two swords to slaughter people.”^[517] (This is quoted by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, ch. 828.)

- [516] The *Liangzhou Yiwuzhi* 涼州異物志 is complete in one chapter. The author is unknown, but it is generally considered he lived in Eastern Jin 晉 times. The book is recorded in the “Jingji Zhi B” of the *Suishu* 隋書. In my opinion, this paragraph involves Da Qin,

¹²³ See Leslie 1996, p. 205; Zhang H 1993, pp. 63–64.

which surpasses the boundary of the Liang Province. “Liang Zhou 凉州” is probably a textual error for “Nan Zhou 南州.”¹²⁴

[517] This is also a description of the conjuring of Da Qin.

¹²⁴ Cf. Leslie 1996, p. 85.

D. Proto-Geographies

1 *Sanqin Ji* 三秦記 ^[518]

4.1

“燉煌西盡大秦，隔海。心無憂、遇善風，不經二十日得渡。心憂，數年不得渡。（皆）〔諺〕^[519]曰：心無憂患，不經二旬；心若憂患，遠離三春。^[520]士人賢直，男女皆長一丈、端正。國主，風雨不和，則讓賢而治之”。^[521]（《太平御覽》卷三七七引）

To the west of Dunhuang, going right up to Da Qin, (one) is separated by sea. If your heart has no worries and you meet with a good wind, you can cross over in less than 20 days. But if your heart has worries you will not be able to cross even in several years. Thus adage^[519] says that if the heart has no worries it takes less than 20 days, but if the heart has worries there is a distance of three springs (years) separation.^[520] The gentlemen and people (of Da Qin) are worthy and upright; men and women are all one chang tall and regular featured. As for the lord of the country, when wind and rain are not harmonious he abdicates and a worthy man rules in his stead.^[521] (This is quoted by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, ch. 377.)

^[518] It is said that the *Sanqin Ji*'s author is Xin Shi 辛氏, who lived probably in Han times. The book has been lost long ago. There is a version collected in the *Eryoutang Congshu* 二酉堂叢書. In my opinion, since this book involves Da Qin, its author must In my opinion, since this book involves Da Qin, its author must have lived in the Eastern Han times at the earliest.

^[519] This character is corrected according to the quotation in the *Taiping Yulan*, ch. 469.

[520] This is based on the records about Gan Ying's western mission in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu*.

[521] There is a similar record in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

2 *Guangzhou Ji* 廣州記 [522]

4.2.1

波斯白礬^[523]，《廣州記》云：“出（犬）〔大〕秦國。其色白而瑩淨，內有棘針紋”。（《證類本草》卷三引）

White alum^[523] of Bosi (Persia): The *Guangzhou Ji* 廣州記 says that “It comes from Da Qin. Its colour is white and glabrous, has a spine design in it. (This is quoted by the *Zhenglei Bencao* 證類本草, ch. 3.)

[522] The *Guangzhou Ji* 廣州記: Both Pei Yuan 裴淵 and Gu Wei 顧微 in Jin times have a book of the same name. We do not know from which book this paragraph comes.

[523] White alum is ordinary alum.¹²⁵

4.2.2

《廣州記》云：“〔蕪荑^[524]〕生大秦國，是波斯蕪荑也”。（《證類本草》卷一三注引）

The *Guangzhou Ji* says that *wuyi*^[524] grows in Da Qin country. It is called *wuyi* of Bosi 波斯. (This is quoted by the commentaries on the *Zhenglei Bencao* 證類本草, ch. 13.)

[524] *Wuyi* 蕪荑 is stinking elm (*Ulmaceae macrocarpa*).¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Laufer 1919, pp. 474–475.

¹²⁶ Cf. Leslie 1996, p. 96.

3 *Nanyue Zhi* 南越志 ^[525]

4.3

《南越志》曰：“木難，金翅鳥口結沫所成，碧色珠也。大秦土人珍之”。
^[526]（《太平御覽》卷八〇九引）

The *Nanyue Zhi* 南越志 says that “*Munan* is a jade-coloured pearl made by the saliva of the *jinchi* 金翅 bird (*suparṇa*). The Da Qin natives treasure it.”^[526]
(This is quoted by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, ch. 809)

^[525] The *Nanyuezhi* 南越志 is complete in one chapter. The author is Shen Huaiyuan 沈懷遠 in Liu Song times. The book is recorded in the “Jingji Zhi B” of the *Suishu*.¹²⁷

^[526] “*Munan*” is a contracted transcription of *māarakata* in Sanskrit.¹²⁸ In the *Da Lun* 大論 (i.e., *Dazhidu Lun* 大智度論: *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra-śāstra*), it is recorded that “this pearl is produced in the mouth of the *jinchi* 金翅 bird (*suparṇa*). Its colour is green, and it can clear all poisons.”¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Cf. Liu 1997, pp. 273–287.

¹²⁸ Shiratori 1971–6.

¹²⁹ T54, No. 2131, p.1106.

E. *Naturalis Historia*

1 *Qibu Fu* 奇布賦^[527]

5.1

晉殷巨《奇布賦》曰：“惟泰康二年，安南將軍、廣州牧、騰侯^[528]作鎮南方，余時承乏，忝備下僚。俄而大秦國奉獻琛，來經于州。^[529]衆寶既麗，火布^[530]尤奇，乃作賦曰：‘伊荒服^[531]之外國，逮大秦以爲名，仰皇風而悅化，超重譯而來庭，貢方物之綺麗，亦受氣於妙靈，美斯布之出類，稟太陽之純精，越常品乎意外，獨詭異而特生……’。（《藝文類聚》^[532]卷八五引）

The *Qibu Fu* 奇布賦 by Yin Ju 殷巨 in Jin 晉 times says that “In the second year of Taikang 泰康 (281), when Lord Teng^[528] garrisoned the south as General of Pacifying the South and Governor of Kuang 廣 Province, I ventured to fill a vacancy amongst his junior staff. Suddenly it happened that men of Da Qin coming to offer tribute of their treasures passed through the province.^[529] Of their many beautiful treasures ‘fire cloth’^[530] was particularly unusual, so I made this rhyme-prose (*fu* 賦)^[531] as follows: [Of the lands] outside the ‘submissive wastes’ it is Da Qin alone which has a reputation. Now responding to the influence of Our Sovereign, they are happy to change their ways and via multiple interpreters come to court to offer as tribute the beautiful items of their produce because of taking nimbus. This cloth is supereminent and should be admired, it partakes of the undiluted essence of the sun, thus it is unexpectedly excellent, grotesque and unique....” (This is quoted by the *Yiwen Leiju* 藝文類聚^[532], ch. 85)

^[527] The *Qibu Fu* 奇布賦 is composed by Yin Ju, who was a Deputy General of the state of Wu 吳 in Three Kingdoms times. Yin Ju made obeisance to the Jin 晉 dynasty and was

the Governor of Cangwu 蒼梧 prefecture after the state of Wu had been subjugated. (See the *Wenshi Zhuan* 文士傳 quoted by Pei’s 裴 *Commentaries* on the “Gu Yong Zhuan 顧雍傳” of the “Wushu 吳書” of the *Sanguo Zhi* 三國志.)

[528] The character “騰” should be corrected into “滕”. “滕侯” refers to Teng Xiu 滕脩, whose biography is seen in the *Jinshu* 晉書 (ch. 57).

[529] On Da Qin’s offering tributes in the second year of the Taikang 泰康 reign-period there is no unequivocal record. The “Wudi Ji” of the *Jinshu* 晉書 only records that “five states of eastern barbarians have sent their envoys to offer tributes” in this year, but the state of Da Qin is included in “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Jin Shu* 晉書.

[530] “Fire cloth” is “cloth washed in fire”. That “cloth washed in fire” comes out of Da Qin is seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

[531] The peoples of the “submissive wastes” is seen in the “Yugong 禹貢” of the *Shanshu* 尚書. Here it refers to extremely remote countries.

[532] The *Yiwen Leiju* 藝文類聚 is complete in 100 chapters. The author is Ouyang Xiu 歐陽詢 in Tang times.

2 *Nanfang Caomuzhuang* 南方草木狀^[533]

5.2.1

耶悉茗花^[534]、末利花^[535]，皆胡人自西國^[536]移植於南海。南人憐其芳香，競植之。陸賈《南越行紀》^[537]曰：“南越之境，五穀無味，百花不香。此二花特芳香者，緣自胡國移至，不隨水土而變，與夫橘北爲枳異矣”。彼之女子以綵絲穿花心以爲首飾。（卷上）

The *Yeximing* flower^[534] and the *Moli* flower^[535] were both brought to the Southern Sea and planted there from the West Country^[536] by the barbarians. The men of the south love their fragrance and compete in planting them. Lu Jia’s *Nanyue Xingji*^[537] says: “In the territory of Southern Yue, the five grains have no taste and the hundred flowers have no fragrance. These two flowers with a special fragrance, originating in barbarian lands, have been transferred to here. Their

natures do not vary with the environment, which is inconsistent with the theory that things will turn out differently in different surroundings. The women pull a chromatic silk thread through the center of the flower to make jewelry. (Vol. A)

- [533] The *Nanfang Caomuzhuang* 南方草木狀 is complete in three chapters. The author is assumed to be Ji Han 稽含, who lived in Western Jin 晉 times, but in fact the author is a man in Southern Song 宋 times. However some ancient records on the plants to the south of Qinling 秦嶺 Mountains are conserved in it.¹³⁰
- [534] “*Yeximing* 耶悉茗 flower” should be *jasminum officinale*. “*Yeximing*” is a transliteration of *yāsmīn* in the Persian language or *yasmin* in Arabic.¹³¹
- [535] “*Muli* flower” must be *Jasminum sambac*.
- [536] The “West Country” here, according to the following, refers to Da Qin.
- [537] Lu Jia 陸賈, who came from Chu 楚 in Western Han 漢 times, was sent to the Southern Yue 越 (the present Hunan 湖南, Guangdong 廣東, Guangxi 廣西 and northern part of Viet Nam) as an envoy in the third year of the reign-period of Emperor Gaozu 高祖 of Han 漢 (B.C. 196). If Lu Jia wrote a travel book in which the above-mentioned two flowers appeared, they would have nothing to do with Da Qin.

5.2.2

薰陸香^[538]，出大秦。在海邊有大樹，枝葉正如古松，生於沙中。盛夏，樹膠流出沙上，方採之。（卷中）

The *xunlu* fragrance (frankincense)^[534] comes from Da Qin. On the sea shore there is a large tree, the branches and leaves of which are just like those of an old pine tree. It grows in the sand. At the height of summer, the tree’s sap flows out and spreads over the sand, and is then collected. (Vol. B)

- [538] That “*Xunlu* 薰陸” was from Da Qin is seen in the “*Xirong Zhuan*” of the *Weilüe*.

¹³⁰ Ma 1978.

¹³¹ Cf. Laufer 1919, pp. 329–333. Moreover, see Ma T 1990.

5.2.3

指甲花^[539]，其樹高五六尺，枝條柔弱，葉如嫩榆，與耶悉茗、末利花皆雪白而香，不相上下，亦胡人自大秦國移植於南海。而此花極繁細，纔如半米粒許，彼人多折置襟袖間，蓋資其芬馥爾。一名散沫花^[540]。（卷中）

The *Zhijia* (finger-nail, henna) flower^[539] grows on a tree, five or six *chi* 尺 in height, with soft and weak branches. Its leaves are like the tender elm (*Ulmus parvifolia*). Its snowy whiteness resembles that of the *Yeximing* and *Moli* flowers, but its fragrance does not resemble either. It was also brought by barbarian people, from Da Qin, who transplanted it to the Southern Sea and its flowers are very delicate, as large as half a grain of rice. The people there gather the flowers to put in between garment and sleeve because of adding fragrance. It is also called *Sanmo* 散沫 flower^[540]. (Vol. B)

[539] Zhijia 指甲 flower is henna (*Lawsonia inermis*). Its petals can be used to paint fingernails.¹³²

[540] On the Sanmo 散沫 flower, some consider that "Sanmo" should be a transliteration of *zanbaq* in Arabic.¹³³

5.2.4

蜜香紙，以蜜香樹^[541]皮、葉作之。微褐色，有紋如魚子，極香而堅韌，水漬之不潰爛。泰康五年，大秦獻三萬幅，^[542]嘗以萬幅賜鎮南大將軍當陽侯杜預^[543]，令寫所撰《春秋釋例》^[544]及《經傳集解》^[545]以進，未至而預卒”。（卷中）

Mixiang 蜜香 (honey fragrance) paper is made of the bark and leaves (or bark sheets) of the *mixiang* 蜜香 tree^[541]. Its colour is greyish, and it has spots, giving

¹³² Laufer 1919, pp. 334–338.

¹³³ Laufer 1919, p. 332.

it the appearance of fish-spawn. It is very fragrant, but strong and pliable; it may be soaked in water without spoiling. In the fifth year of Taikang 泰康 (284), Da Qin presented 30,000 rolls.^[542] The emperor bestowed 10,000 rolls on the Supreme General of Governing the South, Marquis of Dangyang, Tu Yu^[543], with orders to write his *Chunqiu Shili*^[544] and to his *Jingzhuan Jijie*^[545]. Before they arrived, Yu died. (Vol. B)

[541] “Mixiang tree” is generally considered to be *Aquilaria agallocha*.¹³⁴ Some think that the so-called “Mixiang 蜜香 paper” does not exist, and that the above records are a falsification by the editor, based on the records called the Xiangpi 香皮 paper and so on in Duan Gonglu’s 段公路 *Beihu Lu* 北戶錄.¹³⁵

[542] In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 3, it is recorded that in the fifth year of the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period (A.D. 284), in the twelfth month, “the states of Linyi 林邑, Da Qin 大秦 respectively sent envoys to present tribute.” That Da Qin presented *Mixiang* 蜜香 paper has been brought under suspicion by many people.¹³⁶

[543] Du Yu, a minister of the Western Jin 晉 dynasty, in his capacity as the Supreme General of Governing the South, destroyed the state of Wu, and his service was assessed and he was given Marquis of Tangyang 當陽 county for it. His biography appears in the *Jinshu* (Ch. 34).

[544] The *Chunqiu Shili* 春秋釋例 is complete in 15 chapters. The book has long been lost. A collected version by people in Qing times is extant, however.

[545] The *Jingzhuan Jijie* 經傳集解, whose full name is the *Chunqiu Zuoshi Jingzhuan Jijie* 春秋左氏經傳集解, is complete in 30 chapters.

¹³⁴ Leslie 1996, pp. 206–207.

¹³⁵ Ma T 1969.

¹³⁶ Cf. Hirth 1885, pp. 272–275; Li 1979, pp. 105–108.

5.2.5

抱木^[546]生於水松之旁，若寄生然。極柔弱，不勝刀鋸。乘濕時，剝而爲履，易如削瓜。既乾，則韌不可理也。……出扶南、大秦諸國。泰康六年，扶南貢百雙〔抱木履〕^[547]。（卷中）

The *bao mu*^[546] grows by the side of the water-pine like a parasitic plant. It is very soft and weak and cannot stand up to a knife or saw. While still wet, it can be carved into clogs, which is easy, just like paring a melon. To be dry, it will become tenacious and cannot be tidied up.... It comes from Funan, Da Qin and other countries. In the 6th year of the Taikang reign-period (285), Funan offered a hundred pairs of them (*bao mu* shoes).^[547] (Vol. B)

[546] *Bao mu* refers to the absorbing root of *glyptostrobus pensilis*. *Glyptostrobus pensilis* is like a parasitic, thus the plant is called *bao mu* (cuddling tree).¹³⁷

[547] In the “Wudi Ji” of the *Jinshu* 晉書 (ch. 3), it is recorded that in the sixth year of the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period (A.D. 285), “in the summer, in the fourth month, ten states of Funan, etc. sent envoys to present tribute.”

5.2.6

枸緣子^[548]，形如瓜，皮似橙而金色，胡人重之。極芬香，肉甚厚，白如蘆葍^[549]……。泰康五年，大秦貢十缶^[550]。（卷下）

Gouyuanzi (citron)^[548] has the shape of a melon and a peel resembling the mandarin orange but golden-coloured. The barbarians cherish it. It is exceedingly fragrant. The flesh is very thick and white, resembling the radish^[549]... In the 5th year of the Taikang reign-period (284), Da Qin presented ten jars^[550] in tribute. (Vol. C)

¹³⁷ Xu 1990.

- [548] “Gouyuanzi” 枸緣子, is also read as 香櫟 “Xianyuan” or 枸櫟 “Gouyuan.”¹³⁸
- [549] “Lufu” 蘆菔 is “luobo” 蘿蔔 (radish).
- [550] That Da Qin came to present tribute in the fifth year of the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period (A.D. 284) is seen in the *Jinshu*, ch. 3.

5.2.7 箴

箴筍竹^[551]，皮薄而空多，大者徑不過二寸，皮麤澀，以鏑犀象，利勝於鐵。出大秦。（卷下）

Silao bamboo^[551]: Its bark is light with many hollows. The width of a large one is no more than two *cun*. Its bark is coarse. It can pierce a rhino or elephant, it is sharper than iron. It comes from Da Qin. (Vol. C)

- [551] “*Silao* 箴筍 bamboo”: its other name is “*baiye* 百葉 bamboo”, and some think that it is horsetail (equisetum plant).¹³⁹

3 *Guangzhi* 廣志^[552]

5.3.1

《廣志》曰：“瑠璃^[553]，出黃支^[554]、斯調^[555]、大秦、日南^[556]諸國”。

（《藝文類聚》卷八四引）

The *Guangzhi* 廣志 says that “Opaque glass^[553] comes from Huangzhi^[554], Sitiao^[555], Da Qin and Rinan^[556]. (This is quoted by the *Yiwu Leiju* 藝文類聚, ch. 84.)

- [552] The *Guangzhi* 廣志 is complete in two chapters. The author is Guo Yigong 郭義恭. The book is recorded in the “Jingji Zhi” 經籍志C of the *Suishu* 隋書. This book has

¹³⁸ Cf. Li 1979, p. 127.

