
SINO-PLATONIC PAPERS

Number 131

March, 2004

A History of the Relationship
Between the Western & Eastern Han, Wei,
Jin, Northern & Southern Dynasties
and the Western Regions

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SINO-PLATONIC PAPERS

FOUNDED 1986

Editor-in-Chief
VICTOR H. MAIR

Associate Editors
PAULA ROBERTS MARK SWOFFORD

ISSN
2157-9679 (print) 2157-9687 (online)

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by

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This is a slightly reformatted edition of issue no. 131 of *Sino-Platonic Papers*. As such, its pagination does not correspond exactly to that of the original release printed on paper. The wording, however, has not been altered. When citing this work, references to specific page numbers should note that this is the 2013 re-release, not the 2004 original.

—the editor

July 2013

Introduction

“The Western Regions” is a geographical concept as seen in the “official history books” of the Western Han 漢, Eastern Han 漢, Wei 魏, Jin 晉, and Northern and Southern Dynasties, which refers to a vast region to the west of the Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 Barriers under most circumstances, but sometimes refers to the Tarim Basin and its surrounding area. In other words, it had both a broad sense and a narrow sense. In this book, “the Western Regions” is used in the broad sense, but the focal point of the study is located in the region which is called Central Asia today, especially to the east of the Pamirs. This was determined by the actual relationship between the Western Regions and the Western Han 漢, Eastern Han 漢, Wei 魏, Jin 晉, and Northern and Southern Dynasties.

The study of the history of the relationship between the Western Han 漢, Eastern Han 漢, Wei 魏, Jin 晉, and Northern and Southern Dynasties and the Western Regions is an important topic in the study of ancient Chinese history; its significance is self-evident. The task of this book is to ascertain the related historical facts as far as possible. The facts can be summarized as follows:

The purpose of the Western Han 漢, Eastern Han 漢, Wei 魏, Jin 晉, and Northern and Southern Dynasties in managing the Western Regions can be summed up with the statement “it would be possible to extend [Han 漢] territory for 10,000 *li* 里. With [the help of] a series of interpreters, those whose customs were strange could be brought to court, and imperial prestige could be exercised throughout the area within the four seas”. It is quite obvious that this purpose was mainly political. In contrast, the purpose of the various states of the Western Regions in contacting the Western Han 漢, Eastern Han 漢, Wei 魏, Jin 晉, and Northern and Southern Dynasties was primarily economical, namely the “wish to exchange their goods and conduct trade”. Of course, they were also interested in absorbing the advanced culture of the latter, namely they “admired and took pleasure in the Middle Kingdom”. In addition, the various states to the east of the Pamirs also sought protection from the depredations of the nomadic tribes beyond the Great Wall.

The management of the Western Regions by the Western Han 漢, Eastern Han 漢, Wei 魏, Jin 晉, and Northern and Southern Dynasties often went hand in hand with the struggle with the nomadic tribes beyond the Great Wall. Sometimes management of the Western Regions was in order to defeat the latter, and sometimes defeating the latter was in order to manage the Western Regions. In fact, management of the Western Regions and defeating the nomadic tribes beyond the Great Wall were both components of "the task of subduing the various barbarian peoples", hence the purpose of both was essentially the same.

The management of the Western Regions by the Western Han 漢, Eastern Han 漢, Wei 魏, Jin 晉, and Northern and Southern Dynasties all aimed to make them into subjects "by the exercise of moral pressure", and believed that "it would be possible to present them with gifts and hold out advantages with which to bring them to court". Though sometimes armed strength was employed, it was usually only to threaten the states in the Western Regions, but generally not to plunder them. Li Guangli 李廣利 made an expedition against Dayuan 大宛, taking a period of over three years. As a result, the resources "within the four seas were spent and wasted", but "the Han 漢 army selected some of the best horses, numbered by the tens". This can be regarded as evidence. The exceptions were Lh Guang's 呂光 attack on Qiuci 龜茲 and Wan Dugui's 萬度歸 attack on Yanqi 焉耆.

In contrast, the nomadic tribes beyond the Great Wall regarded the various states in the Western Regions as "slaves", ceaselessly extorting young women and marten coats and so forth, and they often "took precautions to prevent any evasion of its exactions, raised their value, and were strict in regard to prompt payment". This was determined by the nature of the power of the nomadic tribes beyond the Great Wall themselves at that time. It thus is certain that they were unpopular in the Western Regions. Therefore, the nomadic tribes beyond the Great Wall could dominate the Western Regions only when the dynasties in the Central Plain were just getting established, were in decline, or were divided. In other words, the blame for the relationship between the Western Han 漢, Eastern Han 漢, Wei 魏, Jin 晉, and Northern and Southern Dynasties and the Western Regions being weakened or even interrupted at times has to be imputed to the dynasties in the Central Plain themselves.

In fact, only the Western and Eastern Han 漢 Dynasties really ruled over the Western

Regions (to the east of the Pamirs) during the period of the Western Han 漢, Eastern Han 漢, Wei 魏, Jin 晉, and Northern and Southern Dynasties. This is because only the Western and Eastern Han 漢 Dynasties were powerful and unified for a sufficient time. At other times, the Western Regions were controlled by the powers of the nomadic tribes or some "large states" in the locality. However, the regions both east and west of the Pamirs yearned for the dynasties in the Central Plain all the while. Sending envoys to pay tribute, sending their sons to attend at court, or accepting the conferment of titles of nobility, they kept up contact as best they could and were not particular about form. These sporadic links were like small streams which, when the time comes, eventually become mighty rivers. During the period of the Northern Wei 魏, east-west communication eventually culminated in the situation "from the Cong 葱 (the Pamirs) Mountains westwards to Da Qin 大秦 one hundred states and one thousand towns all gladly attached themselves to us (the Northern Wei 魏 dynasty); foreign traders and merchants came hurrying in though the passes every day". It should be noted that cultural and economical factors played the main roles here. Naturally, nobody could be fully cognizant of this at the time.

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Chapter 1

The Western Han Dynasty and the Western Regions (A)

A

It has been suggested generally that the relationship between the Western Han 漢 Dynasty and the Western Regions began during Zhang Qian's 張騫 first mission to the Western Regions. Zhang Qian's 張騫 first mission set out in the second year of the *Jianyuan* 建元 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (B.C. 139). However, he did not reach the west until more than ten years later because he was detained by the Xiongnu 匈奴 halfway. The first state in which Zhang Qian 張騫 arrived was Dayuan 大宛. The time was the sixth year of the *Yuanguang* 元光 reign-period (B.C. 129).¹ In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded:

Dayuan 大宛 had heard of Han's 漢 abundant wealth and had wished to establish contact, but had not been able to do so. [The king of Dayuan 大宛] was delighted when he received [Zhang] Qian [張]騫 and asked him: "Where do you wish to go"? [Zhang] Qian [張]騫 said: "I was going on a mission to the Yuezhi 月氏 for Han 漢 and my way was blocked by the Xiongnu 匈奴. Now that I have escaped, it rests with you to send someone to guide me on my way. If I do actually succeed in reaching my destination and returning to Han 漢, the wealth and goods which Han 漢 will present to you will beggar description". Dayuan 大宛 believed this, and sent off [Zhang] Qian [張]騫, providing him with interpreters and guides. He reached Kangju 康居, who passed him on to the Da Yuezhi 大月氏.

Zhang Qian 張騫 was the first envoy of the Western Han 漢 who arrived in Dayuan 大宛. The Western Han 漢 seemed to know nothing about Dayuan 大宛 before this. Therefore, the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, states that "the first knowledge of Dayuan 大宛 dates from Zhang Qian 張騫". However, it is worth noting that Dayuan 大宛 had obviously known of the Western Han 漢 to some extent, and "heard of Han's 漢 abundant wealth". Thus they believed Zhang Qian's 張騫 promise about rewarding them with treasures and provided him with interpreters and guides.

In the first or second year of the *Yuanding* 元鼎 reign-period (B.C. 116 or 115) Zhang Qian 張騫 was sent as an envoy to the state of Wusun 烏孫.² According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, "Zhang Qian 張騫, therefore, sent his deputy envoys on separate missions to the states of Dayuan, Kangju 康居, Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Daxia 大夏, Anxi 安息, Shendu 身毒, Yutian 于寘, Wumi 扞罽 and the adjacent states". And "about a year later" after he returned home, "the deputy envoys whom he had sent to make contact with states such as Daxia 大夏 all came to court, in many cases with people from those places". There must have been natives of the state of Dayuan 大宛 among the "people from those places".