¹³⁹ Li 1979, pp. 133–134.

long been lost. There is a version collected in the *Yu Han Shanfang Jiyishu* 玉函山房輯佚書 by Ma Guohan 馬國翰 in Qing 清 times. Guo's life story is unknown; it is inferred that he lived in early Northern Wei 魏 times, but the earliest sources collected in the book probably appeared in Jin 晉 times.¹⁴⁰

[553] Liuli comes out of Da Qin, which is seen in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

[554] Huangzhi 黃支 is generally considered to be Conjevaram in present-day India.

[555] Sitiao 斯調 is generally considered to be the present Sri Lanka.

[556] Rinan 日南 prefecture, whose seat of its government was located in the middle of the present Viet Nam.

5.3.2

《廣志》曰："車渠^[557]，出大秦國及西域諸國"。（《藝文類聚》卷八四引）

The *Guangzhi* 廣志 says that "Chequ^[557] comes from Da Qin and the various countries of the Western Regions. (This is quoted by the *Yiwu Leiju* 藝文類聚, ch. 84.)

[557] Cheju 車渠 comes out of Da Qin, which is seen in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

5.3.3

《廣志》曰："大秦國以青水精爲屋"。^[558]（《太平御覽》卷一八一引）

The *Guangzhi* 廣志 says that "The state of Da Qin uses blue-green crystal to make houses."^[558] (This is quoted by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, ch. 181.)

[558] There is a similar record in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

5.3.4

《廣志》曰："水精^[559]出大秦、黃支國"。（《太平御覽》卷八〇八引）

¹⁴⁰ Wang L 1955.

The *Guangzhi* 廣志 says that "Crystal^[559] comes out of Da Qin and Huangzhi."
(This is quoted by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, ch. 808.)

[550] Crystal comes out of Da Qin, which is seen in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

5.3.5

《廣志》曰：“蘇合，出大秦。或云蘇合國人採之，釜其汁以爲香膏，賣滓與賈客。或云：合諸香草煎爲蘇合。非自然一種也”。^[560]（《太平御覽》卷九八二引）

The *Guangzhi* 廣志 says that "Storax" (*suhe*) comes from Da Qin. Some say that storax is taken by the natives of *Suhe*, who squeeze its juice to make aromatic salve and sell the dregs to merchants. It is also said that they gather together various perfumes and herbs and boil the sap to make *suhe*, that it is not one single natural plant."^[560] (This is quoted by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, ch. 982.)

[560] There is a similar record in the "Hainan Zhuguo Zhuan" 海南諸國傳 of the *Liangshu* 梁書 (ch. 54).

5.3.6

《廣志》曰：“寄六^[561]，出交州。又大秦海邊人採與賈人，易穀。若無賈人，取食之”。（《太平御覽》卷九八二引）

The *Guangzhi* 廣志 says that "Jiliu^[561] (frankincense) comes from Jiaozhou Province. Moreover, on the sea coast of Da Qin it is gathered and traded for grain with merchants. If there are no merchants who take it they eat it." (This is quoted by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, ch. 982.)

[561] Jiliu 寄六 should be Xunlu 薰陸. Xunlu comes out of Da Qin, which is seen in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

5.3.7

《廣志》曰：“迷迭出西海中”。^[562]（《太平御覽》卷九八二引）

The *Guangzhi* 廣志 says that “Midie fragrance comes from out of the Western Sea.”^[562] (This is quoted by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, ch. 982.)

- ^[562] “Midie” 迷迭: It comes out of Da Qin, which is seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*. “Western Sea” is the Mediterranean Sea on which Da Qin was situated.

5.3.8

《廣志》云：“兜納^[563]香，出西海^[564]、剽國^[565]諸山”。（《本草綱目》^[566]卷一四引）

The *Guangzhi* 廣志 says that “Touna 兜納 fragrance^[563] comes from the Western Sea^[564] and the various mountains in the state of Piao 剽^[565].” (This is quoted by the *Bencao Gangmu* 本草綱目^[566], ch. 14.)

- ^[563] “Douna”: Douna comes out of Da Qin, which is seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

- ^[564] “Western Sea” is the Mediterranean Sea on which Da Qin was situated.

- ^[565] “剽” must be a textual error for “剽”. “剽” is also read as “驃”, which was located in the present Burma.

- ^[566] The *Bencao Gangmu* 本草綱目 is complete in 52 chapters. The author is Li Shizhen 李時珍 in Ming times.

F. Geographical Treatises

1 *Kuodi Zhi* 括地志^[567]

6.1

“小人國^[568]在大秦南，人纔三尺。其耕稼之時，懼鶴所食，大秦衛助之。卽焦僥國，其人穴居也”。^[569]（《史記索隱·大宛列傳》^[570]引）

The state of Small People (pygmies) ^[568] is to the south of Da Qin. They are three *chi* tall. When they plough and sow, they are afraid of being eaten by cranes, and Da Qin protects them. This is the state of Jiaorao, where its people live in caves.^[569] (This is quoted by the “Dayuan Liezhuan Suoyin” of the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱^[570].)

^[567] The *Kuodi Zhi* 括地志, whose author is Li Tai 李泰 (618–652), is complete in 550 chapters. The book has been lost long ago. There is a collected and collated version by He Cijun 賀次君.¹⁴¹

^[568] The state of Small People is probably the “short people” seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

^[569] This record quoted by the “Kongzi Shiji Zhengyi 孔子世家正義” of the *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義 is capsulized as “The state of Jiaoyao is located to the south of Da Qin.”

^[570] The *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱 is complete in 130 chapters. The author is Sima Zhen 司馬貞 in Tang 唐 times.

¹⁴¹ Zhonghua Press, 1980.

2 *Qiawen Ji* 洽聞記^[571]

6.2

又拂菻^[572]國，海去都城二千里。有飛橋，渡海而西，至且蘭國。自且蘭有積石，積石南有大海^[573]。海中珊瑚生於水底。大船載鐵網下海中，初生之時，漸漸似菌。經一年，挺出網目間，變作黃色，支格交錯。小者三尺，大者丈餘。三年色(青)[紅]。以鐵鈔發其根，於舶上爲絞車，舉鐵網而出之。故名其所爲珊瑚洲。久而不採，卻蠹爛糜朽。^[574]（《太平廣記》^[575]卷四〇三引）

There is the state of Fulin^[572], whose capital is 2000 *li* from the sea. There is a flying bridge over the sea. If we proceed to the west across the sea, we reach the state of Qielan, next to which lies Jishi and to the south there is a great sea.^[573] Corals grow at the bottom of sea. Large vessels loaded with iron nets submerge the latter into the sea. When young, corals resemble mushrooms, but one year later they steal out from the meshes of the nets and their colours change to yellow, branches grow thick and reach as high as three *chi* and some of them are as high as a *zhang* 丈. Three years afterwards the colours change to red and about that time their roots will be dug up by iron pincers; windlasses are fitted on board to draw up the nets from the water and the corals are taken therefrom. Hence the place is named the Coral Shoal. Corals will decompose if not dug out for a long time.^[574] (This is quoted by the *Taiping Guangji* 太平廣記^[575], ch. 403.)

^[571] The *Qiawen Ji*'s 洽聞記 author is Zheng Chang 鄭常 (?-787). Zheng 鄭 is a poet in the Dali 大曆reign-period (766–779). The book, which was lost long ago, according to the "Yiwen Zhi 藝文志, the third" of the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (ch. 59), is complete in one chapter. Sometimes the book's author is recorded as Zheng Sui 鄭遂, which is probably a mistake.¹⁴²

¹⁴² Li 1993, pp. 252–257.

- [572] Fulin 拂菻 is generally considered to refer to Byzantium. The *Tang Huiyao* 唐會要, ch. 99, the “Fulin Zhuan 拂菻傳” of the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (ch. 198), and the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (ch. 221B) all say that “Fulin’s other name is Da Qin.” Thus they copy the general opinion on Da Qin from the previous historical books when they describe Fulin 拂菻.
- [573] The statement from “There is the state of Fulin, whose capital is 2000 *li* from the sea” to “Jishi 積石 and to the south there is a great sea” is an abridgment of the text of the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.
- [574] There is a similar record in Wan Zhen’s 萬震 *Nanzhou Yiwuzhi* 南州異物志.
- [575] The *Taiping Guangji* 太平廣記 is complete in 500 chapters. The author are Li Fang 李昉 and others in Song 宋 times.

3 *Beihu Lu* 北戶錄^[576]

6.3

拂菻國^[577]，有羊羔生於土中。其國人候其欲萌，乃築牆以院之，防外獸所食。然其臍與地連，割之則死，唯人著甲走馬、擊鼓駭之，其羔驚鳴而臍絕，便逐水草。^[578]（卷一）¹⁴³

The state of Fulin^[577] has lambs which are born in the ground. The people of the country wait until they are about to shoot forth, and then build enclosures to hold them, so as to prevent outside beasts from devouring them. The navel of these lambs is attached to the ground; if it were cut, they would die. But men don cuirasses, mount on horseback and beat drums to frighten them. The lambs shriek in terror, and the navel breaks of itself. Thereupon they set out in search of water and pasture.^[578] (ch. 1)¹⁴³

¹⁴³ WSQ edition.

- [576] The *Beihu Lu* 北戶錄 is complete in three chapters. The author is Duan Gonglu 段公路 in the end of Tang dynasty.¹⁴⁴
- [577] Fulin 拂菻 is Fulin 拂菻.
- [578] The legend of the lambs that are born out of the ground is also seen in the Zhu Ying’s 朱應 應 *Yiwu zhi* 異物志.

¹⁴⁴ Wu 1987, pp. 168–169.

G. Supernatural Stories

1 *Shenyi Jing* 神異經^[579]

7.1

“西海^[580]之外有鵠國^[581]焉，男女皆長七寸。爲人自然有禮，好經（編）〔論〕^[582]跪拜。其人皆壽三百歲，行如飛，日行千里。百物不敢犯之。唯畏海鵠，過輒吞之，亦壽三百歲。此人在鵠腹中不死，而鵠亦一舉千里”。¹⁴⁵

Beyond the Western Sea^[580] is the country of the cranes^[581]. The men and women are only seven *cun* tall.^[582] They are natural and courteous men, and are fond of the *sūtra*-, *abhidharma-piṭaka* and of kneeling [before the image of the Buddha]. Their people all live three hundred years, and they walk as though they were flying, going 1000 *li* in a day. Nothing can stand against them. They are afraid only of the sea crane, which swallows them when it meets them, and also lives for 300 years. These people do not die in the crane's belly, and the crane at one flap of its wings goes 1000 *li*.¹⁴⁵

^[579] The *Shenyi Jing* is complete in one chapter. The author is assumed to be Dongfang Shuo 東方朔. The book is recorded in the “*Jingji Zhi* (the second)” 經籍志 of the *Suishu* 隋書. Some think that the author is not Dongfang Shuo, but rather that it is a book written at the end of Western Han times.¹⁴⁶

^[580] The Western Sea is first seen in the “*Dayuan Liezhuan*” of the *Shiji* (ch. 123) and the “*Xiyu Zhuan*” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96). Sometimes it refers to the Caspian Sea, and sometimes, to the Mediterranean Sea.

¹⁴⁵ WSQ edition.

¹⁴⁶ For details, see Li 1984, pp. 151–158.

[581] The country of the cranes: It is possible that the short people in the country of the cranes and the story seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* have the same sources. In the later *Tujue Benmoji* 突厥本末記 it is recorded that “Travelling north from the state of Türk for one month one can arrive at the country of the short people. The tallest are less than three *chi*, and there are those are 2 *chi* tall. The hair on the head is thin, as a sheep’s bladder. The Türks called them “head like sheep’s bladder”. There are not any tribes nearby to invade them. In their country there are no shooters, but there are big birds, 7–8 *chi* tall, that often peer at the short people and peck them. The short people all take precautions against the birds with bow and arrow.” (See the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, ch. 796.) If this record is the source of the above description, the “Western Sea” on which the country of the cranes was situated is more likely the Caspian Sea. The country of the cranes is considered to be located near Da Qin probably because the state of Da Qin was also situated on the “Western Sea”.

[582] The character is corrected based on the *Yiwen Leiju* 藝文類聚, ch. 90, and the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, ch. 378.

2 *Dongmin Ji* 洞冥記^[583]

7.2

元封^[584]三年，大秦國貢花蹄牛。其色駁，高六尺，尾環遶其身，角端有肉，蹄如蓮花，善走多力。（卷二）¹⁴⁷

In the third year of Yuanfeng^[584] (B.C. 108), the state of Da Qin sent tribute of a flower-hoofed bull. Its colour is heterogeneous, and it is six *chi* tall. The tail surrounds its body. There is a lump of flesh at the tip of its horn. Its hoof is like a lotus flower, and it is adroit in walk and quite strong. (ch. 2)¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁷ WSQ edition.

- [583] The *Dongmin Ji* 洞冥記, whose other name is *Hanwu Dongmin Ji* 漢武洞冥記, is complete in four chapters. The author is Guo Xian 郭憲 in Eastern Han 漢 times. The book is recorded in the “Jingji Zhi (the second)” of the *Suishu*.¹⁴⁸
- [584] “Yuanfeng” 元封 is a title of the reign-period of Emperor Wu of the Western Han dynasty. In my opinion, the Middle Kingdom did not know that there was a state of Da Qin in the West until Eastern Han times. The statement “Da Qin sent a tribute of a flower-hoofed bull” and so on is only a legend.

3 *Bowu Zhi* 博物志^[585]

7.3

漢使張騫渡西海至大秦。西海之濱有小崑崙，高萬仞，方八百里。（東）〔西〕海廣漫，未聞有渡者。^[586]（卷一）¹⁴⁹

The Han envoy Zhang Qian crossed over the Western Sea to reach Da Qin. On the beach of the Western Sea there is the little Kunlun Mountains, which is 10,000 *ren* tall and has a circumference of 800 *li*. The Western Sea is boundless, it was unheard of for anyone to cross the sea.^[582] (ch. 1)¹⁴⁹

- [585] The *Bowuzhi* 博物志 is complete in ten chapters. The author is Zhang Hua 張華 (232–300) in Western Jin times. His biography is seen in the *Jinshu* 晉書 (ch. 36).¹⁵⁰
- [586] This record is compiled by combining the records of Zhang Qian’s 張騫 mission to the Western Regions, those of the Han envoys who arrived at the Kunlun 崑崙 Mountains while tracing the source of Huanghe 黃河 River (see the “Dayuan Liezhuan 大宛列傳” of the *Shiji* 史記) and the records concerning Da Qin since the Eastern Han (see the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*).

¹⁴⁸ For details, see Li 1984, pp. 159–167.

¹⁴⁹ The edition is checked by Fan Ning 范寧, Zhonghua Press, 1980, p. 11.

¹⁵⁰ For details, see Li 1984, pp. 260–269.

4 *Xuanzhong Ji* 玄中記^[587]

7.4.1

《玄中記》曰：“珊瑚^[588]出大秦西海中，生水中石上。初生白，一年黃，三年赤，四年蟲食敗”。（《太平御覽》卷八〇七引）

The *Xuanzhong Ji* says that “coral comes out of the Western Sea of Da Qin,^[588] which grows on stones in the water. At first they are white; in the first year they change to yellow, in the third year to red, and in the fourth year they are eaten by worms and decompose.” (This is quoted by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, ch. 807.)

^[587] The *Xuanzhong Ji* 玄中記, which is also called the *Guoshi Xuanzhong Ji* 郭氏玄中記 and *Yuanzhong Ji* 元中記, etc., is complete in one chapter. The author is Guo Pu 郭璞 in Jin times. The book was lost long ago. There is a collected version in the *Yu Han Shanfang Jiyishu* 玉函山房輯佚書 by Ma Guohan 馬國翰 in Qing 清 times.¹⁵¹

^[588] Corals comes from Da Qin, which is seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

7.4.2

《玄中記》曰：“大秦國有五色頗黎^[589]，紅色最貴”。（《太平御覽》卷八〇八引）

The *Xuanzhongji* says that “The state of Da Qin has multi-coloured glass (*poli*)^[589]. The crimson colour is most prized.” (This is quoted by the *Taiping Yulan*, ch. 808)

^[589] Glass comes out of Da Qin, which is seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) and the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

¹⁵¹ For details, see Li 1984, pp. 269–278.

7.4.3

《玄中記》曰：“木難出於大秦”。^[590]（《太平御覽》卷八〇九引）

The *Xuanzhong Ji* says that “*Munan* comes from Da Qin.” (This is quoted by the *Taiping Yulan*, ch. 809.)^[590]

^[590] The earliest record concerning the idea that *munan* comes out of Da Qin is seen in the *Xuanzhong Ji* 玄中記.

7.4.4.1

《玄中記》曰：“金剛^[591]出天竺、大秦國，一名削玉刀，削玉如鐵刀削。大者長尺許，小者如稻米，欲刻玉時，當作大金環著手指間，以割玉刀內環中以刻玉”。（《太平御覽》卷八一三引）^[592]

The *Xuanzhong Ji* says that “The diamond^[591] comes from the states of Tianzhu and Da Qin. It is named also ‘jade-cutting knife’, as it cuts jade like an iron knife. The largest reach a length of over a *chi*, the smallest are of the size of a rice-grain. In order to cut jade, it is necessary to make a large gold ring, which is held between the fingers; this ring is inserted into the jade-cutting knife, which thus becomes fit for work.” (This is quoted by the *Taiping Yulan*, ch. 813.)^[592]

^[591] *Jingang* 金剛 is “diamond”.¹⁵²

^[592] In the *Bencao Gangmu* 本草綱目, ch. 10 cites this record as “The state of Da Qin produces diamonds (*jingang*), termed also ‘jade cutting swords or knives’. The largest reach a length of over a *chi*, the smallest are of the size of a rice or millet grain. Set in a

¹⁵² For details, see Zhang H 1993, pp. 93–105. In the *Nanzhou Yiwuzhi* 南州異物志 quoted by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, ch. 813, says that “金剛，石也，其狀如珠，堅利無匹。外國人好以飾玦環，服之能辟惡毒。” (*Jingang* 金剛 is a kind of stone. Its shape is like pearl, and unyielding and incomparably sharp. The foreigners like to ornament rings with *jingang*; if one was so adorned, he could ward off evil and calamities.)

ring, it can cut jade. From this it can be seen that there is larger *jingang* 金剛, which is what the Buddhist priests substitute for the tooth of Buddha.”