After this, contacts between the Western Han 漢 and Dayuan 大宛 became closer day by day. The blood-sweating horse, peculiar to Dayuan 大宛, was introduced into the Central Plains. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded that Emperor Wu 武 "obtained horses from Wusun 烏孫, he liked them and named them 'The horses of Heaven'; but when he came to acquire the horses from Dayuan 大宛 who sweated blood, they were even finer. So he changed the name of the horses of Wusun 烏孫, calling them 'The horses of the extreme west', and he called the horses of Dayuan 大宛 'The horses of Heaven'". Because Emperor Wu 武 "had a fondness for the horses of [Da]yuan [大]宛, these envoys were in sight of each other on the roads", however, the Western Han 漢 was not satisfied with this relationship, because, as is said in the same chapter, "[Da]yuan [大]宛 and the states to the west all relied on their remote situation and retained an air of arrogance and calm; they could not be won over by a sense of suitable conduct nor managed by the establishment of ties". In a word, "[The area] west of Wusun 烏孫 as far as Anxi 安息 is close to the Xiongnu 匈奴. The Xiongnu 匈奴 had once harassed the Yuezhi 月氏; consequently when a Xiongnu 匈奴 envoy, carrying a token of credence from the *Chanyu* 單于, were sent abroad, all the states on route would provide a relay service of escorts and food, and did not dare to detain or harm the envoy. When the case of Han 漢 envoys arises, if they do not bring out valuables and silk, they do not get any food, and if they do not buy horses they have no means of travelling on horseback. The reason for this state of affairs is that Han 漢 has been regarded as being distant. However, Han 漢 possesses many valuable goods, and consequently purchasing has been necessary to acquire what is required, indeed [the other states] were more afraid of the Xiongnu 匈奴 than of the Han 漢 envoys". Since the states west of Wusun 烏孫 were distant

from Han 漢, and were controlled by the Xiongnu 匈奴, the Han 漢 envoys could naturally not be accorded a courteous reception.

In the third year of *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 108), as noted in the same chapter, Emperor Wu 武 sent a general to attack the states of Loulan 樓蘭 and Gushi 姑師, then "took the opportunity to stage a display of his military power so as to shock (states) like Wusun 烏孫 and Dayuan 大宛".³ But it seems that this act was ineffective with regard to Dayuan 大宛.

And according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, "Once a large number of Han 漢 envoys had made the journey, junior members of the missions were generally introduced to the Son of Heaven and became familiar with him. They said: '[Da]yuan [大]宛 has fine horses which are kept in the town of Ershi 貳師 and the inhabitants are unwilling to give them to Han 漢 envoys'. As the Son of Heaven already had a fondness for the horses of [Da]yuan [大]宛, he heard this news with pleasure, and he sent a party of men of valour, including Che Ling 車令, to take a thousand pieces of gold and a golden horse with which to request [in exchange] the fine horses of Ershi 貳師 from the king of [Da]yuan [大]宛'. Yet Dayuan 大宛 "refused to give [the horses] to the Han 漢 envoys", and "ordered [the king of] Yucheng 郁成, on their eastern side, to block the way, to attack and kill the Han 漢 envoys, and to seize their wealth and goods". Thus Emperor Wu 武 was burning with anger and "appointed Li Guangli 李廣利 to be a general [with orders] to call out a force of 6,000 cavalry from the dependent states and some tens of thousands of ill-disciplined young men from the prefectures and kingdoms, and to set out on his way to attack [Da]yuan [大]宛. As it was intended that he should reach the town of Ershi 貳師 and take possession of its fine horses, he was given the title of 'the Ershi 貳師 General'".

The killing of the Han 漢 envoys brought an end to Emperor Wu's 武 patience. Attacking Dayuan 大宛 was thus inevitable. It is worth noting that Dayuan's 大宛 killing of Che Ling 車令 seems not to have been completely in order to rob him of his belongings. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61 (Memoir on Li Guangli 李廣利), "Weixu 危須 and [the states to the] west as far as Dayuan 大宛 made a compact, killing Che Ling 車令, Guard of the Gate, Chao 朝, Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace and the envoys of the state of Shendu 身毒, and severing the route that leads from east to west". From this, it can be seen that the aim of Dayuan 大宛 was to sever the route from the Western Han 漢 to the west. It is very possible that this was instigated

by the Xiongnu 匈奴. Since Emperor Wu 武 was determined to manage the Western Regions, he had allied with the state of Wusun 烏孫 after the battles of Loulan 樓蘭 and Gushi 姑師, thus Dayuan 大宛 was naturally next in turn.

The Ershi 貳師 General set out in the autumn of the first year of the *Taichu* 太初 reign-period (B.C. 104).⁴ According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, the Han 漢 army “marched west and passed the Salt Water (Kumu or Konche Darya)”, and “attacked [the town of] Yucheng 郁成, Yucheng 郁成 utterly routed them, and the numbers of men killed or wounded were very large”. The Ershi 貳師 General estimated that his own army could not defeat Yucheng 郁成 and “withdrew with his forces”. When he had reached Dunhuang 敦煌 he sent a messenger with a written report, stating: “I would suggest that the force should be temporarily disbanded, and that when reinforcements are called out I should set out again”. Emperor Wu 武 was furious when he was informed of this. “He sent commissioners to have the Yumen 玉門 Barrier closed and to proclaim that any soldier who dared to make his way in would be beheaded. The Ershi 貳師 General was afraid, and consequently lay encamped at Dunhuang 敦煌”.

One important reason why the Ershi 貳師 General was defeated when he first attacked Dayuan 大宛 was his underestimation of the enemy. According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, before the army set out, “of those who had previously been sent on missions to [Da]yuan [大]宛, Yao Dinghan 姚定漢 and others said: ‘The troops of [Da]yuan [大]宛 are weak. If they were to be exposed to the shooting of no more than 3,000 [Han 漢] heavy bowmen, [Da]yuan [大]宛 would be defeated completely’”. Emperor Wu 武 “had previously sent the Marquis of Zhuoye 浞野 to attack Loulan 樓蘭; he had reached the town first with 700 cavalry and captured its king. For this reason [the Son of Heaven] believed [Yao] Dinghan [姚]定漢 and his colleagues”. Another reason was the difficulty of obtaining supplies on the way. In the same chapter, it is said that “the small states that were situated on the route all were alarmed; they strengthened their walls in self-defence, and were not willing to provide supplies. When he attacked he was unable to reduce them; from those that he did reduce he obtained food, and from those that he did not reduce he withdrew after several days. By the time that he drew near to Yucheng 郁成, his force amounted to several thousand troops, all starving and worn out”. Li Guangli 李廣利 attacked Yucheng 郁成 with several thousand exhausted troops, and in the end was utterly defeated. When he escaped

and reached Dunhuang 敦煌, "no more than one or two tenths of his forces survived". This occurred when autumn was changing into winter in the second year of the *Taichu* 太初 reign-period (B.C. 103).

Because "Han 漢 lost over 2,000 men in the command of [the Marquis of] Zhuoye 浞野 to the Xiongnu 匈奴" in the summer of the second year of the *Taichu* 太初 reign-period (B.C. 103),⁵ according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, "those senior ministers who were consulted all wished to disband the army [that had been sent against] [Da]yuan [大]宛 and to concentrate efforts in an attack on the Hu 胡". However, Emperor Wu 武 considered that [Da]yuan [大]宛 "was a small state, and that if Han 漢 was unable to reduce it, places such as Daxia 大夏 would gradually come to despise Han 漢; the [supply of] fine horses of [Da]yuan [大]宛 would be cut off and would not reach Han 漢; Wusun 烏孫 and Luntou 侖頭 would easily harass Han 漢 envoys; and he would become a laughing stock among the outer states". "He then brought up a case against Deng Guang 鄧光 and those others who had declared that an expedition against [Da]yuan [大]宛 would be most impractical. Granting an amnesty to incarcerated convicts and [levying] skilled soldiers, he called out a further force of ill-disciplined young men and cavalry from the border. After about a year, 60,000 men set out from Dunhuang 敦煌, exclusive of followers carrying personal [goods]. There were 100,000 head of cattle, more than 30,000 horses and asses, and camels by the tens of thousands. Food was sent out in even larger quantities, and weapons and cross-bows were in full supply. The whole world was in turmoil; all-in-all there were over fifty colonels serving in the army in succession in the campaign against [Da]yuan [大]宛". The time was the autumn of the third year of the *Taichu* 太初 reign-period (B.C. 102).

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded that "When the Ershi 貳師 [General] had initially set out from west of Dunhuang 敦煌, owing to the large number of his men, the states along the route were unable to supply food; he had divided his forces into several units, who were to make their way by the Southern and Northern Routes".⁶ This time "none of the small states which he reached failed to meet him and bring out supplies for the army" because "his forces were numerous". But Luntou 侖頭 "did not surrender". "After several days' attack" Han 漢 forces "butchered [its inhabitants]". From Luntou 侖頭 Han 漢 forces marched west and reached the capital of [Da]yuan [大]宛. "the force that arrived there numbered 30,000 strong". The troops of

[Da]yuan [大]宛 met and attacked the Han 漢 forces, but could not win victory and fled to seek protection within the town walls. Han 漢 forces had "cut off and diverted the source of its water" and besieged the town, attacking it for over forty days. The outer fortifications had been destroyed and a brave general was taken prisoner. The noblemen of [Da]yuan [大]宛 together killed Wugua 毋寡, their king, went out of the town, and surrendered. They "thereupon brought out its fine horses, letting the Han 漢 [officers] take their pick, and providing an ample supply of food to feed the Han 漢 army. The Han 漢 army selected some of the best horses, numbered by the tens, and over 3,000 stallions and mares of the medium grades and below; and they established as king of [Da]yuan [大]宛 one of the [Da]yuan [大]宛 noblemen who had treated the Han 漢 [envoys] excellently in the past, by name Meicai 昧蔡. They made a solemn treaty with him and disbanded their troops". This took place in the winter of the third year of the *Taichu* 太初 reign-period (B.C. 102). Before this, Li Guangli 李廣利 had sent a general to breach Yucheng 郁成, and pursue and kill its king.

After attacking [Da]yuan [大]宛, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, "over a year later the noblemen of [Da]yuan [大]宛 were taking the view that Meicai 昧蔡 had brought about the destruction of their state by his ingratiating behaviour; and together they killed Meicai 昧蔡 and established Chanfeng 蟬封, younger brother of Wugua 毋寡, as king. They sent a son to attend [at the Han 漢 court] as a hostage, and Han 漢 took the occasion to send out envoys with gifts so as to pacify [the area]". And according to *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, "Chanfeng 蟬封, king of [Da]yuan [大]宛, reached an agreement with Han 漢 to present two Heavenly Horses each year". From this time on Dayuan 大宛 submitted to Han 漢 and the blood-sweating horses came east in a steady stream.⁷

B

According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, Zhang Qian 張騫 had passed through "Kangju 康居" during his first mission to the Western Regions. In fact, "Kangju 康居" which Zhang Qian 張騫 had passed through was Sogdiana, a dependency of Kangju 康居 at that time.⁸ The first Han 漢 envoy who set foot on the metropolitan territory of Kangju 康居 was the deputy envoy sent by

Zhang Qian 張騫 during his mission to Wusun 烏孫 in the beginning of the *Yuanding* 元鼎 reign-period (ca. B.C. 116).

According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 117, in Sima Xiangru’s 司馬相如 address to the people in Ba 巴 and Shu 蜀, it is said that “Kangju 康居 and the Western Regions, with a series of interpreters, pay tribute, kowtow and offer sacrifices”.⁹ Also, in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 56, Dong Zhongshu’s 董仲舒 written examination reply is recorded, which says: “Yelang 夜郎 and Kangju 康居, the places beyond ten thousand *li* 里, enjoy virtue and submit to justice. This is caused by peace”. Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 addressed the people in Ba 巴 and Shu 蜀 in the fifth year of the *Yuanguang* 元光 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (B.C. 130).¹⁰ Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 replied to the examination in the first year of the *Yuanguang* 元光 reign-period (B.C. 134).¹¹ Thus it can be seen that Kangju 康居 had already sent its envoy to Han 漢 before Zhang Qian’s 張騫 escape from the Xiongnu 匈奴 during his first mission to the Western Regions. Kangju 康居 was the earliest state in the Western Regions to present tribute to Han 漢. In Emperor Wu’s 武 edict of the fifth month of the first year of the *Yuanguang* 元光 reign-period (B.C. 134) calling for individuals to respond to examination questions, noted in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 6, it is said only that “the Sushen 肅奮 beyond the sea, the Beifa 北發, the Qusou 渠搜, the Di 氐 and the Qiang 羌 came to submit”. Kangju 康居 is not mentioned. From this it can be seen that Kangju 康居 came to Han 漢 after the fifth month of this year.

Kangju 康居 had already sent envoys to contact Han 漢 very early, but it seems to have always obstructed Han’s 漢 administration of the Western Regions. According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, “Kangju 康居 kept watch on the Han 漢 troops” when Li Guangli 李廣利 attacked Dayuan 大宛 and besieged the capital of Dayuan 大宛, and seeing that the Han 漢 army “being in high fettle, did not dare to advance”. When noblemen of Dayuan 大宛 had talks with the Han 漢 army, they professed that “relief from Kangju 康居 is about to arrive; and when it does reach us, we will engage the Han 漢 army, ourselves from inside and Kangju 康居 from outside [the town]” and attempted to have the Han 漢 army accept their conditions. One reason why Li Guangli 李廣利 and others “gave their consent to the agreement with [Da]yuan [大]宛” was that they considered that “Kangju 康居 wait for the Han 漢 troops to weaken and would then come to the relief [of the town], and the defeat of the Han 漢 army would be certain”. Also, when Li

Guangli 李廣利 sent Shangguan Jie 上官桀 to breach Yucheng 郁成, the king of Yucheng 郁成 “fled to Kangju 康居” straightaway. Shangguan Jie 上官桀 “pursued him” to Kangju 康居. They did not bring out the king of Yucheng 郁成 and hand him over to [Shangguang] Jie [上官]桀 until the Kangju 康居 people “heard that Han 漢 had defeated [Da]yuan [大]宛”.

In the third year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (B.C. 59), the Protector General of the Western Regions established its government office and began to administer the region. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, Kangju 康居 was not subject to the Protector General because it was separated [from Han 漢] by a long distance. However the various states that were kept under observation of the Protector General included Kangju 康居.

During the reign of Emperor Yuan 元, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Chen Tang 陳湯), in the fourth year of the *Chuyuan* 初元 reign-period (B.C. 45), the *Chanyu* 單于 Zhizhi 郅支 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 killed the Han 漢 envoy, Gu Ji 谷吉, and “realized that he had betrayed Han 漢. Hearing that Huhaxie 呼韓邪 was stronger he fled west to Kangju 康居. The king of Kangju 康居 gave his daughter to Zhizhi 郅支 and Zhizhi 郅支 also gave his daughter to the king of Kangju 康居 in marriage. The king of Kangju 康居 esteemed Zhizhi 郅支 very much and wanted to coerce the various states by relying on Zhizhi’s 郅支 authority”.

In the third year of the *Jianzhao* 建昭 reign-period (B.C. 36), Gan Yanshou 甘延壽 and Chen Tang 陳湯 went on a punitive expedition against Zhizhi 郅支. Their army “passed through Wusun 烏孫, set foot within the boundaries of Kangju 康居 and reached the west of the pool of Tian 闐. Baotian 抱闐, a viceroy of Kangju 康居, led several thousand cavalry and plundered the east of the town of Chigu 赤谷, killed and robbed more than a thousand men under the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌, driving away numerous livestock. They caught up with the Han 漢 army from the rear and plundered considerable supplies and gear from the baggage carts. [Chen] Tang [陳]湯 let the Hu 胡 soldiers attack them, killed four hundred and sixty men, and took four hundred and seventy men who had been robbed, and handed them over to the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌. Their horses, flocks and herds were provided to the army to eat. And they arrested Yidunu 伊奴毒, a nobleman of Baotian 抱闐”. After he had “entered the eastern boundary of Kangju 康居”, Chen Tang 陳湯 ordered his army not to plunder. He took advantage of the contradiction between Kangju 康居 and Zhizhi 郅支 by “calling in Tumo 屠墨, a nobleman of Kangju 康居, to meet

secretly, and showed him the power and prestige [of Han 漢], drank wine and made a pledge with him, then sent him away". He "also arrested Kaimou 開牟, the son of Beisezi 貝色子, a nobleman of Kangju 康居, and made him serve as a guide [for the Han 漢 army]. Beisezi 貝色子 was the younger brother of the mother of Tumo 屠墨, who also had a grudge against the *Chanyu* 單于 (Zhizhi 鄯支). Therefore, the Han 漢 army knew the whole situation concerning Zhizhi 鄯支".