7.4.4.2

《玄中記》曰：“天竺、大秦國出金指環”。^[593]（《北堂書鈔》卷一三六引）

The *Xuanzhong Ji* says that “Tianzhu and Da Qin states produce gold finger rings.” (This is quoted by the *Beitang Shuchao*, ch. 136.)^[593]

- ^[593] This is probably another version of the above-cited record. “金指環” (gold finger rings) is the same as “大金環” (large gold ring). The only difference is whether detailed or brief.

5 *Waiguo Tu* 外國圖^[594]

7.5.1

《外國圖》：“從隅巨^[595]北有國名大秦，其種長大，身長五六尺”。（《通典》卷一九三引）^[596]

The *Waiguo Tu* says that “From north of Yuju^[595] is a state called Da Qin, whose race is tall, with bodies 5–6 *chi* tall.” (This is quoted by the *Tongdian*, ch. 193.)^[596]

- ^[594] The author of the *Waiguo Tu* is generally considered to have written in Jin 晉 times. The book has been lost since Song 宋 times. There is a collected version in the *Gu Haiguo Yishu Chao* 古海國遺書抄 in Qing times (The *Lushan Jingshe Congshu* 麓山精舍叢書 II)¹⁵³

- ^[595] “Yuju” 隅巨 is unknown.

¹⁵³ For details, see Li 1984, pp. 278–279.

- [596] This record is the same as that quoted by the *Wenxian Tongkao* 文獻通考, ch. 339, only “Yuju 隅巨” reads as “囑巨 Yongju”.

7.5.2

《外國圖》曰：“大秦國人長一丈五尺，猿臂長脅，好騎駱駝”。^[597]（《法苑珠林》^[598]卷五引）¹⁵⁴

The *Waiguo Tu* says that “The natives of Da Qin are one *zhang* and five *chi* tall. They have apelike arms and long ribs. They like riding camels.”^[597] (This is quoted by the *Fayuan Zhulin* 法苑珠林^[598], ch. 5.)¹⁵⁴

- [597] *Fayuan Zhulin* 法苑珠林 is complete in 100 chapters. The author is Daoshi 道世, the Buddhist monk, in Tang 唐 times.

- [598] The *Waiguo Tu* 外國圖 quoted by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, ch. 377, has this slightly different, as 大秦國人長一丈五尺，猿臂長脇，好騎駱駝.

¹⁵⁴ *Fayuan Zhulin* 法苑珠林, p. 163. Moreover, this text is roughly identical with the text quoted by the *Xu Yiqiejing Yinyi* 續一切經音義, whose editor is Xi Lin 希麟 in Song 宋 times, ch. 5 (T54, No. 2129, p. 956).

H. Augury Books

1 *Hetu Yuban* 河圖玉版^[599]

8.1

《河圖玉版》曰：“從崑崙以北九萬里，得龍伯^[600]國，人長三十丈，生萬八千歲而死。從崑崙以東，得大秦國，人長十丈。從此〔國〕以東十萬里，得佻國^[601]，人長三丈五尺。從此國以東十萬里，得中秦國，人長一丈”。^[602]
(《法苑珠林》卷五引)¹⁵⁵

The *Hetu Yuban* says that “The state of Longbo^[600] is 90,000 *li* to the north of the Kunlun Mountains. The natives of Longbo are thirty *zhang* tall, and they can live to the age of 18,000. The state of Da Qin is to the east of the Kunlun Mountains. The natives of Da Qin are ten *zhang* tall. The state of Tiao^[601] is 100,000 *li* to the east of Da Qin. The natives of Tiao are three *zhang* and five *chi* tall. The state of Zhong Qin is 100,000 *li* to the east of Tiao. The natives of Zhong Qin are one *zhang*.”^[602] (This is quoted by the *Fayuan Zhulin*, ch. 5.)¹⁵⁵

^[599] The *Hetu Yuban* 河圖玉版, one of nine pieces of the *Hetu* 河圖. In the “Jingji Zhi (the first)” of the *Suishu* it is recorded that “This book is composed in Western Han times; there are nine pieces of the *Hetu* 河圖.” The *Hetu* is one of augury books, which is considered to be have been composed between the Western Han and the Eastern Han dynasties.¹⁵⁶

^[600] “Longbo” is unknown. “Longbo” and the following “state of Zhong Qin,” etc. are probably the legendary countries. There already existed a legend that the people of Da Qin are “generally tall” in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

¹⁵⁵ *Fayuan Zhulin* 法苑珠林, p. 160.

¹⁵⁶ Kōzan 1994, pp. 61–67.

[601] The state of Tiao is unknown. The so-called "state of Tiao" refers probably to Lintao 臨洮. The *Hetu Yuban* 河圖玉板 quoted by Zhang Hua's 張華 *Bowu Zhi* 博物志, ch. 2, states "The natives of Longbo are thirty *zhang* tall; they can live to the age of 18,000. The natives of Da Qin are ten *zhang* tall. The natives of Zhong Qin 中秦 are one *zhang*. The natives of Lintao 臨洮 are two *zhang* and five *chi*." From this it can be seen that the statement "The natives of Tiao 洮 are three *zhang* and five *chi*" is caused by eisegesis. In the *Hongfan Wuxing Zhuan* 洪範五行傳 quoted by Fayuan Zhulin 法苑珠林, ch. 5, it is recorded that "In the twenty-sixth year of Qi Shihuang 秦始皇, there was a great man, who was five *zhang* tall. His footprint was six *chi* long. All the barbarians were in subjection. Twelve of them appeared in Lintao 臨洮." The same book also says that in this year, Qin had just annexed the six states, [Qi Shihuang] was delighted and thought it to be a happy omen, so he had twelve golden men cast to symbolize it. [Qin] defended the Five Mountains in the south, built the Great Wall in the north, passed through Lintao 臨洮 in the west, and reached Liaodong 遼東 in the east. Therefore the Great Man first appeared in Lintao 臨洮 to indicate the disaster and scourge that would take place there. After twelve years the Qin fell."¹⁵⁷ This seems to be evidence.

[602] The *Hetu Yuban* quoted by the Taiping Yulan, ch. 377, says that "The state of Longbo 龍伯 is 90,000 *li* to the north of the Kunlun 崑崙 Mountains. The natives of Longbo are thirty *zhang* tall, and they can live to the age of 18,000. The state of Da Qin is to the east of the Kunlun Mountains. The natives of Da Qin are ten *zhang* tall. The state of Tiaotudiao 桃吐凋 is 100,000 *li* to the east of Da Qin. The natives of Tiaotudiao are three *zhang* and five *chi* tall. The state of Zhong Qin 中秦 is 1,000 *li* to the east of Tiaotudiao. The natives of Zhong Qin are one *zhang* tall."

¹⁵⁷ Fayuan Zhulin 法苑珠林, p. 161.

2 *Hetu Longwen* 河圖龍文^[603]

8.2

《河圖龍文》曰：“龍伯國人長三十丈，以東得大秦國，人長十丈。又以東十萬里得佻國，人長三丈五尺。又以東十萬里，得中秦國，人長一丈”。
(《初學記》^[604]卷一九引)

The *Hetu Longwen* says that “The natives of Longbo are thirty *zhang* tall. To the east of this state there is the state of Da Qin, whose natives are ten *zhang* tall. To the east of Da Qin there is the state of Tiao, whose natives are three *zhang* and five *chi* tall. Tiao is 100,000 *li* from Da Qin. To the east of Tiao there is the state of Zhong Qin, whose natives are one *zhang* tall. Zhong Qin is 100,000 *li* from Tiao.” (This is quoted by the *Chuxue Ji*^[604], ch. 19.)

^[603] The *Hetu Longwen* 河圖龍文 is complete in one chapter, one of the nine pieces of the *Hetu* 河圖. The book is recorded in the “Jingji Zhi (the first)” of the *Suishu*.

^[604] The *Chuxue Ji* 初學記 is complete in 30 chapters. The author is Xu Jian 徐堅 in Tang 唐 times.

I. Taoist Scriptures

1 *Taiqing Jinye Shendan Jing* 太清金液神丹經^[605]

9.1.1

大秦國在古奴斯調^[606]西，可四萬餘里^[607]，地方三萬里^[608]，最大國也。^[609]人士煒燁，角巾塞路，風俗如長安人。此國是大道之所出，談虛說妙，脣理絕殊，非中國諸人輩作。一云妄語也。道士比肩，有上古之風。不畜奴婢，雖天王、王婦猶躬耕籍田，親自拘桑織經，以道使人，人以義觀，不用刑辟、刀刃戮罰。人民溫睦，皆多壽考。水土清涼，不寒不熱，士庶推讓，國無凶人。斯道氣所陶，君子之奧丘，顯罪福之科教，令萬品奉其化也。^[610]始於大秦國、人宗道以示八遐矣。亦如老君入流沙化胡也。^[611]

The state of Da Qin is situated some 40,000 *li* ^[606] and more to the west of the state of Gunusitiao^[607]. Its territory is 30,000 *li* square^[608]; it is the greatest country.^[609] The people have an imposing appearance, and the streets are packed with hooded men. Their customs are similar to those of the people of Chang'an. It is from this state that the Great Dao comes. The people discuss metaphysics and talk mystery, and their views are original, which are not like the Chinese scholars. However, some think that it is nonsense. Taoists were very numerous, and have ancient practices. They do not have slaves; even the celestial king himself cultivates the fields and his wife gathers the mulberry leaves and weaves the material herself. The king employs common people by the Great Dao and persuades people to do things to conform with justice. There is no punishment using instruments of torture and decapitation. The people are harmonious, many of them living to a very old age. The climate is cool, neither too hot nor too cold all the year round. The scholars and common people are modest and humble; in this country there are no evil people. This is the result of being taught by the Dao;

it becomes a gentlemen's land, with the creed [of Daoism] and its commandments to show the ways of misfortune or fortune. The state of Da Qin began the practice of highly praising the Dao and spread it in all directions.^[610] It is like Laozi entering upon the Flowing Desert to enlighten the barbarians.^[611]

9.1.2

從海濟入大江，七千餘里乃到其國，^[612]天下珍寶所出，家居皆以珊瑚爲□櫺，瑠璃爲牆壁，水精爲階阼。^[613]昔中國人徃扶南^[614]，復從扶南乘船，船入海，欲至古奴國^[615]，而風轉不得達，乃他去，晝夜帆行不得息，經六十日乃到岸邊，不知何處也。上岸索人而問之，云是大秦國。

此商人本非所往處，甚驚恐，恐見執害，乃詐扶南王使，詣大秦王。王見之，大驚，曰：……子何國人乎？來何爲？扶南使者答曰：臣北海際扶南王使臣，來朝王庭闕，北面奉首矣。又聞王國有奇貨珍寶，并欲請乞玄黃，以光鄙邑也。……乃付紫金^[616]、夜光五色玄珠^[617]、珊瑚^[618]、神璧^[619]、白和^[620]、朴英^[621]、交頸神玉瓊虎^[622]、金剛^[623]諸神珍物以與使者，發遣便去。^[624]……還，四年，乃到扶南。

After crossing the sea, one enters a great river, and at the end of more than seven thousand *li* one reaches this state.^[612] It is from there that the jewels of the world all come; in all the houses, they make columns of coral, windows of coloured glass, and stairs of rock crystal.^[613] There was once a Chinese who went to Funan^[614], and from there took a boat; the boat entered a sea. He wanted to reach the state of Gunu^[615]; but the wind was shifting and he could not go there, and was blown in the opposite direction; after sixty day of sailing day and night without being able to stop, he finally arrived at a shore. He did not know where he had arrived, and he met a man there and asked him about the country. "This is the state of Da Qin," was the answer.

This was not the place that the merchant intended to visit. He was afraid of being arrested and killed. Thus he pretended that he was an ambassador of the

Funan king, and went to see the king of Da Qin. The king saw him and was astonished, saying "...What country do you come from? What are you doing here?" The ambassador of Funan said "I am an ambassador of Funan's king on the Northern Sea. I want to present at court and pay homage. Having heard that your country has rare merchandise and precious stones, my king wishes to ask for some coloured silk to illuminate his capital."... Thereupon, the king gave the ambassador red-brown gold^[616], pearls that shine in the night, multi-coloured and black pearls^[617], coral^[618], marvellous rings of jade^[619], *baihe*^[620], *puying*^[621], fine jade tigers to fondle each other^[622], diamonds (*jingang*)^[623], all kinds of divine jewels to the ambassador.^[624] ...and sent him on his way. After a journey lasting four years heading homeward, he arrived at Funan.

使者先以船中所有綵絹千匹奉獻大王，王笑曰：夷狄綵絹耳，何猥薄！物薄則人弊，諒不虛耳。非我國之所用！即還不取。因示使者玉帛之妙：八采之綺、流飛蒼錦，玉縷結成之帛，金閒孔文之碧，白則如雪，赤則如霞，青過翠羽，黑似飛鳥，光精耀輝，五色紛敷。幅廣四尺，無有好羸。而忽見使者，凡弊之躬，北地之帛，真可笑也。自云大秦國無所不有，皆好中國物，永無相比方理矣，至於竈炊皆然，薰陸木爲焦，香芳鬱積，國無穢臭，實盛國者也。使既歸，具說本末如此。自是以來無敢往復至大秦者。商旅共相傳如此，遂永絕也。.....

The ambassador first offered 1,000 rolls of variegated silk to the great king. The king smiled and said, "This is silk of the barbarians. What poor quality!" If the goods are poor, people will also go bad, indubitably. These are not what my state can use. Thus the silk was handed back. Then he showed the ambassador wonderful jade and silk: patterned silks embroidered in eight colours, flowing and flying blue turquoise satins, silks woven with threads of jade lace, blue stones with gold flecks; white like snow, red like the flames of sunset, blue as a feather of emerald birds, black as flying crows. These are shining brilliantly in amazing colours. Their widths are four *chi*, regardless of whether they are fine or rough.

Suddenly seeing the envoy, who was so bad, and the silk from the northern lands — what a surprise! The envoy himself said that there were all kinds of goods in the state of Da Qin. All people in Da Qin were partial to Chinese goods. But both states are completely incomparable. This showed indeed even in the cooking: when *Xunlu*'s trees were used as firewood, the smell persisted. Here in the country there was no such scent. This was a grand nation indeed! The envoy told the whole story from beginning to end after he had returned. From then on, no one dared to go to Da Qin — so the caravan leaders said. Thus ended any connection with Da Qin...

9.2

又大秦人白易、長大，^[625]出一丈者。形儀嚴整，舉以禮度，止則澄靜，言氣凌雲，交遊蔚挺。而忽見商旅之夫，言無異音、不知經綸，進趣唯食貨賄，大秦王是益賤之，盡言周國之人皆當然也。

昔老君以周衰將入化大秦，故號扶南使者爲周人矣。周時四海彌服，扶南皆賓，所以越裳人抱白雉、而獻象牙於周也。今四夷皆呼中國作漢人，呼作晉人者。大秦去中國遼遠，莫相往來。^[626].....（卷下：3, 11–14）

I, (Hung), declare: the people of Da Qin are white; they are tall, ^[625] more than one *zhang*. Their demeanor was in a neat formation, their manner was to observe decorum and their behaviour was composed, their speech and mettle soared to the skies, their alliances were numerous and superior. Then he saw a merchant, whose speech was ordinary, who did not know statecraft, and who was only in pursuit of food, commodities, and wealth. The king of Da Qin looked down on him all the more, and thought that all the people in the Zhou country must be the same.

Earlier, Laozi, believing that the Zhou dynasty was on the decline, went to Da Qin and converted it (to Taoism). That is why (the king of Da Qin) called the Funan's envoy a man of Zhou. All states within the Four Seas made obeisance in Zhou times, and the states in Funan all complied. Therefore, carrying white

pheasants, the people of Yuechang presented ivory in tribute to the Zhou dynasty. Now, the various barbarian peoples sometimes call the Chinese men of Han, sometimes men of Jin. Da Qin being the furthest country from China, there are no travellers^[626]... (Vol. 3, 11–14)

- [605] The *Taiqing Jinye Shendan Jing* 太清金液神丹經 is complete in three chapters. The author is assumed to be Changsheng Yinzgzhren 長生陰真人, in Eastern Han times. The book was in the “Dongshenbu Zhangshulei 洞神部衆術類” of the *Daozang* 道藏. The *Baopuzi Neipian* 抱朴子內篇 by Ge Hong 葛洪 already referred to this book, which is generally considered to have been written between Eastern Jin and Liang times.¹⁵⁸
- [606] Gunusitiao 古奴斯調 is also seen in Wan Zhen’s 萬震 *Nanzhou Yiwuzhi* 南州異物志.
- [607] The distance “some 40,000 *li*” is copied from the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), but is not precise enough. The “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) says that “Only after this did Gan Ying 甘英 reach Tiaozhi and cross Anxi. Overlooking the Western Sea, he gazed out at Da Qin in the distance, more than 40,000 *li* beyond the Yumen and Yang Barriers.” There is no record stating a distance of 40,000 *li* to Da Qin from Chang’an in the data at that time.
- [608] “Its territory is 30,000 *li* square”: We do not know the basis of this item. The “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) says only that “[Da Qin’s] territory is several thousand *li* square.”
- [609] “It is the greatest country : In the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* it is recorded that “this state (Da Qin) is the largest west of the Cong 葱 Mountains.”
- [610] The statement from “The people have an imposing appearance” to “commandments to show the ways of misfortune and fortune” is a deliberate beautification, and the original for it is the Chinese ideal. This invented statement and that of the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* are precisely the same.

¹⁵⁸ Zhengtong *Daozang* 正統道藏, Book XXXI, pp. 25048–25050.