When the Han 漢 army besieged the town of Zhizhi 鄯支 where the *Chanyu* 單于 of Zhizhi 鄯支 was, "over ten thousand of Kangju's 康居 soldiers, being distributed in more than ten places, surrounded the town in all directions, complementing [Zhizhi's 鄯支 forces within]. At night, they charged the Han 漢 camps again and again, withdrawing immediately when the situation was not to their advantage". They did not depart until the town was about to be breached.

The reason Kangju 康居 collaborated with Zhizhi 鄯支 was to intimidate its neighboring states with the aid of the power of Zhizhi 鄯支. And, on the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94B, its main aim was to resist Wusun 烏孫. As for its daring to oppose Han 漢, it was for no other reason than that its great distance from Han 漢 made it fearless of Han 漢.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is recorded that "At the time of Emperor Cheng 成, [the king of] Kangju 康居 sent a son to attend at the Han 漢 [court] with a present of gifts. However, Kangju 康居 felt that it was separated [from Han 漢] by a long distance, and alone in its arrogance it was not willing to be considered on the same terms as the various other states". Guo Shun 郭舜, the Protector General, submitted the reports and said, "Kangju 康居 is behaving arrogantly, even refusing to treat our envoys with the respect that is their due. When the officials of the Protector General go to the state, they are seated below the envoys of Wusun 烏孫 and the various other [states]". And it is pointed out that "If in view of these considerations we ask why [Kangju 康居] sends its sons to attend [at the Han 漢 court], [we find] that desiring to trade, they use a pretence couched in fine verbiage". Thus he suggested that "it is fitting to send back the son of [Kangju 康居] who is now attending at court and to sever relations and send no further envoys. Thereby we would demonstrate that the Han 漢 Dynasty has no dealings with states that lack a sense of proper behavior". However, "for the reasons that communications had been

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

The date that Kangju 康居 sent its sons to attend at the Han 漢 court, in the "Hanji 漢紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑿, is given under the second year of the *Yuanyan* 元延 (B.C. 11). However, the Protector General in the second year of the *Yuanyan* 元延 must have been Sun Jian 孫建, not Guo Shun 郭舜. Guo Shun's 郭舜 term as the Protector General lasted from the second year of the *Yongshi* 永始 reign-period (B.C. 15) to the first year of the *Yuanyan* 元延 reign-period (B.C. 17). Therefore, it is inadequate that Hu's 胡 commentary says, "During the *Yuanshi* 元始 reign-period of Emperor Ping 平 (A.D. 1–5), Sun Jian 孫建 was appointed the Protector General".¹² In other words, the above-mentioned view of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑿 is unacceptable.

Also, the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑿 says that at the time of Emperor Cheng 成, "[the king of] Kangju 康居 again sent a son to attend at the Han 漢 [court]". Hu's 胡 commentary says that "during the reign of Emperor Yuan 元 [the king of] Kangju 康居 had sent a son to attend at the Han 漢 court, and Chen Tang 陳湯 submitted a report and said that he was not a prince. At this time [the king of] Kangju 康居 again sent a son to attend at the Han 漢 [court]". However, on the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70, the date that Chen Tang 陳湯 submitted the report and said that he was not a prince is in the reign of Emperor Cheng 成. From this, it can be seen that Hu's 胡 commentary here is wrong.¹³ Since the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑿 does not record that the king of Kangju 康居 sent a son to attend at the Han 漢 court during the reign of Emperor Yuan 元, that the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑿 says "again" must be in reference to some other preceding affair.

Also, since the king of Kangju's 康居 sending a son to attend at the Han 漢 court during the reign of Emperor Cheng 成 was because the "communications had been started only recently", there must have been no communication between Kangju 康居 and Han 漢 for a long time. Furthermore, Kangju's 康居 wishing to open communications with Han 漢 may have been due to a desire to trade that was possibly related to its being in possession of Sogdiana.¹⁴ The Sogdians were celebrated for being expert traders.

As for why the Han 漢 court did not accept Guo Shun's 郭舜 suggestion completely, it is because "bringing people from remote places to court" was an important aim for the Western

Han 漢 administration of the Western Regions since the time of Emperor Wu 武. However, the statement that "Han 漢 in the end maintained its ties and did not sever relations" probably refers to the fact that Han 漢 merely received the envoys of Kangju 康居, but seldom sent its own envoys to Kangju 康居.

On the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Duan Huizong 段會宗), during the second term of the Protector General Duan Huizong 段會宗 (B.C. 21–18), "Baosuni 保蘇匿, the crown prince of Kangju 康居, led over ten thousand men and wanted to surrender to [Han 漢]. [Duan] Huizong [段]會宗 submitted a memorial to the emperor, then Han 漢 sent a Guards' Major to await his arrival. [Duan] Huizong [段]會宗 called out the troops under the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel to accept his surrender along with the Guards' Major. The Guards' Major wanted to have all the capitulators tie themselves up because of fearing their numerousness. Baosuni 保蘇匿 thought that he had been betrayed and led his men to run away". The actual cause of the event is unknown, so it is mentioned here only for reference.

C

In the second year of the *Jianyuan* 建元 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (B.C. 139), Han 漢 sent Zhang Qian 張騫 as an envoy to the Western Regions, in order to bind the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, who had been driven out of their former lands by the Xiongnu 匈奴 and removed to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, and to strike the Xiongnu 匈奴 together with them. Because Zhang Qian 張騫 was taken into custody by the Xiongnu 匈奴 halfway, he did not arrive in the state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 until the sixth year of the *Yuanguang* 元光 reign-period (B.C. 129). When he reached it, the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 had removed from the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers, and arrived in the valley of the Amu Darya, where they had conquered the state of Daxia 大夏, which was located mainly in the south of the Amu Darya.¹⁵

According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, "having subjugated Daxia 大夏 he (the king of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏) occupied that country. The land was fertile, with few brigands, and [the Da Yuezhi 大月氏] had set their minds on [a life of] peace and contentment. In addition, they considered themselves too far away from Han 漢, and had no intention at all of taking revenge on the Hu 胡 (the Xiongnu 匈奴). From the Yuezhi 月氏, [Zhang] Qian [張]騫 reached Daxia 大

夏, but in the end he was unable to rouse the interest of the Yuezhi 月氏”. This mission of Zhang Qian 張騫 to the Western Regions could not achieve its objective, but it did open the field for the Han 漢 people. In fact, the Western Han’s 漢 management of the Western Regions started from that time.

According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, at the beginning of the *Yuanding* 元鼎 reign-period (ca. B.C. 116), Zhang Qian 張騫 sent his deputy envoy to Da Yuezhi 月氏 during the time he was an envoy to Wusun 烏孫. It is possible that the deputy envoy returned home with the envoy of the state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏. If so, the date that the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 sent their first envoy to the Western Han 漢 would be during the *Yuanding* 元鼎 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (B.C. 116–111).

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61 (Memoir on Li Guangli 李廣利), after Li Guangli 李廣利 had attacked Dayuan 大宛 and returned in triumph, Emperor Wu 武 issued the following edict: “For a long time the Xiongnu 匈奴 have constituted a danger [to us]; removed as they are north of the desert, they have entered into plots with their neighbouring states, seeking together to intercept the missions from the Da Yuezhi 大月氏. They impeded and killed Jiang 江, the Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, and Rang 攘, formerly Administrator of Yanmen 雁門”. This statement in the edict was relating the situation before the attack on Dayuan 大宛. Therefore, Da Yuezhi 大月氏 could have sent its envoys to Han 漢 once again during the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 110–105), if Jiang 江, the Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, and the others were not the deputy envoy of Zhang Qian 張騫.