- [611] “It is like Laozi entering upon the Flowing Desert to enlighten the barbarians”: According to the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*, “Laozi went west beyond the barrier, passing through Tianzhu in the Western Regions, and taught the barbarians.”
- [612] “After crossing the sea, one enters a great river, and at the end of more than seven thousand *li* one reaches this kingdom.” From the *Nanzhou Yiwuzhi* 南州異物志 quoted by the *Taiqing Jinye Shendan Jing* 太清金液神丹經, ch. 3, it can be seen that “海濟” must be a textual error for “海灣”. According to the *Nanzhou Yiwuzhi* 南州異物志, “From the estuary of the river going to the west one is over 10,000 *li* from the state of Da Qin,” which is different from the record here.
- [613] “It is from there that the jewels of the world all come” and so on: There are similar records in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.
- [614] In the “Hainan Zhuoguo Zhuan” 海南諸國傳 of the *Liangshu* (ch. 54), it is recorded that “Their people are traders and often visit Funan.”
- [615] The state of Gunu 古奴 must be the “state of Gunusitiao 古奴斯調” in the preceding statement.
- [616] The “red-brown gold” is possibly a gold that contains traces of iron.¹⁵⁹
- [617] “Xuan zhu” 玄珠 is black pearls.
- [618] Coral comes from Da Qin, and this is seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.
- [619] Marvellous ring of jade is probably the jewel which shines at night in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.
- [620] Baihe is unknown.
- [621] Puying is unknown.
- [622] “Fine jade tigers to fondle each other” is possibly a jade handicraft.
- [623] *Jingang* comes out of Da Qin, as is also seen in the *Xuanzhong Ji* 玄中記.
- [624] The following statements are intended to idealize Da Qin, and these need not be examined for our purposes.

¹⁵⁹ Laufer 1919, pp. 509–510; Schafer 1963, pp. 254–255.

[625] The legend that the people of Da Qin are “generally tall” is seen in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weiliue*, etc.

[626] The following statements are only assumptions. These also do not need to be examined.

J. Buddhist Sutras

1 Naxian Biqu Jīng 那先比丘經^[627]

10.1.1

王^[628]問左右邊臣言：“國中道人及人民誰能與我共難經道者”？邊臣白王言：“有學佛道者，人呼爲沙門。其人智慧博達，能與大王共難經道。今在北方大秦國^[629]，國名舍竭^[630]，古王之宮。其國中外安隱，人民皆善；其城四方皆復道行”。……¹⁶⁰（乙種卷上）^[631]

The king^[628] asks his favorite courtiers on the left and right: “Who else could have queried and argued with me on the doctrine in the scriptures among the sensible persons and the common people in the country?” The favourite courtiers replied: “There is a man who studies Buddhism, and is called Shamen (*śramaṇa*). He has perfect wisdom and broad knowledge, could have queried and argued with Your Majesty. Now the man is in the state of Da Qin in the north^[629]. The state’s name is Shejie^[630], where is an ancient palace. The state is stable within and without, the people all are kindly. This town’s terraqueous communication extends in all directions....”¹⁶⁰ (Version B, ch. 1)^[631]

^[627] The *Naxian Biqu Jīng* 那先比丘經 (Nāgasena-bhikṣu-sūtra) has two versions of A and B. Version A is complete in two (sometimes one or three) chapters. Version B is complete in three chapters. The translator is unknown, but is generally considered to be someone in Eastern Jin times. According to some studies, the extant *Milinda’s Questions* in Pali comprises three parts. The first part is *Milinda’s Questions*. This part, which has seven sections, including the preface, is the aboriginal component. The *Naxian Biqu Jīng* that

¹⁶⁰ T32, No. 1670B, p. 705.

is translated from the Sanskrit into Chinese included nothing but this part. In it there are fewer additions and changes, and the simple and earthy original features are preserved.¹⁶¹

[628] “King” here refers to the Greek King in India, Memander (or Menandros). According to a relatively creditable theory, the reign-period of this king is about B.C. 155–135.¹⁶² It is generally considered that during the reign-period of Memander the territory of the Greek regime developed to the south of Hindu Kush Mountains, including a large part of the Punjab, and it possibly once penetrated into the valley of the Ganges River and reached Madhyadeśa and Magadha.

[629] The “state of Da Qin” is a concept that was taken by the Chinese translator of the *Naxian Biqu Jing* 那先比丘經, to refer to the areas under the Greeks.¹⁶³

[630] “Shejie” 舍羯 is generally to be “Śākala” (“Shejieluo” 奢羯羅 in the *Datang Xiyuji*, ch. 4); the site is located in near Śiālkoṭ.

[631] In version A of the *Naxian Biqu Jing*, ch. 1, it is recorded that the king asks his favorite courtiers on the left and right: “Who else could have queried and argued with me on the doctrine in the scriptures among the sensible persons and the people in the country?” The favorite courtiers replied: “There is a man who studies Buddhism, and is called Shamen (*śramaṇa*). He has perfect wisdom and broad knowledge, could have queried and argued with Your Majesty.” He is a master in the North. The state’s name is Shejie 沙羯, where is a ancient palace. The state is stable within and without, the people all are kindly. This town’s terraqueous communication extends in all directions....¹⁶⁴ The meaning of the statement “北方大臣(He is a master in the North.)” is unknown, and it is probably an error for “北方大國 (He is a master in the north great state)” or “北方大秦國” (He is a master in the state of Da Qin in the north). “Shajie” 沙羯 should be “Shejie” 舍羯.

¹⁶¹ Ba 1997, p. 17.

¹⁶² Narain 1957, pp. 74–100.

¹⁶³ For details, see this book, ch. 4.

¹⁶⁴ T32, No. 1670A, p. 694.

10.1.2

那先^[632]問王：“王本生何國”。王言：“我本生大秦國，國名阿荔散”^[633]。那先問王：“阿荔散去是問幾里”。王言：“去〔是〕^[634]二千由旬^[635]合八萬里”。¹⁶⁵（乙種卷下）^[636]

Naxian (Nāgasena)^[632] asked the king: “In what state, king, were you born?” The king said: “I was born in the state of Da Qin. The state is named Alisan^[633].” Naxian asked the king: “And how far is Alisan from here?” The king replied: “From here^[634] about two thousand *yojanas*^[635], i.e., 80.000 *li*.”¹⁶⁵ (Version B, ch. 3)^[636]

^[632] Naxian 那先 (Nāgasena) is also translated as “Longjun 龍軍” in a paraphrase. According to the edition in Pali, he must have lived in the 500th year after the Buddha’s death. This is to say that Nanxian and Memander are probably not contemporary. If this is true, it is possible that the man who met Memander and queried and argued with him on the doctrine in the scriptures was another man, and the achievement is only spuriously ascribed to Nanxian by the editors of the sutra.

^[633] “Alisan 阿荔散” is generally considered to be a Chinese translation of Alasandā. This must be one of the towns called Alexandria that were founded by the Alexander the Great. However, as to which Alexandria “Alisan” refers, opinions are widely divided. Some think that Alisan must be Alexandria in Egypt.¹⁶⁶ Alexandria in Egypt was the capital of Ptolemaic Egypt. The Ptolemaic Egypt is first seen in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji* (ch. 123) and the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96). Its Chinese translations are “Lixuan” [lyei-xian] and “犁軒” [lyei-kan], both from Alexandria. So in my opinion, if it is true that the *Naxian Biqu Jing* 那先比丘經 used that name to mean Ptolemaic Egypt, the only possibility is that Egypt had been reduced to a dependency of the Roman Empire in the time when the Chinese translator lived.

¹⁶⁵ T32, No. 1670B, p. 717.

¹⁶⁶ For example, Pelliot 1923.

- [634] “去二千由旬合八萬里 (From here about two thousand *yojanas*, i.e., 80,000 *li*)”: in version A there is a character “是” after “去”, and the other script is the same.¹⁶⁷
- [635] *Youxun* is a Chinese transliteration of *yojanas*. According to the *Nanxian Biqu Jing* 那先比丘經, 1 *youxun* is equal to 40 *li*.
- [636] The corresponding parts of the *Milinda’s Questions* in Pali are: “In what town, O king, were you born?” “There is a village called Kalasi. It was there I was born.” “And how far is Kalasi from here?” “About two hundred leagues (*yojanas*).” “How far is Kashmir from here?” “Twelve leagues (*yojanas*).” (Chapter 1, section 5: Brahmā and Kashmir)¹⁶⁸
Based on this, some think that Alisan 阿荔散 should be located between the Panjshir and Kābul rivers, its ruins near Chārikār.¹⁶⁹

2 Fo Shi Biqu Jiazhanyan Shuofa Mojinjie Jing

佛使比丘迦旃延說法沒盡偈經^[637]

10.2

將有三惡王：大秦^[638]在於前，撥羅^[639]在於後，安息^[640]在中央”。¹⁷⁰

There are three evil kings: Da Qin^[638] is in the front, Boluo^[639] is in the back, and Anxi^[640] is in the center.¹⁷⁰

- [637] *Foshibiqu Jiazhanyan Shuofa Meijin Jie* (Sūtra on Buddha’s causing the Bhikṣu Kātyāyana to preach the Gāthā on the destruction of the law) is complete in one chapter. The translator is unknown, but is generally considered to be someone in Western Jin 晉 times.

- [638] Da Qin here refers to the Greek Kingdom in Bactria.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ T32, No. 1670A, p. 702.

¹⁶⁸ Davids 1894; Horner 1964.

¹⁶⁹ Rapson 1922, p. 550; Tarn 1951, pp. 140–141, 420–421.

¹⁷⁰ T49, No. 2029, p. 11

[639] “Boluo” 撥羅 seems to be “Boluo” 波羅 (Vārāṇasī), an ancient state in Middle India, at the present Benares.

[640] Anxi refers to the Parthian Persia.

3 Shi’eryou Jing 十二遊經^[641]

10.3

閻浮提^[642]中有十六大國^[643]。八萬四千城。有八國王^[644]四天子。東有晉天子，人民熾盛。南有天竺國^[645]天子，土地多名象。西有大秦國^[646]天子，土地饒金銀璧玉。西北有月支^[647]天子，土地多好馬。¹⁷²（卷一）^[648]

There are sixteen large states^[643], 84,000 towns, eight kings^[644], and four Sons of Heaven in the land of Jambudvīpa^[642]. There is the Son of Heaven of Jin 晉 in the east, and the people are flourishing. There is the Son of Heaven of the state of Tianzhu 天竺^[645] in the south, and there are many famous elephants in the land. There is the Son of Heaven of the state of Da Qin 大秦^[646] in the west, and there is much gold, silver, and jade in the land. There is the Son of Heaven of the Yuezhi 月支^[647] in the north, and there are many fine horses in the land.¹⁷² (ch. 1)^[648]

[641] The *Shi’eryou Jing* 十二遊經 (Dvādaśa-varṣa-viharaṇa-sūtra) is complete in one chapter. The translator is Jialiutuojia 迦留陀伽 (Kālodaka) in Eastern Jin 晉 times.

[642] Yanfuti 閻浮提 is a translation of Jambu-dvipa. Here it means earthly.

[643] “Sixteen large states” refers originally to the sixteen large states in ancient India. Their names in the various sutra are different. Here it seems to mean in general every nation under heaven. The “sixteen” means a culminated and endless number.

¹⁷¹ Ba 1997, p. 17.

¹⁷² T4, No. 195, p. 147.

- [644] “Eight kings”: In the *Beishan Lu* 北山錄, ch. 3, which is composed by Shen Qing 神清 and annotated by Huibao 慧寶 in Tang 唐 times, it is recorded that “On three sides it borders on the great sea, on the north it abuts on the Snowy Mountain. There are eight large states, sixteen large towns, more than seventy small states.”¹⁷³ For the names of eight states, the records in various sutras are different. According to the *Chang Ahan Jing* 長阿含經 (Dīrghāgama sūtra), ch. 4, which was translated by Buddhayasas and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 in Yao Qin 姚秦 times, these were Bopo 波婆 (Pāvā), Jushi 拘尸 (Kusināra), Zheluo 遮羅 (Allakappa), Luomojia 羅摩伽 (Rāmagāma), 毘留提 (Vethadipa), Jianpilouwei 迦毘羅衛 (Kapila), Pisheli 毘舍離 (Vesāli) and Mojie 摩揭 (Magadha).¹⁷⁴
- [645] “Tianzhu” 天竺 refers to India.
- [646] “Da Qin” 大秦 refers to the Roman Empire.
- [647] “Yuezhi” 月支 refers to the Kushan Empire.
- [648] There is a similar record in the *Jinglü Yixiang* 經律異相, ch. 3, by Baochang 寶唱 in Liang 梁 times: “There are sixteen large states, 84,000 towns, eight kings, and four Sons of Heaven in the land of Jambudvīpa. There is the Son of Heaven of Jin 晉 in the east, and the people are flourishing. There is the Son of Heaven of the state of Tianzhu 天竺 in the south, and there are many famous elephants in the land. There is the Son of Heaven of the state of Da Qin 大秦 in the west, and there is much gold and jade in the land. There is the Son of Heaven of the Yuezhi 月支 in the north, and there are many fine horses in the land.”¹⁷⁵ There is another similar record in the *Fayuan Zhulin* 法苑珠林, ch. 44, by Daoshi 道世 in Tang 唐 times: “There are sixteen large states, 84,000 towns, eight kings, and four Sons of Heaven [in the land of Jambudvīpa]. There is the Son of Heaven of Jin 晉 in the east, and the people are flourishing. There is the Son of Heaven of the state of Tianzhu 天竺 in the south, and there are many famous elephants in the

¹⁷³ T52, No. 2113, p. 585.

¹⁷⁴ T1, No. 1, p. 29.

¹⁷⁵ T53, No. 2121, p. 10.

land. There is the Son of Heaven of the state of Da Qin 大秦 in the west, and there is much gold and jade in the land. There is the Son of Heaven of the Yuezhi 月支 in the north, and there are many fine horses in the land.”¹⁷⁶

4 *Puyao Jing* 普曜經^[649]

10.4

師問：“其六十四書皆何所名”？太子^[650]答曰：“梵書^[651]（一）、佉留書^[652]（二）、佛迦羅書^[653]（三）、安佉書^[654]（四）、曼佉書^[655]（五）、安求書^[656]（六）、大秦書^[657]（七）……”。（卷三）¹⁷⁷

The teacher asks: “What are the names of the 64 scripts?” The prince^[650] answers: “Fan script^[651] (the first), Quliu script^[652] (the second), Fojialuo script^[653] (the third), Anqu script^[654] (the fourth), Manqu script^[655] (the fifth), Anqiu script^[656] (the sixth), Da Qin script^[657] (the eighth)....” (ch. 3)¹⁷⁷

[649] The *Puyao Jing* 普曜經, complete in eight chapters. The author is Zhu Fahu 竺法護 (Dharmarakṣa) in Western Jin 晉 times.

[650] The prince refers to the prince of the King of Jingfan 淨飯 (Śuddhodana).

[651] Fan 梵 script is the Brāhmī.

[652] Quliu 佉留 script is the Kharoṣṭī.

[653] Fojialuo 佛迦羅 script is the Puṣkarasāri.

[654] Anqu 安佉 script is the Aṅgalipi.

[655] Manqu 曼佉 script is the Vaṅgalipi.

[656] Anqiu 安求 script is the Aṅgulīyalipi.

¹⁷⁶ *Fayuan Zhulin* 法苑珠林, p. 1363.

¹⁷⁷ T3, No. 186, p. 498.

[657] Da Qin 大秦 script is the Yavanī, which must be the Greek. That the *Puyao Jing* 普曜經 called Greek the Da Qin script, which can refer to the statement that the *Naxian Biqu Jing* 那先比丘經 called Hellenic world “state of Da Qin”.¹⁷⁸

5 Fo Benxingji Jing 佛本行集經^[658]

10.5

或復梵天所說之書^[659]（今婆羅門書正十四音是）、佉盧虱吒書^[660]（隋言驢脣）、富沙迦羅仙人說書^[661]（隋言蓮花）、阿迦羅書^[662]（隋言節分）、瞢伽羅書^[663]（隋言吉祥）、耶寐尼書^[664]（隋言大秦國書）、鶯瞿梨書^[665]（隋言指書）……。¹⁷⁹（卷一一）^[666]

These are the scripts said by Brahmā^[659] (i.e., the Brahmā script with fourteen correct [vowel] sounds), Qulushizha script^[660] (“ass’ lip” in the Sui language), Fushajialuo Immortal’s script^[661] (“lotus” in the Sui language), Ajialuo script^[662] (“divided into sections” according to the Sui speech), Menghijialuo script^[663] (“favonian” in the Sui language), Yemeini script^[664] (“script in the state of Da Qin” in the Sui’s language), Yangjuli script^[665] (“fingerwriting script” in the Sui’s language)....¹⁷⁹ (ch. 11)^[666]

[658] The *Fo Benxingji Jing* 佛本行集經 (Buddha caritra) is complete in 60 chapters, translated into Chinese by Duna Jueduo 闍那崛多 (Jñānagupta) in Sui 隋 times.

[659] The script said by Brahmā is the Fan script which is in the *Puyao Jing* 普曜經.

[660] The Qulushizha 佉盧虱吒 script is the Quliu script which is in the *Puyao Jing* 普曜經.

[661] Fushajialuo 富沙迦羅 Immortal’s script is the Fojialuo script which is in the *Puyao Jing* 普曜經.

[662] Ajialuo 阿迦羅 script is the Anqu script which is in the *Puyao Jing* 普曜經.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. this book, ch. 4.

¹⁷⁹ T3, No. 0190, p. 703.

- [663] Menghijialuo 瞢伽羅 script is the Manqu script which is in the *Puyao Jing* 普曜經.
- [664] Yemeini 耶寐尼 script is the Da Qin script which is in the *Puyao Jing* 普曜經.
- [665] Yangjuli 鴛瞿梨 script is the Anqiu script which is in the *Puyao Jin* 普曜經.
- [666] There is a similar version in the *Fayuan Zhulin* 法苑珠林, ch. 9, by Daoshi 道世 in Tang 唐 times: “These are the scripts said by Brahmā (i.e., the Brahmā script with fourteen correct [vowel] sounds), Qulusezha 佉盧瑟吒 script (“ass’ lip” in the Sui language), Fushajialuo 富沙迦羅 Immortal’s script (“lotus” in the Sui language), Ajialuo 阿迦羅 script (“divided into sections” according to Sui speech), Menghijialuo 瞢伽羅 script (“favonian” in the Sui language), Yemeini 邪寐尼 script (“script in the state of Da Qin” in the Sui language), Yangjuli 鴛瞿梨 script (“fingerwriting [script]” in the Sui language)”¹⁸⁰

6 Pusa Shanjie Jing 菩薩善戒經^[667]

10.6

.....陀毘羅國聲^[668]、粟特聲^[669]、月支聲^[670]、大秦聲^[671]、安息聲^[672]、真丹聲^[673]、佉沙聲^[674]、裸形聲^[675]、鮮卑聲^[676]。如是等邊地聲名為細聲（謂竊語聲）。（卷二）¹⁸¹

...Tuopiluo voice^[668], Sute voice^[669], Yuezhi voice^[670], Da Qin voice^[671], Anxi voice^[672], Zhendan voice^[673], Qusha voice^[674], Luoxing voice^[675] and Xianbei voice^[676], these voices in outlying districts are the thin voices (i.e., whispering voices). (ch. 2)¹⁸¹

- [667] The *Pusa Shanjie Jing* 菩薩善戒經 (Bodhisattva-caryā-nirdeśa), which consists of one volume altogether, translated by Qiunabamo 求那跋摩 (Guṇavarman) in Liu Song 劉宋 times.