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, the state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 was not subject to the Protector General. The relationship between Han 漢 and the state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 obviously was not very intimate because it was very distant. It is worth mentioning that it is recorded in the “Memoir on the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilue* 魏略:

In the state of Tianzhu 天竺 there is also a immortal, who is named Shalü 沙律. Anciently, in the first year of the *Yuanshou* 元壽 reign-period of the Emperor Ai 哀 of the Han 漢 Dynasty (B.C. 2), a student of the Imperial Academy, Jing Lu 景盧, received orally [a] Buddhist sūtra from Yicun 伊存, an envoy, who was sent

by the king of Da Yuezhi 大月氏. The *sūtra* says that “Fuli 復立 is that immortal”.

Records of this event in various books differ: not only the full name of the man who received the Buddhist *sūtra*(s), but also the place at which they were received. According to the *Bianzhenglun* 辯正論, “Qin Jing 秦景 reached the state of Yuezhi 月氏, and the king of Yuezhi 月氏 ordered his crown-prince to instruct him in [a] Buddhist *sūtra*(s)”. If this is correct, the Buddhist *sūtra*(s) was received in the state of Yuezhi 月氏.¹⁶ In any case the records tell us that there were still some contacts between the Western Han 漢 and the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 down to the time of Emperor Ai 哀.

D

The Da Yuezhi 大月氏 had occupied the land of Daxia 大夏 south of the river of Gui 媯, but their king’s court was established north of the river when Zhang Qian 張騫 arrived in the state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 in B.C. 129. It is possible that the king of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 often made an inspection of the land south of the river. It is also possible that “from the Yuezhi 月氏, [Zhang] Qian [張]騫 reached Daxia 大夏” in order to rouse the interest of the Da Yuezhi 月氏, probably by contacting the king of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, who was in the town of Lanshi 藍市, the former capital of Daxia 大夏, at that time.

When Zhang Qian 張騫 reached the state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Daxia 大夏 did not yet exist as a state. However, the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, has an independent section on “Daxia 大夏”. This is probably because the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 had not yet removed their king’s court to south of the river, and the former capital of Daxia 大夏 was still an active centre of the Daxia 大夏 people at the time described in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123. The Da Yuezhi 大月氏 later removed their king’s court south of the river and ruled the town of Lanshi 藍市 and its surrounding area. Only the eastern part of the former “land of Daxia 大夏” was ruled by puppet regimes down to the time described in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A. That is why Ban Gu 班固 cancelled the independent section on Daxia 大夏 and added the things relevant to Daxia 大夏 into the section on Da Yuezhi 大月氏.

According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, Zhang Qian 張騫 sent his deputy envoy to “Daxia 大夏” when he went as an envoy to Wusun 烏孫. And “Daxia 大夏” sent its envoys eastwards along with Zhang Qian’s 張騫 deputy envoy. If this is so, these must have been the envoys of the puppet regimes that were subject to the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 in the former land of Daxia 大夏. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is recorded that the five *Xihou* 翺侯, being the people in the former state of Daxia 大夏, were propped up by the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, to “provide supplies for Han 漢 envoys”. This shows that the puppet regimes had some autonomous rights in foreign affairs.¹⁷

Daxia 大夏 did not exist long ago as an independent state, but it nevertheless occupied an important place in Han 漢 eyes. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 17, it is said that Zhang Qian 張騫, the Marquis of Bowang 博望, “as a Colonel had accompanied the Supreme General in campaigns against the Xiongnu 匈奴 many times, and thanks to his acquaintance with roads and water resources, [the army had been able to get by without a shortage]. He was sent as an envoy to Daxia 大夏, an extremely distant state. [Zhang Qian 張騫] was thereupon invested with the title of Marquis [of Bowang 博望]”. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 100B, it is also said that “holding the tally, the Marquis of Bowang 博望 achieved success in Daxia 大夏”. The state of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 receives no mention in all these chapters. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61 (Memoir on Zhang Qian 張騫), Han 漢 wished to open communications with the barbarians of the southwest “with the intention that, as these lands adjoined each other, it would be possible to advance thereby and make communication with Daxia 大夏”. According to the same chapter (Memoir on Li Guangli 李廣利), Emperor Wu 武 first worried that “places such as Daxia 大夏 would gradually come to despise Han 漢” after Li Guangli’s 李廣利 first attack upon Daxia 大夏 suffered a setback.

Since Daxia 大夏 was the most distant place that Zhang Qian 張騫 had reached personally, opening communications with Daxia 大夏 had become an emblem of opening communications with the Western Regions generally. In addition, as the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, says, Daxia 大夏 had “many rare goods”; “the people were settled on the soil and that their way of life was rather similar to that of the Middle Kingdom”. Also, “the population of Daxia 大夏 may amount to more than a million”. And according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 116, Zhang Qian 張騫 “reported to the emperor with enthusiasm” that it was “eager to open relations with the Middle

Kingdom". It therefore can be completely understood that Daxia 大夏 was charmed by the Han 漢 people.

In fact, the Loulan 樓蘭 campaign, the Gushi 姑師 campaign during the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 110–105) and the Dayuan 大宛 campaign during the *Taichu* 太初 reign-period (B.C. 104–101) were launched precisely because of the success in opening communications with Daxia 大夏 by managing the barbarians of the southwest had not been achieved.

E

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is said that "The 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 at their side" during his first mission to the Western Regions. According to the records in this chapter, the large states that Zhang Qian 張騫 heard about must have been Anxi 安息, Tiaozhi 條枝, Lixuan 黎軒, Shendu 身毒, Wusun 烏孫, and Yancai 奄蔡. Of these, the relationship between Yancai 奄蔡 and the Western Han 漢 is mentioned in only one section of this chapter:

And Han 漢 for the first time built [fortifications] at Lingju 令居 and farther west. At first the prefecture of Jiuquan 酒泉 was founded in order to communicate with the states of the northwest. Thereafter [more] envoys were sent out, and reached Anxi 安息, Yancai 奄蔡, Lixuan 黎軒, Tiaozhi 條枝, and Shendu 身毒.

From this it can be clearly seen that the Western Han 漢 sent its envoys to visit Yancai 奄蔡 after the prefecture of Jiuquan 酒泉 had been established. The relationship with the other five states will be described in the following sections in turn.

According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, Zhang Qian 張騫 heard that there was the state of Anxi 安息 to the west of Da Yuezhi 大月氏 when he reached Da Yuezhi 大月氏 on his first mission to the Western Regions. Zhang Qian 張騫 sent his deputy envoy to Anxi 安息 when he went as an envoy to Wusun 烏孫. Zhang Qian's 張騫 sending his deputy envoy to Anxi 安息

must have been the first mission to Anxi 安息 from the Western Han 漢. The circumstance of this mission is recorded in the same chapter:

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. The eastern border is several thousand *li* 里 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 densely populated settlements are uninterrupted. 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 conjurers from Lixuan 黎軒 as a present for the Han 漢 [emperor]. And the small states to the west of [Da]yuan [大]宛, namely Huanqian 驩潛 and Dayi 大益, and those to the east of [Da]yuan [大]宛, namely, Gushi 姑師, Wumi 扞采, Suxie 蘇薤, and others, followed the Han 漢 envoys with tribute and had audience with the Son of Heaven, who was highly pleased.

Since Zhang Qian 張騫 was sent as an envoy to Wusun 烏孫 at the beginning of the *Yuanding* 元鼎 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (ca. B.C. 116), the date that his deputy envoy reached Anxi 安息 must have been B.C. 116 or 115. Mithridates (B.C. 124/123–87), the king of Anxi 安息, i.e., the Parthians, was on the throne at the time. The day the Han 漢 envoy arrived, the king, who had attacked the invaded Sak~s, was close to victory. The main forces converged on the eastern frontier, and happened to meet the Han 漢 envoy as he entered the country.¹⁸

Some have suggested that the Han 漢 envoy that the king of Anxi 安息 ordered a force of 20,000 cavalry to greet as he entered the country was actually the second mission sent by the Western Han 漢. This is thought to have taken place after the prefecture of Jiuquan 酒泉 had been established in the second year of the *Yuanding* 元鼎 reign-period (B.C. 115).¹⁹ In my opinion, the theory is inadequate.

First, the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, says that "Emperor Wu 武 was the first to send envoys to Anxi 安息. The king ordered a general to take a force of 20,000 cavalry to greet them at the

eastern border". Since he was the "first to send envoys", the envoys whom Anxi's 安息 force met were not those who were sent the second time.

Second, the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, states that the prefecture of Jiuquan 酒泉 was established after it states that Zhang Qian 張騫, who was sent as an envoy to Wusun 烏孫, had returned and was appointed the Director of the Messenger Office. However, this does not show that the prefecture of Jiuquan 酒泉 was established in the second year of the *Yuanding* 元鼎 reign-period (B.C. 115). From Zhang Qian's 張騫 mission to Wusun 烏孫 the chapter goes to Wusun's 烏孫 offering the horses, then leads to the horses of Dayuan 大宛 from the horses of Wusun 烏孫. Before "as the Son of Heaven had a fondness for the horses of [Da]yuan [大]宛, these envoys were in sight of each other on the roads" is mentioned, "Han 漢 for the first time built [fortifications] at Lingju 令居 and farther west" and so on has been inserted. The aim is to account for the situation in the communications of Han 漢 with the Western Regions at the time that Emperor Wu 武 sent envoys to seek the horses, and the order in which the events took place is disregarded.²⁰

Third, the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 6, records clearly that the prefecture of Jiuquan 酒泉 was established in the second year of the *Yuanshou* 元狩 reign-period (B.C. 121),²¹ and that "[more] envoys were sent out" and so on must have taken place after this year. Since Zhang Qian 張騫, who was to be sent to Wusun 烏孫 as an envoy, was included, the envoy who arrived in Anxi 安息 must have been Zhang Qian's 張騫 deputy envoy. It has been suggested that Hunxie 渾邪 had surrendered in the second year of *Yuanshou* 元狩 reign-period (B.C. 121), but Hunxie's 渾邪 former territory was deserted, and the prefectures could not have been established then. The prefectures therefore must not have been established until several years later, when the Wusun 烏孫 refused to return east to their former lands. In fact, the former lands of the Wusun 烏孫 were not located in the Hexi 河西 regions, but in the Hami 哈密 area.²² If not, even if the Wusun 烏孫 had returned east, it would have been difficult to effectively cut off the right arm of the Xiongnu 匈奴. In other words, it had no logical connection with the establishment of the prefecture of Jiuquan 酒泉, whether or not the Wusun 烏孫 returned east.

As to the date that the Anxi's 安息 envoys offered big birds' eggs and conjurors as tribute, it has been suggested that it was in the first year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 110).

The reason is that, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, "at this time the emperor was frequently progressing on tours of inspection or visiting the coast". And according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 6, Emperor Wu 武 made tours of inspection to the seacoast two times in the first year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period, and one time each in the third and fifth year. It is more reasonable that it took place in the first year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period, which can be calculated by the time.²³ In my opinion, the Anxi 安息 envoys' offering of the tribute need not be just in the year of Emperor Wu's 武 tours of inspection to the seacoast. This is clear if one reads the text of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, carefully.

The above-quoted section that "previously, when the Han 漢 envoys had come to Anxi 安息" in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, appears after the statement that Han 漢 sent a princess of Jiangdu 江都 as a consort for the *Kunmo* 昆莫 of Wusun 烏孫. The "Hanji 漢紀" of the *Zhizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 follows it. According to this, some suggest therefore that Anxi's 安息 mission to Han 漢 was in the sixth year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 105). In my opinion, the view of the *Zhizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 here should not be trusted and followed. It is obvious that the order of writing of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, could not be regarded as a foundation for judging the dates. Moreover, Han's 漢 sending a princess of Jiangdu 江都 as a consort for the *Kunmo* 昆莫 of the Wusun 烏孫 was not necessarily in the sixth year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period. The same section appears after the statement that "[Han 漢] attacked and defeated Gushi 姑師 and captured the king of Loulan 樓蘭" in the third year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 108) as Ban Gu 班固 quoted it in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61 (Memoir on Zhang Qian 張騫). This can be regarded as collateral evidence.

Incidentally, a related statement in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, was altered inappropriately in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61 (Memoir on Zhang Qian 張騫), and rendered as "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 Likan 犂靬. The Son of Heaven was highly pleased". If we did not know that large birds' eggs and conjurors were the present offered by Anxi 安息 envoy, we would not be in a position to know that Anxi 安息 was included in "Dayuan 大宛 and other states".

As for the envoys of Huanqian 驩潛 (Khw~razm), Dayi 大益 (Dahae), Suxie 蘇薤 (Soghd) and other states, it is possible that they offered their presents at the same time as the Anxi's 安息 envoys. Therefore they are mentioned jointly in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123. "Suxie 蘇薤" must have been the "Suxie 蘇籛" noted in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A. It was one of the small states that were subject to Kangju 康居, which was located west of Dayuan 大宛. The statement that it was located "east of [Da]yuan [大]宛" in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, is not precise.²⁴

F

Tiaozhi 條枝 and Lixuan 黎軒 were large states that Zhang Qian 張騫 heard about during his first mission to the Western Regions. According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, Han 漢 sent its envoys to Tiaozhi 條枝 and Lixuan 黎軒 after the prefecture of Jiuquan 酒泉 had been established.

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded that "there are birds' eggs as [large as water] jars" in the state of Tiaozhi 條枝. There is the same statement in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A. From this it can be seen that the area that produced the birds' eggs offered by the Anxi 安息 envoys was in Tiaozhi 條枝.

The *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, records that "the people are expert at conjuring [in the state of Tiaozhi 條枝]". The same statement appears in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A. However, in both books the conjurers, as a present offered by Anxi's 安息 envoys, were called "conjurers from Lixuan 黎軒" or "conjurers from Likan 犁軒". It is therefore possible that there were conjurers not only in Tiaozhi 條枝, but also in Lixuan 黎軒. If, however, the records of the *Hanshu* 漢書, 96A, that say that the Tiaozhi 條枝 people were expert at conjuring follow the *Shiji* 史記, and the basis of the *Shiji* 史記 is just the hearsay of Zhang Qian 張騫, it is possible that Lixuan 黎軒 was the only state whose people were expert at conjuring.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28B, it is recorded that there was a "Likan" 驪軒 County in Zhangye 張掖 Prefecture. Yan Shigu 顏師古 believes that "Likan 犁軒" was a different transcription of the "Likan 犂軒" seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61 (Memoir on Zhang Qian 張騫), and makes a comment that "Likan 犁軒 was just the state of Da Qin 大秦, and Likan 驪軒 County in Zhangye 張掖 Prefecture was probably named after the state". In my opinion, 犂軒 what appears as 犁軒 in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, is just the Lixuan 黎軒 seen in *Shiji* 史記, ch.

123. True, it is acceptable to take 驪軒, 犁軒 and so on as different transliterations of the same name, but one must understand that Lixuan 黎軒 or Likan 犁軒 must have been identified with the Ptolemy dynasty in Egypt, and Da Qin 大秦 with the Roman Empire, and the two should not be lumped together.²⁵

As to Likan 驪軒 County, which was located in Zhangye 張掖 Prefecture, some suggest that, since Likan 犁軒 was the state of Da Qin 大秦, "the state was probably established for its war captures".²⁶ And some also suggest that these prisoners were the Roman soldiers who had been captured by Gan Yanshou 甘延壽 and Chen Tang 陳湯 when they arrived at Kangju 康居 to attack Zhizhi 鄯支. These Roman soldiers are thought to have been captured by the Parthians in B.C. 55 when the Roman satrap stationed in Syria went east on a campaign against the Parthians, were set on the eastern border of the Parthians, and then were hired by the *Chanyu* 單于 of the Xiongnu 匈奴. In my opinion, this theory is not correct.²⁷ It is impossible that the name of Likan 驪軒 County derived from the Roman.