¹⁸⁰ *Fayuan Zhulin* 法苑珠林, p. 333.

¹⁸¹ T30, No. 1582, p. 972.

- [668] Tuopiluo’s 陀毘羅 voice refers to the Drāvida language. “陀毘羅” should be a textual error for “陀羅毘”. Drāvida is an ancient state in Southern India.
- [669] Sute 粟特 voice refers to Sogdian language.
- [670] Yuezhi 月支 voice refers to the Kushan language.
- [671] Da Qin 大秦 voice refers to the Greek language.
- [672] Anxi 安息 voice refers to the Persian language.
- [673] Zhendan 真丹 voice refers to the Chinese language. “真丹 (or 震旦) Zhendan,” i.e., Cinasthāna, is a title that the people in Ancient India called China.
- [674] Qusha 佉沙 voice refers to the Shule 疏勒 language.
- [675] Luoxing 裸形 voice refers to the language in the state of Luo 裸 (nude)¹⁸², which is also seen in the *Datang Xiyu Qiufa Gaoseng Zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳, ch. 2. Some suggest that the Nude state refers probably to a island belong to the Andaman Islands.¹⁸³
- [676] Xianbei 鮮卑 voice refers to the Xianbei 鮮卑 language.

7 Da Niepan Jing 大般涅槃經^[677]

10.7

假使復以象車百乘、載大秦國^[678]種種珍寶，及其女人、身佩瓔珞，數亦滿百，持用布施，猶故不如發心向佛舉足一步。¹⁸⁴（卷一九）^[679]

If one makes a donation in the way of driving a hundred elephant wagons that are fully loaded with multitudinous treasures from the state of Da Qin^[678] and sends their women, who are decorated with ornamental fringes on their bodies, whose

¹⁸² In the *Dazhidu Lun* 大智度論, ch. 25, says that “舍婆羅，裸國也 (Shepoluo refers to the state of Luo).” (T25, No. 1509, p. 243) The *Fan Fanyu* 翻梵語 (A Compilation of Chinese Translation from Sanskrit), ch. 8, says that “(舍婆羅，譯曰：裸也。Shepoluo’s Chinese translation is nude).” (T54, No. 2130, p. 1034).

¹⁸³ *Datang Xiyu Qiufa Gaoceng Zhuan Jiaozhu* 大唐西域求法高僧傳校注, pp. 136–137

number also reaches a hundred; one might as well make up his mind to take a step closer to the Buddha.¹⁸⁴ (ch. 19)^[679]

[677] The *Daban Niepan Jing* 大般涅槃經 (Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra) is complete in 40 chapters. The translator is Tanwuchen 曇無讖 (Dharmarakṣa) in Northern Liang 涼 times.

[678] Da Qin here is the representative of the lord of treasures.

[679] There is a similar record in the *Daban Nipān Jing* 大般涅槃經, ch. 17, which is added by Hui Yan 慧嚴 in Liu Song 劉宋 times and others based on the *Nihuan Jing* 泥洹經.¹⁸⁵

8 *Shisong Lü* 十誦律^[680]

10.8

優波離^[681]問佛：“若比丘^[682]作梵志^[683]形服^[684]，於道行得何罪”？答：得偷蘭遮^[685]。若作秦^[686]形服，大秦^[687]、安息^[688]、薄伽利^[689]、波羅^[690]大形服，得何罪？答：得突吉羅^[691]。（卷五三）¹⁸⁶

Upāli^[681] asked the Buddha: “If a bhikṣu^[682] has a cowl^[683] of brāhmaṇa^[684], what crime it would be to the Buddha Dharma?” Answer: “Sthūlātyayas^[685].” “If it is a cowl of Qin (China)^[686], or Da Qin^[687], Anxi (Parthian Persia)^[688], Boquli^[689] and Boluo^[690]?” Answer: “Duṣkṛta^[691].” (Vol. 53)¹⁸⁶

[680] The *Shisonglü* 十誦律 (Sarvāstivāda-vinaya) is complete in 61 chapters. The translators are Furuoduoluo 弗若多羅 (Puṇyatara) and Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什 (Kumārajīva) in Later Qin 秦 times.

¹⁸⁴ T12, No. 374, p. 479.

¹⁸⁵ T12, No. 375, p. 722.

¹⁸⁶ T23, No. 1435, p. 391.

- [681] Youboli 優波離 (Upāli) is a disciples of Sakyamuni, who was deeply versed in precepts.¹⁸⁷
- [682] Biqiu 比丘 (bhikṣu), a man who has left home, gained salvation and receive complete commandments.
- [683] “Fanzhi” 梵志, i.e. brāhmana, refers to all heterodox believers who have left home.
- [684] “Xingfu” 形服 is a monk’s robe.
- [685] “Toulanzhe” 偷蘭遮 refers to a flagrant offence.
- [686] “Qin” 秦 refers to China.
- [687] “Da Qin” 大秦 is the Roman Empire.
- [688] “Anxi” 安息 refers to the Parthian Persia.
- [689] “Boquli” 薄伽利 is Bactria.
- [690] “Boluo” 波羅 (Vārānaśī) is an ancient state in Middle India, the present Benares.
- [691] “Tujiluo 突吉羅 is a transliteration of duṣkṛta in Sanskrit. It is also translated into “ezuo 惡作 (evil doing)” in a paraphrase.

9 *Da Baoji Jing* 大寶積經^[692]

10.9

其十六大國，以用治政而相攝，各自諂嗟。一切諸人及與非人 言語各異，音聲不同，辭有輕重。如來聖慧，從其音響，隨時而入。皆悉化之，立正真業。各有種號：釋種^[693]、安息^[694]、月支^[695]、大秦^[696].....如斯千國，周圍充滿於閻浮利^[693]天下，各自異居（卷一〇）。¹⁸⁸

The sixteen great states administer government affairs by Buddha Dharma and adopt and protect each other, and mutually highly praise each other. All humans and not-humans are different in their languages and sounds, and their choice of words are unlike in degree of seriousness. The Buddha teaches them in accordance with their languages, by holy wisdom, indoctrinating and subjugating

¹⁸⁷ Cf. *Datang Xiyu Qiufa Gaoceng Zhuan Jiaozhu* 大唐西域求法高僧傳校注, p. 227.

the various states in the end, and bringing about correct, actual achievements. These states have their names, respectively: Shizhong^[693], Anxi^[694], Yuezhi^[695], Da Qin^[696]... and so on. So many nations are all over the Jambu-dvipa^[697], and each has its own territories. (ch. 10)¹⁸⁸

[692] The *Da Baoji jing* 大寶積經 (Mahāratnakuta sūtra) is complete in 120 chapters translated into Chinese by Butiliuzhi 菩提流志 (Bodhiruci) in Tang 唐 times.

[693] “Shizhong” 釋種, i.e., “Śākya,” refers to India.

[694] “Anxi” 安息 refers to the Parthian Persia.

[695] “Yuezhi” 月支 refers to the Kushan Empire.

[696] “Da Qin” refers to the Roman Empire here, because it is mentioned in the same breath with India, Anxi and Guishuang.

[697] 閼浮利 “Yanfuli” is the same as 閼浮提 “Yanfuti.”

10 *Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧傳^[698]

10.10

龜茲^[699]王爲造金師子座，以大秦^[700]錦褥^[701]鋪之，令什^[702]升而說法”。¹⁸⁹
(卷二)^[703]

The king of Qiuci^[699] made a golden lion couch for Kumāraj ī va on which was the silk cushion^[701] from Da Qin^[700], and took Kumāraj ī va^[702] to sit on it to expound Buddhist teaching.¹⁸⁹ (ch. 2)^[703]

[698] The *Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧傳 is complete in 14 chapters. The author is Huijiao in Liang times.

[699] Qiuci 龜茲, an oasis state on the Northern Route in the Western Regions, first seen in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96). The seat of the king’s government is generally

¹⁸⁸ T11, No. 310, p. 59.

¹⁸⁹ *Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧傳, p. 48.

regarded as located in the ruins of Pilang 皮郎 in the eastern suburbs of the present-day Kuche 庫車 County.

[700] Da Qin here refers invariably to the Roman Empire.

[701] “Silk cushion”: in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* it is recorded that “gold-threaded embroideries, damasks of various colours” were produced in the country of Da Qin.

[702] “Shi” 什 refers to Jiumoluoshi (Kumārajīva), a hierarch from the state of Qiuci 龜茲 in Eastern Jin 晉 times.

[703] A similar record is seen in the *Fahuaqing Zhuanji* 法華經傳記, ch. 1, by Hui Xiang 慧詳 in Tang 唐 times: “The king [of Qiuci 龜茲] made a golden lion couch for Kumārajīva on which was the silk cushion from Da Qin, and took Kumārajīva to sit on it to expound Buddhist teaching.”¹⁹⁰ It is also seen in the *Fayuan Zhulin* 法苑珠林, ch. 25, by Daoshi 道世 in Tang 唐 times: “The king of Qiuci 龜茲 made a golden lion couch for Kumārajīva on which was the silk cushion from Da Qin, and took Kumārajīva to sit on it to expound Buddhist teaching;”¹⁹¹ and the *Shishi Yaolan* 釋氏要覽, ch. 3, collected by Daocheng 道誠 in Song 宋 times: “Golden lion couch. Formerly, Kumārajīva was in Qiuci 龜茲. The king made a golden lion couch for Kumārajīva on which was the silk cushion from Da Qin 大秦, and took Kumārajīva to sit on it to expound Buddhist teaching.”¹⁹²

11 *Da Zhuangya Jing Lun* 大莊嚴經論^[704]

10.11

有一估客名稱伽拔吒，作僧伽藍，如今現在，稱伽拔吒。先是，長者子居室素富，後因衰耗，遂至貧窮。其宗親眷屬，盡皆輕慢，不以爲人，心懷憂惱，遂棄家去。共諸伴黨至大秦國，大得財寶還歸本國。^[705]（卷一五）¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ T51, No. 2068, p. 51.

¹⁹¹ *Fayuan Zhulin* 法苑珠林, p. 801.

¹⁹² T54, No. 2127, p. 296.

There was an itinerant peddler, Jiabazha, who had built the Buddhist monasteries. And now these Buddhist monasteries were Jiabazha by name. Previous to this, this peer’s son had been living a profligate life at home, but later he was poor, as his failings had brought him down. His kinsmen and families all treated him disrespectfully and did not regard him as human being. Sad and angry, he ran away and left his family. He travelled in a group and arrived in the state of Da Qin. He made a great fortune and then returned home.^[705] (ch. 15)¹⁹³

[704] The *Dazhuangyan Jing Lun* 大莊嚴經論 (Sūtrālaṅkāra-śāstra) is complete in 15 chapters, made by Bodhisattva Aśvaghōṣa, translated by Kumārajīva in Later Qin 秦 times.

[705] Da Qin 大秦 here is also the representative of the lord of treasures.

12 *Luoyang Qielan Ji* 洛陽伽藍記^[706]

10.12.1

崦嵫館^[707]，賜宅慕義里。自葱嶺^[708]已西，至於大秦^[709]。百國千城，莫不歡附。商胡販客，日奔塞下。所謂盡天地之區已，樂中國土風。因而宅者，不可勝數。是以附化之民，萬有餘家。（卷三）¹⁹⁴

Western tribes who came over were put in the Yanzi hostel^[707] and given houses in the Muyi ward [in Luoyang]. From the Congling (Pamirs)^[708] Mountains westwards to Da Qin^[709] 100 countries and 1,000 cities all gladly attached themselves to us; foreign traders and merchants came hurrying in through the passes every day. This could indeed be called exhausting all the regions of heaven and earth. The number of those who made their homes there because they enjoyed

¹⁹³ T4, No. 201, p. 347.

the atmosphere of China was beyond counting; there were over 10,000 families of those who had come over to our way of life. (ch. 3)¹⁹⁴

[706] The *Luoyang Qianlan Ji* 洛陽伽藍記 is complete in five chapters. The author is Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之 in Northern Wei 魏 times.

[707] The Yanzi 崦嵫 Mountains are located west of Tianshui 天水 County in Gansu 甘肅 Province. “Lisao 離騷” of the *Chuci* 楚辭 says: “I bid the Driver of the Sun, oh! To Yanzi 崦嵫 Mountains slowly go.” Wang Yi’s 王逸 commentary says: “Yanzi are the mountains in which the Sun sets.”

[708] Cong Ling 葱嶺 are the present Pamir Mountains.

[709] Da Qin refers to the Roman Empire. The Da Qin in the following two records are the same.

10.12.2

西域遠者乃至大秦國，盡天地之西垂。^[710]〔耕耘〕績紡，百姓野居，邑屋相望。衣服車馬，擬儀中國。^[711]（卷四）¹⁹⁵

The most distant part of the west is Da Qin which is at the western extreme of earth and sky.^[710] They plough, hoe and spin; the common people live in sight of each other in the countryside; and their clothes, horses, and carts are much like those of China.^[711] (ch. 4)¹⁹⁵

[710] In the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Houhan Shu* (ch. 88), it is recorded that “Some say: To the west of this state are the Weak Water and the Flowing Sands, which are near to the place where the Queen Mother of the West lives, and which are almost where the sun sets.”

[711] According to the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*, “[Da Qin’s] institutions are as follows: they have public and private palaces and houses, with multiple storeys. Their flags and

¹⁹⁴ *Luoyang Qianlanji Jiaozhu* 洛陽伽藍記校注, pp. 160–161.

¹⁹⁵ *Luoyang Qianlanji Jiaozhu* 洛陽伽藍記校注, pp. 235–236.

drums, white canopies over small chariots, and postal stations are just like those in the Middle Kingdom."

10.12.3

拔陀云：“有古奴調國^[712]，乘四輪馬爲車。斯調國出火浣布，以樹皮爲之。其樹入火不燃。^[713]凡南方諸國，皆因城廓而居。多饒珍麗，民俗淳善，質直好義。亦與西國大秦、安息^[714]、身毒諸國交通往來。或三方四方浮浪乘風，百日便至。率奉佛教，好生惡殺”。（卷四）¹⁹⁶

(In the south), the people of Gunutiao^[712] drive horse-drawn four-wheeled chariots. The country of Sitiao produces asbestos, which they make from the bark of a tree that doesn't burn when you put it on a fire.^[713] In all the countries of the south the people live in walled cities and most of these countries are rich in jewels. The people are honest, good, straightforward, and moral. They are in two-way communication with Da Qin, Anxsi^[714] and Shendu. It takes them 100 days sailing in many directions. As believers in the Buddhist faith they all treasure life and hate killing. (ch. 4)¹⁹⁶

[712] The state of Gunutiao 古奴調 should be the state of “Jianatiao” in the *Funanzhuan* 扶南傳 by Kang Tai 康泰.

[713] In the *Yiwu Zhi* 異物志, quoted by Pei's 裴 commentary on the “San Shaodi Ji 三少帝紀” of Weishu 魏書 of the *Sanguo Zhi* 三國志 (ch. 4), it is recorded that “There is a fire canton in the state of Sitiao 斯調. It is in the Southern Sea. In the canton there is balefire, which would happen of itself in the spring and summer, and can burn itself out in the autumn and winter. There is a tree that grows in it, and that does not get destroyed; its branch and bark are fresh. When the fire burns out in the autumn, the tree dies down. The custom is to take its bark to make cloth in the winter, whose colour is slightly black-and-blue. If the cloth is smeared with dust, and people then drop it into the fire, it

¹⁹⁶ Luoyang Qianlanji Jiaozhu 洛陽伽藍記校注, pp. 236–237.

becomes luridly bright.” “Sitiao” 斯調 is the present Sri Lanka. The “cloth washed in fire” is asbestos.

[714] “Anxi” here, at the time, must refer to the Sasanian Empire.

3. A Brief Study of the References on the Mulberry, the Silkworm and Silk Production in Da Qin in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) and the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*

A

“Da Qin” refers to the Roman Empire in both the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) and the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* (quoted by the Pei commentary on the “Wuwan Xianbei Dongyi Zhuan 烏丸鮮卑東夷” of “Weishu 魏書” of the *Sanguo Zhi* 三國志 [ch. 30]).¹ Records concerning Da Qin’s mulberry, silkworm and silk production appear in the two chapters. The main contents are the following:

In the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) it is recorded that “Da Qin’s customs are as follows: they devote themselves to agriculture, and plant a large number of silkworm mulberry trees.” The “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* also records that there were “the mulberry, the silkworm” in the state of Da Qin. This is to show that the people of the state of Da Qin, i.e., the Roman Empire, already had the ability to plant mulberry trees and raise silkworms at the time described in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) and the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*.