Likan 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* 建始 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成), when it was reduced to a Roman province, because it was very remote from Han 漢. Likan 犁軒 no longer existed by the time Han 漢 knew 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 Likan 犁軒 had become a part of the state of Da Qin 大秦, the people of Likan 犁軒 probably called themselves residents of Da Qin 大秦, "Likan 犁軒" and "Da Qin 大秦", terms that express different concepts, were naturally combined into one. The statement that "the state of Da Qin 大秦: it is also named Lijian 犁軒" is thus seen in the "Memoir on the Western Rong 戎" of the *Weilhe* 魏略.²⁸

Likan 犁軒, i.e., the Ptolemy dynasty in Egypt, still existed when Gan Yanshou 甘延壽 and Chen Tang 陳湯 attacked Zhizhi 鄯支. If a district was established for the Roman captives at that time, it could not have been called "Likan 犁軒". It has been suggested that "fishscale battle array lined both sides of the town gate" and "walls made of overlapping wood" arranged by the Xiongnu's 匈奴 infantry (Memoir on Chen Tang 陳湯 in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70.), can be regarded as evidence of the Roman soldiers' being employed by Zhizhi 鄯支. However, the idea cannot stand close scrutiny.²⁹

The date at which Likan 驪軒 County was established is unknown. We only know that it could not be later than the first year of the *Suihe* 綏和 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成 (B.C. 8). If the Ptolemy dynasty had become extinct when the district was designated for the Roman captives, it would not have been possible that the county established by Han 漢 for the Romans was also named after “Likan 驪軒”.

In sum, it is possible that Likan 驪軒 County was named after the state of Lixuan 黎軒, but it had nothing to do with the Romans.

In addition, since Likan 驪軒 County was named after the state of Lixuan 黎軒, it must have had something to do with the Ptolemy dynasty in Egypt. Alexandria in Egypt was celebrated for its flourishing commerce, and there were 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 and eventually were naturalized. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, 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”. It is possible that the case of Likan 驪軒 County was similar to this.³⁰

Of course, it is also possible that the Western Han 漢 established a county by the name “Likan 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 漢.

However, according to a memorial of Zhang Ji 張既, the governor of Yong 雍 Province, in the “Wei Mingchen Zou 魏名臣奏” (The Memorials of the Famous Ministers in the Wei 魏 Dynasty), cited by Pei’s 裴 commentaries to the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 30 (Memoir on Guanqiu Xing 毌丘興),

The officials and people in Fanhe 番和 and Likan 驪軒 Counties of Zhangye 張掖 Prefecture and various barbarians in the prefecture forsook evil and came over to [Guanqiu] Xing [毌丘]興. [Guanqiu] Xing [毌丘]興 comforted and gave them relief, and they made great efforts to farm.

and in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 86 (Memoir on Zhang Zuo 張祚), it is recorded:

[Zhang Zuo 張祚] sent He Hao 和昊, a general, to lead the troops to attack the Rong 戎 of Likan 驪軒 in the Southern Mountains, but he was defeated utterly and returned.

From this it can be seen that various barbarians lived together in Zhangye 張掖 Prefecture and even Likan 驪軒 County down to the Jin 晉 Dynasty, and that there were some called "Rong 戎 of Likan 驪軒" among them. Of course, it is possible that the "Rong 戎 of Likan 驪軒" was a general term for the barbarians who lived in Likan 驪軒 County and its neighbourhood. However, it may have been a special term for a certain group of the various barbarians, and the special term could be traced to the Lixuan 黎軒 people, who had come over to China during the Western Han 漢.

G

According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, Zhang Qian 張騫 heard about the state of Shendu 身毒 during his first mission to the Western Regions. After he returned, Zhang Qian 張騫 reported to Emperor Wu 武 and said,

When I was in Daxia 大夏, I noticed the bamboo staves of Qiong 邛 and the cloth of Shu 蜀; when I asked how these had been acquired, the men of Daxia 大夏 said: Our merchants go and buy them in Shendu 身毒. That state lies several thousands of *li* 里 southeast of Daxia 大夏. The way of life is that the inhabitants are settled on the soil, and is very much like that of Daxia 大夏, but the place is low, damp, and very hot. The people ride on elephants to fight their battles, and the state borders on a large river. According to my reckoning, Daxia 大夏 lies 12,000 *li* 里 away from Han 漢 in the southwest; we now find that the state of Shendu 身毒 lies several thousand *li* 里 to the southeast of Daxia 大夏 and is in possession of goods from Shu 蜀. Were an envoy to be sent to Daxia 大夏 to make his way through the Qiang 羌, he would find it dangerous going, and the Qiang 羌 people would hate it; and were he to go a little further north, he would

be captured by the Xiongnu 匈奴; but if he were to go by way of Shu 蜀, he would be on a direct route, and, moreover, there would be no brigands.

Emperor Wu 武 “believed [Zhang] Qian’s [張]騫 report. He thereupon gave orders that, in accordance with [Zhang] Qian’s [張]騫 suggestions, secret missions should be sent out from Shu 蜀 and Jianwei 犍爲 [Prefectures] to reconnoiter, proceeding simultaneously by four routes. Leaving from Mang 駘, Ran 冉, Xi 徙, Qiong 邛 and Bo 僂, each one travelled one or two thousand *li* 里. In the north their way was blocked by the Di 氐 and the Zuo 叅, and in the south by the Xi 巂 and Kunming 昆明 [tribes]. Peoples such as the Kunming 昆明 have no rulers or chiefs and are accomplished brigands; they always killed or pillaged the Han 漢 envoys, and in the end none were able to get through”. According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 116, this was in the first year of the *Yuanshou* 元狩 reign-period (B.C.122).

Zhang Qian’s 張騫 seeing “goods from Shu 蜀” in the land of Daxia 大夏 must have been a fact. However, the statement “if he were to go by way of Shu 蜀, he would be on a direct route” is just his conjecture. The so-called way of Chuan-Dian-Mian-Yin 川-滇-緬-印 (Sichuan 四川-Yunnan 雲南-Burma-India), which Zhang Qian 張騫 suggested Emperor Wu 武 should open up, was not the only way that the “goods from Shu 蜀” could be transported to India from Sichuan 四川. The Han 漢 envoys’ being unable to get through is not tantamount to merchants’ being unable to get through. But those envoys sent by the Han 漢 court were all so-called “secret missions”. In other words, the Han 漢 envoys’ status was not open, and it is possible they disguised themselves as merchants when they set out on the journey. The reason that “in the end none were able to get through” is not so much that the status of “secret mission” was discovered as that the route they took was one that even merchants could not use.

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is also recorded: “However, it was learned that several thousand or more *li* 里 to the west there was the state of the elephant riders, named Dian Yue 滇越, and that merchants of Shu 蜀 who were surreptitiously taking their goods out had sometimes reached there. Thereupon Han 漢 for the first time made contact with the state of Dian 滇, in the search for a route to Daxia 大夏”. From this it can be seen that the Han 漢 envoys arrived in the state of Dian 滇 to the east of the Kunming 昆彌. They did not pass through the realms of the

southwestern barbarians to Shendu 身毒 because the way was obstructed by the Kunming 昆明. They heard that the state of Dianyue 滇越 lay to the west of the Kunming 昆明. Some suggest that the state of Dianyue 滇越 was located between Assam and Burma. "Dianyue 滇越 [*tien-hiuat*]" must have been a Chinese transcription of Danava, which was an alternative name of Jiamoloubo 迦摩縷波 (Kāmarūpa), as recorded in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, vol. 10.³¹

In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 116, it is recorded that, "The Son of Heaven therefore ordered Wang Ranyu 王然于, Bo Shichang 柏始昌, Lü Yueren 呂越人, and others to go on a secret expedition through the region of the southwestern barbarians and on to the west to search for the land of Shendu 身毒. When they got as far as Dian 滇, Changqiang 嘗羌, the king of Dian 滇, detained them and sent ten or more parties to the west to find out the way to Shendu 身毒 for them. The Han 漢 envoys waited over a year, but all the roads had been closed off by the Kunming 昆明, so that none of the men who had been sent ahead were able to reach Shendu 身毒". If the "direct route" Zhang Qian 張騫 referred to was really in existence at that time, and was not found because the Han 漢 envoys that were sent "proceeding simultaneously by four routes" were ignorant of them, the situation would be very different when the king of Dian 滇 after Han 漢 had "made contact with the state of Dian 滇" sent men "to find out the way to Shendu 身毒" for Han 漢. For more than a year "none of the men who had been sent ahead were able to reach Shendu 身毒" even with the king's assistance, it is very doubtful that the so-called way of Chuan-Dian-Mian-Yin 川-滇-緬-印 existed at that time.