According to the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88), “They [Da Qin] also have a delicate cloth which some say is the wool of sea sheep, but which is really made from cocoons of wild silkworms.” And, according to the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe*, “They weave fine cloth, using, it is said, the wool of the water-sheep, and it is called “cloth from the west of the sea.” All the six domestic animals of the state come from the water. Some say that they use not only [the sea] sheep’s wool, but also the bark of trees, or even the silk of wild silkworms, to produce this thread.” This shows that silk that was made from the cocoons of wild silkworms existed there at

¹ Cf. the present work, ch. 1.

the time described in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) and the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

The "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) records that "The king of this state always wanted to enter into diplomatic relations with the Han. But Anxi wanted to trade with them in Han silk and so put obstacles in their way, so that they could never have direct relations [with Han]. Until the ninth year of the *Yanxi* 延熹 reign period of Emperor Huan 桓 (A.D. 166), Andun 安敦, king of Da Qin, sent an envoy from beyond the frontier of Rinan 日南 who offered elephant tusk, rhinoceros horn, and tortoise shell. It was only then that for the first time communication was established [between the two states]." And the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe* records that "They also commonly profit by obtaining silk from the Middle Kingdom and unravelling it to make barbarian damask. So they frequently trade by sea with the various states such as Anxi." This shows that Chinese silk thread and fabric were an important commodity of trade between the Anxi, i.e., Parthian Persia, and the Roman Empire, and that Anxi tried to monopolize the silk trade at the time described in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) and the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe*.

There is an evident contradiction in the above records, however: since Da Qin had the ability to plant mulberries and raise silkworms, why did their people "commonly profit by obtaining silk from the Middle Kingdom?" How could Anxi "put obstacles in their way"?

The only logical explanation seems to be that the fabric made in Da Qin was inferior, being made from wild silkworms, and that Chinese silk was more highly valued. Anxi prevented them from getting it by monopolizing the silk trade. The idea that the people of Da Qin "plant a large number of silkworm mulberry trees" must be erroneous hearsay, according to some scholars caused by the glamorized idea of Da Qin held by Chinese at that time.²

² Shiratori 1971–3; Hudson 1931, pp. 120–121.

B

The above records in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) and the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe* and the statements of the classical authors appear to complement each other.

Pliny (23–79) records that "There is another class also of these insects produced in quite a different manner. These last spring from a grub of larger size, with two horns of very peculiar appearance. The larva then becomes a caterpillar, after which it assumes the state in which it is known as *bombylis*, then that called *necydolusy* and after that, in six months, it becomes a silk-worm. These insects weave webs similar to those of the spider, the material of which is used for making the more costly and luxurious garments of females, known as 'bombycina.' Pamphile, a woman of Cos, the daughter of Platea, was the first person who discovered the art of unravelling these webs and spinning a tissue therefrom; indeed, she ought not to be deprived of the glory of having discovered the art of making vestments which, while they cover a woman, at the same moment reveal her naked charms." (XI, 26)³

The same author also says that

The silk-worm, too, is said to be a native of the isle of Cos, where the vapors of the earth give new life to the flowers of the cypress, the terebinth, the ash, and the oak which have been beaten down by the showers. At first they assume the appearance of small butterflies with naked bodies, but soon after, being unable to endure the cold, they throw out bristly hairs, and assume quite a thick coat against the winter, by rubbing off the down that covers the leaves, by the aid of the roughness of their feet. This they compress into balls by carding it with their claws, and then draw it out and hang it between the branches of the trees, making it fine by combing it out as it were: last of all, they take and roll it round their body, thus forming a nest in which they are enveloped. It is in this state that they are taken; after which they are placed in earthen vessels in a warm place, and fed upon bran. A peculiar sort of down soon shoots forth upon the body, on being

³ Bostock 1855.

clothed with which they are sent to work upon another task. The cocoons which they have begun to form are rendered soft and pliable by the aid of water, and are then drawn out into threads by means of a spindle made of a reed. Nor, in fact, have the men even felt ashamed to make use of garments formed of this material, in consequence of their extreme lightness in summer: for, so greatly have manners degenerated in our day, that, so far from wearing a cuirass, a garment even is found to be too heavy." (XI, 27)⁴

In these records there are several matters worthy of remark:

1. There did indeed exist wild silkworms, which were used to produce silk in the Roman Empire.
2. The garments of females woven with production from the wild silkworm were known as "bombycina." There are two possibilities for this. One of them is that Pliny confused real Chinese silk fabric with the fabric from the wild silkworm. The other is that the fabric of the wild silkworm was falsely claimed to be "bombycina" to raise prices. Regardless of how, the Romans knew Chinese silk very well at the time described by Pliny.
3. The statement concerning "the art of unravelling these webs and spinning a tissue therefrom," and so on, neatly confirms the record in the "Xirong Zhuan" of the *Weilüe* that "They also commonly profit by obtaining silk from the Middle Kingdom and unravelling it to make barbarian damask." We still do not know, however, whether the art attributed to Pamphile was that of unraveling and remaking Chinese silk fabric or used fabric from the wild silkworm. It is possible that the same art could be used for both once it was invented.

⁴ Bostock 1855.

C

Pausanias (c. 150–170) first records that

“the threads the Silk people use for their cloth do not come from a bark or stem of any kind: they are produced in quite another way, like this. There is an insect in their country which in Greek is called the silk-worm (Sér) though the Silk people (Seres) themselves have some other name for it of their own. Its size is about twice the biggest kind of beetle, but otherwise it is like the spiders that weave their webs in the trees, and just like a spider it has eight feet. The Silk people (Seres) look after these creatures and make them the right kind of houses for winter and for summer, and the work of these creatures is found as a fine mass of thread twisted up in their feet. They look after the creatures for four years, giving them millet to eat, but in the fifth year they know the creatures will die and they feed them green rushes: this is the most delicious food there is for these creatures, and they stuff themselves on rushes until they burst open and die, and you find the greater part of the yarn inside them.”⁵

This record (including its several misunderstandings) shows that:

The records that there were “mulberry, silkworm” in the state of Da Qin in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) and the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* arise merely out of imagination, and are not statements of fact. The Roman people did not plant mulberry, raise silkworm or weave silk until the time described by Pausanias.

Nevertheless, the Romans had a certain degree of understanding of how the Chinese planted mulberry and raised silkworms before the time described by Pausanias.

Pausanias’s record confirm the records in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* that “Until the ninth year of the *Yanxi* 延熹 reign period of Emperor Huan 桓 (A.D. 166), Andun 安敦, king of Da Qin, sent an envoy from beyond the frontier of Rinan 日南 who offered elephant

⁵ Levi 1971.

tusk, rhinoceros horn, and tortoise shell. It was only then that for the first time communication was established [between the two states].”⁶ This is because both are near in time, and Andun can be identified with the fifth Antonine emperor of the Roman Empire, Marcus Aurelius Antonius (r. A.D. 161–180). In the other words, the sources of the above-mentioned record may be the information gained by the Roman envoys to China at this time.

D

Procopius (500–565) records that:

At about this time certain monks, coming from India and learning that the Emperor Justinian entertained the desire that the Romans should no longer purchase their silk from the Persians, came before the emperor and promised so to settle the silk question that the Romans would no longer purchase this article from their enemies, the Persians, nor indeed from any other nation; for they had, they said, spent a long time in the country situated north of the numerous nations of India—a country called Serinda—and there they had learned accurately by what means it was possible for silk to be produced in the land of the Romans. Whereupon the emperor made very diligent enquiries and asked them many questions to see whether their statements were true, and the monks explained to him that certain worms are the manufacturers of silk, nature being their teacher and compelling them to work continually. And while it was impossible to convey the worms thither alive, it was still practicable and altogether easy to convey their offspring. Now the offspring of these worms, they said, consisted of innumerable eggs from each one. And men bury these eggs, long after the time when they are produced, in dung, and, after thus heating them for a sufficient time, they bring forth the living creatures. After they had thus spoken, the emperor promised to reward them with large gifts and urged them to confirm their account in action. They then once more went to Serinda and brought back the eggs to Byzantium,

⁶ Leslie 1996, pp. 226–227.

and in the manner described caused them to be transformed into worms, which they fed on the leaves of the mulberry; and thus they made possible from that time forth the production of silk in the land of the Romans. (VIII, 17)⁷

The above mentioned record confirms that:

The record that "The king of this state always wanted to enter into diplomatic relations with the Han. But the Anxi wanted to trade with them in Han silk and so put obstacles in their way, so that they could never have direct relations [with Han]" in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88) is authoritative.

The Roman people did not gain the method to raise silkworm until the time described by Pausanias.

Theophanes of Byzantium (end of the sixth century) records the same event more clearly: "Now in the reign of Justinian a certain Persian exhibited in Byzantium the mode in which (silk) worms were hatched, a thing which the Romans had never known before. This Persian on coming away from the country of the Seres had taken with him the eggs of these worms (concealed) in a walking-stick, and succeeded in bringing them safely to Byzantium. In the beginning of spring he put out the eggs upon the mulberry leaves which form their food; and the worms feeding upon those leaves developed into winged insects and performed their other operations. Afterwards when the Emperor Justinian showed the Turks the manner in which the worms were hatched, and the silk which they produced, he astonished them greatly."⁸

In the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Weishu* 魏書 (ch. 102) it is recorded that "[Da Qin's] soil is suitable for the five grains, mulberry, and hemp. The people work at sericulture and agriculture." Da Qin in Northern Wei times must refer to the Eastern Roman Empire, which is also recorded as "Pulan 普嵐" in the same chapter. This record is no doubt a copy of the preceding historical records, and is not necessarily the information gained in Northern Wei times, but has become a correct record by objective. The people in the Mediterranean area gained the art to raise silkworm during the reign period of Justinianus I (527–565).

⁷ Dewing 1914.

⁸ Müller 1851, p. 270. For an English translation, see Yule 1942, pp. 204–205.

Some think that as early as the third century A.D., the people in all parts of the Central Asia had known how to plant mulberry and raise silkworms. Therefore we cannot be sure that the Romans had this knowledge until the sixth century. In my opinion, the so-called Serinda described by Procopius must refer to Central Asia. The time from which people planted mulberry and raised silkworms in Central Asia is of course earlier than the Romans, but it is not necessary that the relevant records in the *Weilüe* and other sources are well founded.⁹

⁹ Raschke 1978, esp. pp. 622–623.

4. “Da Qin” as Seen in the *Naxian Biqu Jīng* and Related Works

A

The *Naxian Biqu Jīng* 那先比丘經 (Nāgasena-bhikṣu-sūtra) has been included in the *Dazangjin* 大藏經 (vol. 32), and there are two versions of it: A and B. Version A is complete in two chapters (or sometimes one or three chapters), and Version B is complete in three chapters. On the book is inscribed: “the name of translator has been lost, accompanying the *Dongjinlu* 東晉錄.” The so-called *Dongjinlu*, according to the *Lidai Sanbao Ji* 歷代三寶記, ch. 7:

is the *Jiankang Lu* 建康錄, in which is collected 263 sutras, complete in 585 chapters. These sutras were completed during 104 years, the reign periods of twelve emperors in the Eastern Jin 晉 dynasty, from the first year of the Jianwu 建武 reign period of the Yuan 元 Emperor (i.e., the year of *dingchou* 丁丑), when the capital was established, to the first year of the Yuanxi 元熙 reign period of the Gong 恭 Emperor (i.e., the year of *jiwei* 己未), when the Jin 晉 Emperor abdicated the throne to Song 宋. Some sutras are translated by twenty-seven translators, including those who were Chinese or barbarians, monks or laymen; and there are some old sutras, whose translators are unknown.¹

This means that the *Naxian Biqu Jīng* was translated into Chinese in the Eastern Jin 晉 time at the latest.

The *Naxian Biqu Jīng* 那先比丘經 is the *Milindapañha* in Pali. The latter’s Chinese equivalent was the *Milanwang Wenjing* 彌蘭王問經. Buddaghosa, an exegete of Buddhist scripture from Ceylon in the fifth century A.D. and the author of the *Visuddhi-magga* and *Sammanta-pāsādikā*, quoted the *Milindapañha* in his commentaries and subcommentaries many times.

¹ T49, No. 2034, p. 68.

“Milan 彌蘭” is a transliteration of Milinda in Pali, and refers to Menander (Menandros), a Greek King in India. According to a relatively believable theory, the king’s reign period was B.C. 155–135.² It is generally considered that during the reign period of Menander the territory of the Hellenic Kingdom of Bactria extended to the south of the Hindu Kush Mountains, included a great part of the Punjab, and once possibly penetrated into the valley of the Ganges River and ended in Madhyadeśa and Magadha.

The name Nāgasena is translated into “龍軍 Longjun” in a paraphrase. According to the text in Pali, he probably lived five hundred years after Buddha’s nirvana. This means that Naxian and Milinda are possibly not contemporary. If they are not, the identity of the person who met with Milinda in Siālkot and argued with him on the doctrine in the scriptures must be another monk, and the editor of the *Milindapañha* falsely attributed the discussion to Nāgasena.

According to research, the extant *Milindapañha* in Pali consists of three parts. The first part is “Milinda’s Questions.” This part, which has seven sections, combined with the preface, is the aboriginal component. The *Naxian Biqu Jing* 那先比丘經 that is translated from the Sanskrit into Chinese is identical with this part. In it, there are fewer marks of additions and changes, and its original simplicity and earthiness are preserved.³

B

There is only one place in which “Da Qin” appears in the *Naxian Biqu Jing*, Version A:

Naxian (Nāgasena) asked the king: “In what state, king, were you born?” The king said: “I was born in the state of Da Qin. The state is named Alisan.” Naxian asked the king: “And how far is Alisan from here?” The king replied: “From here⁴ about two thousand *yojanas*, i.e., 80,000 *li*.” (ch. 2)

² Narain 1957, pp. 74–100.

³ Ba 1997, p. 17.

⁴ T32, No. 1670A, p. 702.

There is a similar record in Version B, ch. 3, where the scripts are almost identical.⁵ In it, “Alisan” is considered to be a Chinese transliteration of Alexandria.

Based on the record in the *Naxian Biqu Jing*, an old theory proposes that the birthplace of Milinda must have been Alexandria in Egypt.⁶ In my opinion, this theory should not be dismissed without examination.

This is, first, because the date at which the *Naxian Biqu Jing* was translated into Chinese is earlier, and a greater proportion of the original components are present, so there is no reason to dismiss the Chinese version based on the Pali version.

Second, it is possible to identify Alisan, the birthplace of Milinda, which is “two thousand *yojanas*, i.e., 80,000 *li*” from Śākala, with Alexandria in Egypt. It is not unthinkable that Menander came from a part of Egypt that was controlled by Greece.

Third, Alexandria in Egypt was the capital of the Ptolemy dynasty in Egypt. The Ptolemy dynasty in Egypt is first noted in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji* 史記 (ch. 123) and the “Xiyuzhuan” of the *Hanshu* 漢書 (ch. 96). Its Chinese translation is “黎軒” [lyei-xian] or “犁軒” [lyei-kan]; all were translated from Alexandria.

Fourth, according to the “Xirong Zhuan 西戎傳” of the *Weilue* 魏略, quoted in Pei’s 裴 commentaries on the “Wuwan Xianbei Dongyi Zhuan 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳” of the *Weishu* 魏書 of the *Sanguozhi* 三國志: “The state of Da Qin 大秦: it is also named Lijian 犁軒 (in the “Xiyu zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 it is recorded that “The state of Da Qin 大秦: it is also named Lijian 犁鞬”). This agrees with the statement in the *Naxian Biqu Jing*: “I was born in the state of Da Qin. The state is named Alisan.”

It should be pointed out that there is a record identifying Lijian 犁鞬 or Lijian 犁軒 with Da Qin 大秦 in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (ch. 88) and the “Xirong Zhuan 西戎傳” of the *Weilue* 魏略. The cause is as follows: Lijian 犁軒, i.e., the Ptolemy dynasty in Egypt, was not yet known by the Han 漢 in B.C. 30 (the third year of the *Jianshi* 建

⁵ There is a character “是” after character “去” in the *Naxian Biqu Jing*, Version A, ch. 2. In my opinion, the character “是” should be there.

⁶ For example, Pelliot 1915.

始 reign period of Emperor Cheng 成), when it was reduced to a Roman province, because it was very remote from Han 漢, whose people knew its location only very roughly. Lijian 犁靛 no longer existed by the time Han 漢 knew of the western world, but the reputation of Da Qin 大秦, i.e., the Roman Empire, had reverberated like thunder. Since the original state of Lijian 犁靛 had become a part of the state of Da Qin 大秦, the people of Lijian 犁靛 probably called themselves residents of Da Qin 大秦, “Lijian 犁靛” and “Da Qin 大秦,” terms that express different concepts, were naturally combined into one.⁷ Hence it is not improbable that the translator of the *Naxian Biqu Jing* called the birthplace of Milinda, i.e., Alexandria in Egypt, “Da Qin.”

C

In the *Milindapañha* in Pali⁸ (“The distance to the Brahma-world from the earth,” Book 3, Division 7, 4), the following is recorded:

The Elder replied: “In what district, O king, were you born?”

“There is an island called Alasanda there I was born.”

“And how far is Alasanda from here?”

“About two hundred leagues (*yojanas*).”

There is also the interlocution between Nāgasena and Milinda in “The Brahma-world and Kashmir” (Book III, Chapter 7, 5):

“In what town, O king, were you born?”

“There is a village called Kalasi. It was there I was born.”

“And how far is Kalasi from here?”

“About two hundred leagues (*yojanas*).”

⁷ Shiratori 1971–4, esp. 321–322 suggests that “Da Qin” refers to the eastern dependent of the Roman Empire, not the Roman Empire proper. One piece of evidence is the above-cited records from the *Naxian Biqu Jing* 那先比丘經. In my opinion, Shiratori’s theory is unconvincing.

⁸ Davids 1930.

“How far is Kashmir from here?”

“Twelve leagues (*yojanas*).”

The “Alasandā” in this quotation is clearly the “Alisan” seen in the Chinese translation.

Based on the above-mentioned records, some scholars suggest that the birthplace of Milinda should be Alexandria under the Caucasus, which was founded by Alexander the Great of Macedonia; its site is near the present Chārikār.⁹ Two points in support of this theory are worth noting:

First, the so-called island (*dvīpa*) is a term generally used to mean the area between two rivers. Chārikār is located between the Panjshir River and the Kābul River.

Second, there are various theories for the distance indicated by *yojanas*. In the Buddhist scriptures, one *yojanas* sometimes equals approximately 2.5 miles. Thus, 200 *yojanas* equals approximately 500 miles, which is generally in accord with the distances to Chārikār from Śiālkoṭ, Milinda’s location at the time.

In my opinion, the conclusion is indeed a theory worthy of consideration, because it does not conflict with any other known history of Greek India. If it is true, it would be possible that the Chinese translator of the *Naxian Biqu Jing* altered the distance in the original text to show strongly that the birthplace of Milinda was distant from Śiālkoṭ.

D

It must be pointed out that “the state of Da Qin” as seen in the *Naxian Biqu Jing* must refer to the Greek controlled areas, no matter whether “Alisan” is the Alexandria in Egypt or the Alexandria under the Caucasus. In other words, the land is different from the Da Qin as seen in the Chinese historical books after the Eastern Han dynasty, as the latter refers to the Roman Empire. In fact, a similar usage also appears in the *Naxian Biqu Jing* (Version B) ch. 1:

The king asks his favorite courtiers on the left and right: “Who else could have queried and argued with me on the doctrine in the scriptures among the sensible

⁹ Rapson 1922, p. 550; Tarn 1951, pp. 140–141, 420–421.

persons and the people in the country?" The favorite courtiers replied: "There is a man who studies Buddhism, and is called Shamen (*śramaṇa*). He has perfect wisdom and broad knowledge, could have queried and argued with Your Majesty. Now the man is in the state of Da Qin in the north. The state's name is Shejie, where is an ancient palace. The state is stable within and without, the people all are kindly. This town's terraqueous communication extends in all directions...."¹⁰

The parallel record in the *Naxian Biqu Jing* (Version B), ch. 1, is that:

In Version A of the *Naxian Biqu Jing* it is recorded that the king asks his favorite courtiers on the left and right: "Who else could have queried and argued with me on the doctrine in the scriptures among the sensible persons and the people in the country?" The favorite courtiers replied: "There is a man who studies Buddhism, and is called Shamen (*śramaṇa*). He has perfect wisdom and broad knowledge, could have queried and argued with Your Majesty." He is a master in the North. The state's name is Shejie, where is an ancient palace. The state is stable within and without, the people all are kindly. This town's terraqueous communication extends in all directions...." The meaning for the statement "He is a master in the North."¹¹

The statement "北方大臣 (master in the North)" and so on is rather difficult to understand, therefore we have every reason to think it is a textual error of "北方大國 (great country in the North)" or "北方大秦國 (great state of Da Qin in the North)."

Since "Shejie 舍竭" (or "Shajie 沙竭") is commonly considered to be Śākala ("Shejieluo 奢羯羅" as seen in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, and its site located near the

¹⁰ T32, No. 1670B, p. 705.

¹¹ T32, No. No. 1670A, p. 695.

present Śīlkoṭṭ),¹² the “state of Da Qin” here must be located in the Greek-controlled areas of India.

E

The following records can be taken as circumstantial evidence that the “state of Da Qin” sometimes is used to designate the Greek-controlled areas in Buddhist scriptures.

(1) In the *Fo Shi Biqiu Jiazhangyan shuofa mojinjie jing* (Sūtra on Buddha’s causing the Bhikṣu Kātyāyana to preach the Gāthā on the destruction of the law), translated in the Western Jin, it is recorded that “There are three evil kings: Da Qin is in the front, Boluo is in the back, and Anxi is in the center.”¹³ “Boluo” among these must be “Boluo,” an ancient state in central India, which is located at the present Benares. “Anxi” would be Parthian Persia. And “Da Qin,” before “Anxi” in position, must be the Hellenic Kingdom of Bactria, which was located to the northeast of the Parthian Persia.

Since the Hellenic Kingdom of Bactria can be called “Da Qin,” the Greek-controlled areas or kingdoms in Egypt or India certainly can be called “Da Qin.”

(2) In the *Puyao Jing* (Lalitavistara) translated by Zhu Fahu, a monk from the state of Yuezhi in Western Jin, it is recorded:

Ask the teacher Xuanyou 選友: “Now teacher, what script have you taught me?” The teacher answers [I] “teach you Fan 梵 script and Quliu script, no other different script.” The Bodhisattva answers: “There are 64 different scripts in all.” The teacher asks that “What are the names of 64 scripts?” The prince answers that “Fan script (the first), Quliu script (the second), Fojialuo script (the third), Anqu script (the fourth), Manqu script (the fifth), Anqiu script (the sixth), Da Qin script (the seventh)…”¹⁴

¹² *Datang Xiyuji Jiaozhu* 大唐西域記校注, pp. 354-357.

¹³ T49, No. 2029, p. 11.

¹⁴ T3, No. 0186, p. 498.

Among these, the so-called "Da Qin script" must be Greek. In the *Fo Benxingji jing* 佛本行集經 (Buddha caritra) translated into Chinese by Duna Jueduo 闍那崛多 (Jñānagupta) in Sui times it is recorded that "These are the scripts said by Brahmā (i.e., the Brahmā script with fourteen correct [vowel] sounds), Qulushizha 佉盧虱吒 script ("ass's lip" in the Sui language), Fushajialuo 富沙迦羅 Immortal's script ("lotus" in the Sui language), Ajialuo 阿迦羅 script ("divided into sections" according to Sui speech), Menghijialuo 瞢伽羅 script ("favonian" in the Sui language), Yemeini 耶寐尼 script ("script in the state of Da Qin" in the Sui language)....¹⁵ From this it is can be seen that "Da Qin script" is "Yemeini 邪寐尼 script." The *Fayuan Zhulin* 法苑珠林, ch. 9, by Daoshi 道世 in Tang 唐 times, also says that "Xiemeini 邪寐尼 script" ("script in the state of Da Qin" in the Sui language).¹⁶ "Yemeini" or "Xiemeini 邪寐尼" must be a transliteration of Yavani (Yavana). Yavani (Yavana) is a term used by the Indians and the Central Asians for Greek.

Since "Da Qin 大秦 script" is Greek, it is not difficult to understand that the Chinese translator of the *Naxian Biqui Jing* called the areas controlled by the Greeks "the state of Da Qin 大秦."

F

The Chinese translator of the Buddhist sutra scriptures used "Da Qin," a term for the Roman Empire and its possessions in the Chinese historical books, to denote "Greek." For this, the justifiable explanation seems to be that, to these Chinese translators, Greek and Roman came down in one continuous line. With regard to the *Naxian Biqui Jing*, the conclusion that the Chinese translator used the term "Da Qin" is based on investigation of Milinda's cultural background.

As we know, up until the time at which the *Naxian Biqui Jing* was translated into Chinese at the latest, the Indian version of the way in which to divide the world into four sections had been gaining popularity in China. This was initially recorded in the *Waiguo zhuan* (Memoir on

¹⁵ T3, No. 0190, p. 703.

¹⁶ *Fayuan Zhulin* 法苑珠林, p. 333.

foreign countries) by Kang Tai in the state of Wu in Three Kingdoms times (quoted by the "Dayuan Liezhuan" of the *Shiji Zhengyi*):

It is said in foreign countries that there are three abundances under the sky;
abundance of men in the Middle Kingdom; abundance of jewels in Da Qin 大秦;
abundance of horses in the country of the Yuezhi 月氏.

The idea also appears in the *Foshuo Shi'eryou Jing* 佛說十二遊經 (Dvādaśa-varṣa-viharaṇa-sūtra), ch. 1, by Jialiutuojia 伽留陀伽 (Kālodaka) in Eastern Jin 晉 times:

There is the Son of Heaven of Jin 晉 in the east, and the people are flourishing.
There is the Son of Heaven of the state of Tianzhu 天竺 in the south, and there
are many famous elephants in the land. There is the Son of Heaven of the state of
Da Qin 大秦 in the west, and there is much gold, silver, and jade in the land.
There is the Son of Heaven of the Yuezhi 月支 in the northwest, and there are
many fine horses in the land.¹⁷

and the *Shijia Fangzhi* 釋迦方誌 (A record of Śakyamuni's country) by Daoxuan 道宣, ch. 1:

The land of Jambudvīpa is ruled by four lords. From the south of the Snow
Mountains to the Southern Sea, it is called "the lord of elephants." The land is hot
and damp, and is suitable for elephants to live in. The king thus maintains stability
in the country with elephant-riding troops. The people's customs are quick and
enthusiastic and entirely given to learning magical arts. This is the state of Yindu
印度 (India). ...From the west of the Snow Mountains to the Western Sea, it is
called "the lord of treasures." The land adjoins the Western Sea; there is an
abundance of rarities. The people despise politeness and accumulate wealth. This
is the state of Hu 胡. From the north of the Snow Mountains to the Northern Sea,
it is called "the lord of horses." The climate is cold, suitable for horses. The
people are cruel in disposition; they slaughter (animals) and wear felt clothes.

¹⁷ T4, No. 0195, p. 147.

This is the state of Tujue 突厥 (Türk). From the east of the Snow Mountains to the Eastern Sea, it is called “the lord of men.” The climate is soft and agreeable (exhilarating); the people carry out virtue and justice, and cling to the soil and hardly ever change their abode. This is the state of Zhina 至那, i.e., the state of Zhendan 振旦 in ancient times.¹⁸

and the *Xu Gaosengzhuan* 續高僧傳 (A continuation of the memoirs of eminent priests), ch. 4:

The land of Jambudvīpa is ruled by four kings. There is the king of Zhina 脂那 in the east, who is the lord of men. There is the king of Bosi 波斯 in the west, who is the lord of treasures. There is the king of Yindu 印度 in the south, who is the lord of elephants. There is the king of Xianyun 獫狁 in the north, who is the lord of horses.¹⁹

Of these, Kang Tai’s 康泰 *Waiguo Zhuan* 外國傳 (Memoir on foreign countries) divided the world into three parts, but this was a version from the standpoint of a certain foreign country. That is the reason for the statement “a foreign country says....” The foreign country that had “numerous elephants” was certainly India. Therefore, the version that Kang Tai 康泰 heard also in fact was a division of the world into four parts.²⁰

The Indians divided the world into four continents; they used a standard based mainly on the natural environment and cultural patterns decided by the natural environment, which had nothing to do with the political situation. Therefore, “the lord of horses” could be matched to “Yuezhi 月氏” in the records of Kang Tai 康泰 and Kālodake, and to “Tujue 突厥” or “Xianyun 獫狁” in the records of Daoxuan 道宣; “the lord of treasures” could be matched to “Da Qin” in Kang Tai 康泰 and Kālodake, and to “Bosi 波斯” in Dao Xuan 道宣. “Yuezhi 月

¹⁸ *Luoyang Qianlanji Jiaozhu* 洛陽伽藍記校注, pp. 11–12.

¹⁹ T50, No. 2060, p. 454.

²⁰ Cf. Pelliot 1923.

氏” and others here were obviously not political entities, but represented various cultural patterns.

Seen from this angle, we observe that the Chinese translator of the *Naxian Biqu Jing* 那先比丘經, brushing the date, attributed the birthplace of Milinda to “Da Qin 大秦,” was primarily influenced by the way of dividing the world into four parts in vogue at that time. In other words, “Da Qin” in the Buddhist scriptures is only a symbol for a cultural pattern and has nothing to do with the Roman Empire and its possessions.

5. Extracts on Issues Concerning the Name of Lijian

The core issue in resolving the “problem of Lijian” is the origin of the name of Lijian County in the Zhangye prefecture in Western Han times. The problem has long been settled to my satisfaction. As I am often asked, especially by foreign scholars, about the evidence relevant to this resolution, I have gathered here extracts from the historical records arranged to present the evidence on this issue.

A

The name of Lijian 驪軒 first appears in the “Dili Zhi B” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 28B): “Zhangye 張掖 prefecture: there are ten counties: ... Lijian 驪軒 (it was called Jieli 揭虜 in the reign period of Wang Mang)....” This is Yan Shigu’s 顏師古 commentary on the origin of Lijian’s name. In the “Zhang Qian Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 61), it is recorded that “Thereafter more envoys were sent out, and reached Anxi 安息, Yancai 奄蔡, Lixuan 犂軒, Tiaozhi 條支, and Shendu 身毒.” Yan’s 顏 commentary quotes Fujian’s 服虔 comment: “Lijian 犂軒 is the name of a county in the Zhangye 張掖 prefecture,” and makes the remark that “Lijian 犂軒 was just the state of Da Qin 大秦, and Lijian 驪軒 County in Zhangye 張掖 Prefecture was probably named after the state.” This is to say that Lijian 驪軒 County was named after the state of Lixuan 犂軒, the autonym of the state of Da Qin, i.e., the Roman Empire. Thus how the county got its name is connected with the Roman Empire.

In my opinion, this means that Yan Shigu 顏師古 says that “Lijian 犂軒 is the state of Da Qin.” His basis is the statement of the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88): “The state of Da Qin 大秦: It is also called Lijian 犁靬. Since it is situated to the west of the sea, it is also called ‘State of West of the Sea.’ Its territory is several thousand *li* square; it has over 400 walled cities.” “犁靬” [lyei-kian], also is read as “犁軒” [lyei-kian] in the same chapter, and “黎軒” [lyei-xian] or “犂軒” [liΘ-kian] can be taken to be different transcriptions of the same word.

However, the editor of the *Hou Hanshu* interprets Lijian (犁鞬 or 犁軒) as Da Qin, i.e., the Roman Empire, from a misapprehension. Lijian (犁鞬 or 犁軒) comes from “Lixuan” 黎軒, “Lijian” 犁軒 in the “Xiyu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96), “Lijian” 犁軒 in “Zhang Qian Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch.61), which refers to the Ptolemaic Kingdom in Egypt. “Lixuan 黎軒” [lyei-xian] is a contracted transcription of [A]lexan[dria], the name of the capital of the Ptolemaic Kingdom.¹ Because Lixuan, i.e., Ptolemaic Egypt, was so far away from Han, by the time it was destroyed by the Roman Empire, it was still not well known to the Han people. And by the time the Han were able to understand the world in the west more thoroughly, Lixuan no longer existed, whereas the name of Da Qin was widely known. The Han were naturally confused about the two names. The statement that “The state of Da Qin 大秦: It is also called Lijian 犁鞬” thus appears in the “Xirong Zhuan” of the *Weilüe* 魏略.

In sum, Lijian “驪軒” [lyai-xian] and Lixuan “黎軒,” etc., can be taken as different transcriptions of the same name. If it is true that Lijian County was named after Lijian 犁軒, then this has to do with the Ptolemaic Kingdom, not Da Qin, i.e., the Roman Empire.

B

In his work the *Hanshu Buzhu* 漢書補注, Wang Xianqian 王先謙 in Qing times draws these inferences from Yan Shigu’s 顏師古 theory: “The name is read as ‘Lixuan 麗軒’ in the *Shuowen* 說文, ‘Lijian 犁軒’ in the ‘Zhang Qian Zhuan,’ ‘Lixuan 黎軒’ in the ‘Xiyu Zhuan 西域傳,’ ‘Lihan 黎汗’ in the ‘Xiongnu Zhuan 匈奴傳.’ Their sounds are the same thus and interchangeable. Lijian 犁軒 is the state of Da Qin. The county was established for the [Da Qin’s] people who surrendered.”² Here Wang 王 affirmed the reason the county was called Lijian: “The county was established for the [Da Qin’s] people who surrendered,” thus he went a step further than Yan Shigu 顏師古.³

¹ For details, see the present work, ch. 1.

² *Hanshu buzhu* 漢書補注, p. 798.

³ Wang’s 王 theory is based on *Xinjiaozhu Dilizhi Jishi* 新輯注地理志集釋, p. 1141, and *Hanshu Dilizhi Buzhu* 漢書地理志補注, p. 898. Quite a few scholars in Qing times held a similar view, but I will not elaborate on them.

Wang's 王 theory, which seems have no direct evidence, is only a deduction. According to the "Dili Zhi 地理志 B" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 28B), there is a County of Qiuci 龜茲 in the Prefecture of Shang 上. Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentary says, "The Qiuci 龜茲 people who came over and submitted were quartered here, and it was thus named Qiuci 龜茲." Since the County of Qiuci 龜茲 under the Prefecture of Shang is so named, it seems to be not difficult to imagine the situation of the County of Lijian 驪靬 under the Prefecture of Zhangye 張掖. Besides, the latter was renamed "Jielu 揭虜," which seems to give the theory that the name derives from the people who surrendered some support.

But, in fact, of the prefectures and counties in the "Dili Zhi B" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 28B), those deriving their names from barbarians got them not only because of conquered people. In the same chapter it is recorded that Wudu 武都 County, in the Prefecture of Wudu 武都, was called "Xunlu 循虜," and Lingju 令居 County, in the Prefecture of Jincheng 金城, was called "Hanlu 罕虜" in the reign period of Wang Mang. These counties were given names incorporating "...lu ...虜 [i.e., barbarians]" only because their lands were close to the Xiongnu 匈奴, thus the names of these counties were bestowed with such meanings as "*suiyuan* 綏遠" ("pacify the remote people") and similar. It is not proved that they were established in order to give a place to the "people who came over and submitted."

The Prefecture of Zhangye 張掖 was established around the sixth year of the Yuanding 元鼎 reign period of the Emperor Wu in Han times (B.C. 111).⁴ We cannot be sure that the County of Lijian 驪靬 under that prefecture was established at the same time. If Wang Xianqian 王 were to establish firmly his thesis that "Lijian 犂靬 is the state of Da Qin. The county was established for the [Da Qin's] people who surrendered," he would have needed to prove that the date the County of Lijian 驪靬 was established was *after* the third year of the Jianshi 建始 reign period of Emperor Cheng 成 (B.C. 30), i.e., the year that Lixuan 黎軒 (the Ptolemaic Kingdom in Egypt) was destroyed by the Roman Empire. Otherwise, his theory is built only on an association of ideas that led to a misunderstanding.

here. *Hanshu Dilizhu Jiaozhu* 漢書地理志校注, p. 498, held another view, but one which is unconvincing; for its refutation see Zhang W 1980.

⁴ Zhou Z 1987, pp. 157–171.

Alexandria in Egypt was celebrated for its flourishing commerce, and marks have been left by its merchants on every corner in the world. It is not impossible that some of these merchants arrived in the Hexi 河西 region and eventually were naturalized. Of course, it is also possible that the Western Han 漢 established a county by the name "Lijian 驪軒" just because it was bringing people from remote places to its court, and it could boast that its "imperial power and prestige could be exercised throughout the area within the four seas" (see the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hanshu*, ch. 96). It is not necessarily the case that the Lixuan 黎軒 people had "come over and submitted to Han 漢."

Also, in the "Dayuan Liezhuan" of the *Shiji* (ch. 123), it is recorded that "When the Han envoys returned, [the king of Anxi] took the occasion to send out [his own] envoys to come to Han in company with the Han envoys so as to observe Han territory. They took large birds' eggs and conjurors from Lixuan as a present for the Han [emperor]." ⁵ A parallel record is seen in the "Zhang Qian Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 61). On the latter, Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentary quoted Ying Shao's 應劭 words, that:

Huan 眩 means literally to be subject to be deceived or to be bewildered. During the reign period of the Empress Dowager Deng 鄧, the state of Tan 檀, a western barbarian tribe, came to the court to offer their congratulations. The Empress Dowager issued an imperial edict to do it [conjuring]. And Chen Chan 陳禪, the Grand Master of Remonstrance, thought that this was a barbarian, mischievous activity and thus they should not do it. After several days the Imperial Secretary, Chen Zhong 陳忠, based on the *Han Jiushu* 漢舊書, revealed that in the reign period of the Emperor Shizong 世宗 Lijian's 犂軒 [envoys] had come to court and offered conjurors. The Son of Heaven was highly pleased and progressed on

⁵ The "Zhang Qian, Li Guangli Zhuan 張騫李廣利傳" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 61) reads: "in these circumstances Dayuan 大宛 and other states sent envoys to follow after the Han 漢 envoys. They came to court and observed the extent of Han 漢, and submitted a present of large birds' eggs and conjurors from Lijian 犂軒. The Son of Heaven was highly pleased," which is not quite the same version. We should follow the records in the "Dayuan Liezhuan 大宛列傳" of the *Shiji* 史記 (ch. 123).

tours of inspection with them. It can be seen that there were such matters in ancient times.

According to the Yan 顏 Commentary, “*Huan* 眩 is read the same way as *huan* 幻. These days, performances such as swallowing a knife, puffing out fire, making melons multiply and trees grow, hacking humans, and dissecting horses are examples. These came from the Western Regions originally.” The statement that “The Son of Heaven was highly pleased and progressed on tours of inspection with them” may refer to the following record in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji* (ch. 123):

At this time the emperor was frequently progressing on tours of inspection or visiting the coast, and from now on he was always accompanied by visitors from the outer states. If there were great towns with a large number of inhabitants, he distributed wealth and silks when he passed through, granting generous bounties and providing ample supplies, so as to show off the wealth and plenty of Han. Wrestling matches^[193] [were held], strange performers and many types of wonderful goods were brought out, and many persons assembled to watch. There were bestowals of gifts with wine set out [sufficient to fill a] lake and meats [in plenty like] a forest; and the visitors from the outer states were sent round to the stocks accumulated in the famous granaries and stores, so as to demonstrate the great extent of Han and to overawe them with surprise. The acts of the conjurors were put on and each year additions and changes were made in the wrestling matches and the strange performances; their heightened magnificence dates from these times.

Among the “visitors from the outer states” there must have been conjurors from Lijian. The statements “The acts of the conjurors were put on and each year additions and changes were made in the wrestling matches and the strange performances; their heightened magnificence dates from these times,” and so on, show that their influence was not small. These conjurors must have come from Alexandria in Egypt. They lived in much esteem with the Emperor Wu 武

after arriving in China. Thus it is not impossible that the naming of the County of Lijian 驪靬 had something to do with these conjurors.⁶

Also, in the “Xinanyi liezhuan” 西南夷列傳 of the *Hou-Han shu* (ch. 116), it is recorded that:

In the first year of the Yongning 永寧 reign-period (A.D. 120), the king of the state of Tan 掸,⁷ Yongyoudiao 雍由調, again sent an envoy to the palace to pay respect, bringing music performers and magicians, who could transform themselves, puff out fire, dissect themselves, change the heads of the ox and the horse, and juggle — they could catch the balls up to a thousand times. They said that they were from the West of the Sea. ‘The West of the Sea’ refers to Da Qin, which could be reached from the southwest of the state of Dan 掸. (“*Huanren* 幻人” is the same as “*xuanren* 眩人.”)

There are two possibilities for their being considered to have been from the West of the Sea, i.e., Da Qin: (1) They came from Alexandria in Egypt, as shown in the records in the “Dayuan Liezhuan” of the *Shiji* (ch. 123) — but Egypt had become subject to Roman Empire by that time. Or (2) they came from the Roman Empire, as these magical performances had been introduced into Da Qin by that time.⁸

C

Wang 王 suggests that the name “Lijian” had something to do with “Lihan 黎汗” in the “Xingnu Zhuan” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 94). “Lihan 黎汗” is read as “Lihan 犁汗” in the present

⁶ Cf. Zhang W 1980.

⁷ The state of Dan 掸國 is generally considered to have been located in the northeast of the present Burma.

⁸ The statement in the “Xirong Zhuan 西戎傳” of the *Weiliue* 魏略 (cited by Pei’s 裴 commentary on the “Wuwan Xianbei Dongyi Zhuan 烏丸鮮卑東夷傳” of the “Weishu 魏書” of the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 30) that “They practice lots of unusual magic: they can spit fire from their mouths, bind and release themselves, juggle twelve balls with their feet, and do marvelous tricks,” also should be understood with reference to this.

version. According to the "Xiongnu Zhuan B" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 94), of the offices of the Xiongnu 匈奴 there were "Xian 咸, the Luhan 犁汗 King of the Left." This title is read as "Xian 咸, the Lihan 犁汗 King of the Right" in the following text from the same chapter. We do not know which is correct, but we can infer that there were "the Lihan 犁汗 King of the Left" and "the Lihan 犁汗 King of the Right." In the same chapter the "Luhan 犁汗 King in the South" is recorded. Moreover, in the "Xiongnu Zhuan A" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 94A), "Luwu 犁汗 King" is recorded, and in both the same chapter and the "Xiyu Zhuan B" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 96B) it is recorded that there was a "Luwu 犁汗 Commandant."

In my opinion, even if all mentions of "Liwu 犁汗" in various chapters are textual errors for "Lihan 犁汗," it seems incorrect to identify this name with "Lixuan 黎軒" in the "Dayuan Lizhuan" of the *Shiji* (ch. 123) and "Lijian" in the "Zhang Qian Zhuan" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 61), and it is still more erroneous to identify it with "Lijian" in the "Xiyu Zhuan" of the *Hou Hanshu* (ch. 88). This is because we have no evidence that the Xiongnu 匈奴 had nothing to do with "Lixuan 黎軒," i.e., the Ptolemaic Kingdom in Egypt, and that the office was named after "Lijian 犁軒" (Lihan 犁汗). Wang 王 suggests that "Lihan 犁汗" and "Lijian 驪軒" and others have the same origin, but the only basis for this idea is that the sounds of these names are similar.

Leaving aside Lixuan 黎軒, Lijian 犁軒 and similar names, one might consider that the idea that "Lihan 犁汗" (whose sound is close to "Lijian 驪軒") is the origin of the name of Lijian 驪軒 County could be regarded as a theory. In the "Xiongnu A" of the *Hanshu* (ch. 94A), it is recorded that:

After this, the Luli 谷蠡 King of the Left died. In the next year, the Chanyu 單于 sent the King of Liwu 犁汗 to make an observation of [Han's] boundaries, thus it is reported that the army is more weak in Jiuquan 酒泉 and Zhangye 張掖 prefectures, if the troops are sent out to attack, these lands would be regained.... Soon, the Wise King of the Right and the King of Liwu 犁汗 led 4,000 cavalymen that, splitting up into two teams, invaded Rile 日勒, Wulan 屋蘭 and Fanhe 番和. The Grand Administrator of Zhangye and the Dependency

Commandant sent out troops to attack and routed it severely. The people who fled numbered in the hundreds. A cavalryman of the Yiqu 義渠 King, the Chief of the Thousands of the Dependency, struck and killed the King of Liwu 犁汙, and was granted one hundred catties of gold and one hundred horses, and thus was given the title King of Liwu 犁汙. Guo Zhong 郭忠, the Dependency Commandant, was invested with the title of Marquis of Cheng'an 成安. Hereafter, the Chanyu 單于 did not dare to enter Zhangye.

The King of Liwu 犁汙 (i.e., Lihan 犁汗) of the Xiongnu 匈奴 coveted the lands of Jiuquan 酒泉 and Zhangye 張掖 prefectures. A cavalryman of the Yiqu 義渠 King, the Chief of the Thousands of the Dependency, struck and killed him and thus was given the title King of Liwu 犁汙 (Lihan 犁汗). The site of the king's government was probably located in the County of Lijian 驪靬 in the Prefecture of Zhangye 張掖. Thus the county got its name from the king's title. The County of Lude 鱒得 that was also under the Prefecture of Zhangye 張掖, got its name, some think, from the title of a king of the Xiongnu 匈奴, and circumstantial evidence can be provided for that. In the "Dilizhi 地理志 C" of the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (ch. 40), it is recorded that "Lude 鱒得" is "the title of the king of the Xiongnu 匈奴." The *Xihe Jiushi* 西河舊事, quoted by the *Taiping Huanyuji* 太平寰宇記, ch. 152, says that "This site was originally seized by the King of Lude 鱒得 of the Xiongnu 匈奴, thus [Lude 鱒得] was used to name the county."⁹

The matter that "the Chanyu 單于 sent the King of Liwu 犁汙 to make an observation of [Han's] boundaries" in the "Hanji 漢紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, is given under the third year of the *Yuanfeng* 元鳳 (B.C. 78). This year must be the upper limit of the date by which the County of Lijian 驪靬 was established.

⁹ An edict of Emperor Wu 武 in the "Wei Qing, Huo Qubing Zhuan 衛青霍去病傳" of the *Hanshu* 漢書 (ch. 55) praised Huo Qubing 霍去病 who "showed their might at Lude 鱒得." On this, Yan Shigu's 顏師古 comments say that "Lude 鱒得 is a place name in the territory of the Xiongnu 匈奴." This is another theory.

D

In the 1950s, based on Ya’s 顏 and Wang’s 王 theories, a scholar tried to further prove that the people who surrendered from Da Qin (i.e., the Roman Empire) were the remnants of a Roman legion that had been captured when the Han’s army fought against the Xiongnu 匈奴. The outline of his theory is that, in about B.C. 55, Marcus Licinius Crassus, the viceroy of the Roman Empire in Syria, made an eastern expedition against Persia, was beaten, surrendered, and was sent to a garrison in Margiana on the eastern boundary of Persia. Some who mingled with the Xiongnu 匈奴 were taken prisoner and brought back when the Han’s generals, Gan Yanshou 甘延壽 and Chen Tang 陳湯, made their western expedition against Zhizhi 郅支 in Kangju 康居. The site to which these Roman prisoners were sent was named “Lijian 驪軒.”¹⁰ The main evidence comes from the “Yuandi Ji 元帝紀” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 9):

In the fourth year of the *Jianzhao* 建昭 reign-period, in the spring, in the first month, because Chanyu 單于 Zhizhi 郅支 had been executed, information was given [to the Lords on High] in the Suburban Sacrifice and in the sacrifices [to the imperial ancestors in their] Temples, and an amnesty was granted to the empire. The courtiers [wished] the Emperor long life. A feast was held [by the Emperor] and the documents and charts concerning [Chanyu 單于 Zhizhi 郅支] were shown [even] to the honored ladies in the [imperial] harem.

and in the “Fu, Chang, Zheng, Gan, Duan Zhuan 傅常鄭甘陳段傳” of the *Hanshu* (ch. 70):

The next day, the troops advanced toward the River Dulai 都賴, where the town of Zhizhi 郅支 was; they stopped to encamp three *li* away from the town, lining up in full battle formation. They saw that, on the walls in the town of Chanyu 單于, five-colored flags and banners were placed at the top, and hundreds in armor were there, while several hundreds of cavalymen, in addition, galloped to and fro

¹⁰ Dubs 1957.

on the ground, with more than a hundred foot soldiers on both sides of the gate in battle array, lined up in 'fish-scale' formation. They practiced military exercises and maneuvers.... Outside the wall fortified with earth was another fortified with wood, on which [the enemies] shot arrows, wounding many Han troops outside.

This is to say that the Romans often used charts to record and describe manifold scenes of their military operations after a victory over an enemy, but this is not the Chinese custom. The 'fish-scale' formation¹¹ bears a close analogy to the Roman *testudo*. There was a wall fortified with wood outside Zhizhi's town (fortified with a double palisade around it). These defenses often appeared in the Roman army. From this, it is posited that Roman soldiers were present in Chanyu Zhizhi's army.

There are many deserved criticisms of this theory, which have previously been pointed out with individual discussions of each point.¹²

On the "documents and charts," Fu Qian 服虔 (ca. 125–195) comments, "They were the documents and charts concerning the punishment of Zhizhi 郅支. Some say they were the documents [giving] the configuration of the Chanyu's land, mountains, and streams." Yan Shigu 顏師古 asserts that "the latter interpretation is mistaken." Both Fu's 服 and Yan's 顏 comments are vague; indeed, it is difficult to know whether the "documents and charts" have come down to us from the past. On the "fish-scale formation," Yan 顏 only says that "this is to say [the soldiers] are arranged in order, like fish-scales in form." This is just what the name implies, but it is difficult to confirm that that was its shape. That is also the case with the "wall fortified with wood."

Only one point seemingly can be confirmed: neither the fish-scale formation nor the wall fortified with wood are typical tactics of the Xiongnu 匈奴, a nomadic tribe. At that time Chanyu Zhizhi had become almost a roving rebel, and the use by him of these techniques — deploying troops or fortifying walls — is quite unthinkable. The people who used these

¹¹ "陳" is simply "陣." Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentaries on the statement "止營傳陳 (lining up in full battle formation)"; the sound of "傳" is as "敷." "敷" means "布 (lining up)." "傳陳" is just "佈陣."

¹² Yang 1969; Wang S 1999; Wang S 2000.

techniques must have been the Kangju 康居. The Kangju 康居 were also a typical nomadic tribe, but their territory was across the Syr Darya, and they had once controlled Sogdiana, and the western cultures, including the Roman culture, had had a considerable influence on this culture. The example of the Hephthalites and Türks, who later occupied this area, can provide evidence for this. In other words, the possibility cannot be completely ruled out that the system of the fish-scale formation and the wall fortified with wood that Chen Tang 陳湯 and others encountered, were in fact derived from the Roman style.

In fact, the key issue is not whether the system of the documents and charts, the fish-scale military formation, and the wall fortified with wood were adapted from the Roman style. The crux of the matter is whether we have evidence to confirm the connection between these elements and the Roman soldiers who stayed behind, and to confirm the connection between these Roman soldiers and the prefecture of Zhangye 張掖. If it is not possible to establish these connections, even if the fish-scale formation and others all partook of the Roman style, this would still not help to confirm the origin of the name of Lijian 驪靬. The channel through which the Roman culture affected the valley of the River Dulai 都賴 did not have only one objective.

E¹³

Of the bamboo slips of the Han 漢 dynasty that were unearthed from the Hexi 河西 Corridor, those that were excavated from Jinguan 金關 in the 1970s and from Xuanquan 懸泉 in the 1990s provide direct evidence for the date at which Lijian 驪靬 County was established. The key evidence is provided by two of the slips from Jinguan 金關:

Slip 1: He was native to the ...Heyibian ...和宜便 Community, 33 years old, his surname is Wu 吳. He had previously worked as Doushi Sefu 斗食嗇夫 [a petty official whose allowance was a *dou* 斗 of grain per day] in the Lijian 驪靬 Garden. In the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign period [B.C. 60], in the

¹³ Zhang D 2001, pp. 222–229; Hao 2009, pp. 177–184.

third month, on the day *gengyin* 庚寅 he was promoted to ... on the basis of work performance and order for promotion and transfer. (73EJT4: 98)

Slip 2: ...He was awarded Gongcheng 公乘, and was native to the Fanhe Yibian 番和宜便 Community, 33 years old. His surname is Wu 吳. He had previously worked as a Doushi Sefu 斗食嗇夫 [a petty official whose allowance was a *dou* of grain per day] in the Lijian 驪軒 Garden. In the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign period [B.C. 60], in the third month, on the day *xin* 辛.... (73EJH2: 2)

From this, it can be seen that “Lijian 驪軒,” as a place name, first appeared in the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign period (B.C. 60). Since the prerequisite is that the Lijian 驪軒 Garden was established in Lijian 驪軒 County, Lijian 驪軒 County must have been established before the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign period. This is earlier than the date of Gan’s 甘[延壽] and Chen’s 陳[湯] western expedition against the Kangju 康居, even earlier than the defeat of Marcus Licinius Crassus. This serves to show that the naming of Lijian County 驪軒 is connected with the captives of the Roman legion.

F

In the *Daqing Yitongzhi* 大清一統志, ch. 267, it is recorded that “The antiquated Lijian 驪軒 County is located to the south of Yongchang 永昌 County of the Prefecture of Liangzhou 涼州 at present.”¹⁴ Based on this record, it is generally considered that the site of the town of “Lijian 驪軒” is situated to the south of Yongchang 永昌 of the present Gansu 甘肅. According to a press report, “There are many inhabitants who have the distinct physical characteristics of the Europoid around the site of the town of Lijian 驪軒, and an investigation group of the Academy of Life Science of Lanzhou 蘭州 University “plans to do a population genetic study of the residents in Lijian 驪軒 by DNA technology and measurement of physical anthropology” and so on.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Daqing Yitongzhi* 大清一統志, p. 465.

¹⁵ Du 2005. There are many similar reports, and many such cases are reported, but I will not elaborate on them here.

In my opinion, the Hexi 河西 Corridor was located at the pivot point of East–West commerce in ancient times, and various races came and went there. It is certainly not surprising that some of them remained in Yongchang 永昌 for some reason, their descendants continuing there up to the present, but that is not enough to prove that the ancestors of the residents in the present Yongchang 永昌 were the captives of the Roman legion.

G

To sum up the above arguments, regarding the origin of the name of Lijian 驪軒 County, according to available data, there are two probabilities:

- (1) The county derives its name from the title of Lihan 犁汗, king of the Xiongnu 匈奴. Or
- (2) The county derives its name from Lixuan 黎軒 (Lijian 犁軒), i.e., the Ptolemaic Kingdom in Egypt.

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