The statement in the *Shiji* 史記, ch.116, "爲求道西十餘輩歲餘皆閉昆明 (sent ten or more parties to the west to find out the way to Shendu 身毒 for them. The Han 漢 envoys waited over a year, but all the roads had been closed off by the Kunming 昆明)" is noted as "爲求道四歲餘皆閉昆明(sent men to find out the way to Shendu 身毒 for them. The Han 漢 envoys waited over four years, but all the roads had been closed off by the Kunming 昆明)" in the parallel passage of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 95. In my opinion, "四" must have been a textual error for "西", and the three characters "十餘輩" are lost.

The *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, also records that, "A t this time Han 漢 had destroyed Yue 越, and the southwestern barbarians and Shu 蜀 were all alarmed. They requested the establishment of officials, and attended at court. The prefectures of Yizhou 益州, Yuexi 越巂, Zangke 牂柯,

Shenli 沈黎, and Wenshan 汶山 were founded, with the intention that, as these lands adjoined each other, it would be possible to advance thereby and make communication with Daxia 大夏. Over ten envoys, Bai Shichang 柏始昌, Lü Yueren 呂越人, and others, were dispatched annually to leave by way of these new prefectures for Daxia 大夏. They were blocked by Kunming 昆莫, the members being killed and robbed of their valuables and goods. Envoys were ultimately unable to get through and to make communication with Daxia 大夏". Of the new prefectures Yizhou 益州 was the furthest southwest of Han 漢. According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 116, "the king of Dian 滇 was presented with the seal of the king and restored to the position of leader of the people" after the state of Dian 滇 and its neighbors, Laojin 勞漫, Mimo 靡莫, etc., were made into Yizhou 益州 Prefecture in the second year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 109). Thus "of the hundreds of native rulers among the southwestern barbarians, only those of Yelang 夜郎 and Dian 滇 were granted the seals of kings. Dian 滇, although a relatively small fief, still enjoys the highest favor with the emperor". We can infer from this that the Han 漢 envoys who wanted "to leave by way of these new prefectures to reach Daxia 大夏" had to go through Yizhou 益州 Prefecture and get the help of the king of Dian 滇. It is possible that the king of Dian 滇, overtly agreeing but covertly opposing, did not do his best "to find out the way" for the Han 漢 before the prefecture was established, but this possibility was practically nonexistent after the prefecture had been established, because the king of Dian 滇 was presented with the seal and enjoyed "the highest favor with the emperor". The reason "envoys were ultimately unable to get through and make communication with Daxia 大夏" may be that there were really no possible ways.

After this, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, "Han 漢 thereupon sent out troops from the convicts of the metropolitan district; and sent the two generals Guo Chang 郭昌 and Wei Guang 衛廣 in command of soldiers by the ten thousand from Ba 巴 and Shu 蜀, to attack the Kunming 昆明 who had intercepted the Han 漢 envoys, when several tens of thousands of the tribesmen were beheaded or made prisoners by the Han 漢 army before it withdrew. Subsequently envoys were again sent out, but the Kunming 昆明 again robbed them and they were ultimately unable to get through". Han's 漢 attack upon the Kunming 昆明, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 6, was in the sixth year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 105).

Emperor Wu's 武 management of the southwestern barbarians for the purpose of making communication with Daxia 大夏 ended in failure.

In sum, the Western Han 漢 was unable to open up the way to Shu-Shendu 蜀-身毒 during the reign of Emperor Wu 武. It may be that this is because the objective conditions needed to open up such a way could not be satisfied at the time, and it should not be attributed to the Kunming's 昆明 plunder. The Western Han's 漢 envoys were obstructed and plundered by the various states on the way when they were sent to the Western Regions by the Northern and Southern Routes. This did not block the communication between Han and the states on the Northern and Southern Routes. This can be taken as collateral evidence. break off

Following the statement "the Kunming 昆明 again robbed them and they were ultimately unable to get through", the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, continues that "on the other hand, missions to Daxia 大夏 by the Northern Route, via Jiuquan 酒泉, had by their frequency caused the foreign states to be less and less interested in the Han's 漢 valuables, which they no longer appreciated". Since it was impossible to go through the lands of the southwestern barbarians Han 漢 had to go by way of Jiuquan 酒泉, not only to Daxia 大夏, but also to Shendu 身毒.

Zhang Qian 張騫 sent his deputy envoy to Shendu 身毒 when he was sent to Wusun 烏孫 as an envoy at the beginning of the *Yuanding* 元鼎 reign-period (ca. 116). The deputy envoy certainly went by the Northern and Southern Routes in the Western Regions from Jiuquan 酒泉 Prefecture.

According to the edict of Emperor Wu 武, recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61 (Memoir on Li Guangli 李廣利), the various states to the west of Weixu 危須 had made a compact and killed the envoys from the state of Shendu 身毒. Since the state of Shendu 身毒 sent its envoys to Han 漢 by the Northern Route, this is further evidence to prove that there was no "direct route" assumed by Zhang Qian 張騫 during the reign of Emperor Wu 武.

H

Wusun 烏孫 was also one of the states that Zhang Qian 張騫 heard about during his first mission to the Western Regions. The Wusun 烏孫 people were originally nomads in the present-day Hami 哈密 area. In about B.C. 177/176 the Xiongnu 匈奴 attacked the Yuezhi 月氏, and the

latter were utterly defeated. They abandoned their former lands and moved west to the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers. It is very possible that the Yuezhi 月氏 pounded the Wusun 烏孫 and killed their king when they made their retreat. The rest of the Wusun 烏孫 went to the Xiongnu 匈奴 for shelter. In about B.C. 130, supported by the Xiongnu 匈奴, the Wusun 烏孫 went on an expedition to the Yuezhi 月氏, who had removed west, and drove the Yuezhi 月氏 away. The Wusun 烏孫 occupied the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers from then on.³²

In the second year of the *Yuanshou* 元狩 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (B.C. 121), the King of Hunxie 渾邪 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 surrendered to Han 漢. In the fourth year (B.C. 119), the Han 漢 army attacked and drove the Xiongnu 匈奴 to the north of the desert. Thus the former land of the Wusun 烏孫 was empty of the Xiongnu 匈奴. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61, Zhang Qian 張騫 considered that "Barbarians love their former lands and are also greedy for Han 漢 goods" and suggested to Emperor Wu 武 that "If we could only make use of the present opportunity to send generous presents to Wusun 烏孫, and induce [its people] to move east and live in their old lands; and if Han 漢 would send a princess to be the consort of [the king] and establish brotherly relations, the situation would be such that they would agree, and this would result in cutting off the right arm of the Xiongnu 匈奴. Once a link has been forged with Wusun 烏孫, the states such as Daxia 大夏 to its west could all be induced to come to court and become outer subjects of Han 漢". Emperor Wu 武 agreed with Zhang Qian's 張騫 advice and "appointed Zhang Qian 張騫 to be Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, with a force of three hundred men; each man had two horses, and their cattle and sheep were counted by the ten thousand. He took gold, valuables and silk that was worth an enormous amount" on a mission to Wusun 烏孫 in the first or second year of the *Yuanding* 元鼎 reign-period (B.C. 116 or 115). The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, says:

Having delivered the [imperial] presents, [Zhang] Qian [張]騫 gave [the *Kunmo* 昆莫] a message of guidance from the Han 漢 emperor, saying: "If the [people of] Wusun 烏孫 are able to move east and dwell in their former lands, then Han 漢 will send a princess to be [the *Kunmo*'s 昆莫] wife, and a fraternal alliance will be formed; we will together stand against the Xiongnu 匈奴 who will not be hard to

defeat". Wusun 烏孫 thought that Han 漢 was remote, and had no informed idea of its size. Moreover [Wusun 烏孫] was close to the Xiongnu 匈奴, to whom it had been subject for a long period. None of the senior officials of Wusun 烏孫 wished to move. The *Kunmo* 昆莫 was old; and, the state being divided, he was unable to exercise complete and single control. So he sent out envoys to escort [Zhang] Qian [張]騫 [back], and to take the opportunity to present the emperor with horses, numbered by the tens, and to reply [to his message] with apologies. The *Kunmo*'s 昆莫 envoys returned to their state after observing the large numbers of Han 漢 people and the abundance of Han's 漢 wealth; and thereafter the state's appreciation of Han 漢 was considerably enhanced.

In my opinion, having established its state in the valley of the Ili and Chu rivers, as recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61 (Memoir on Zhang Qian 張騫), the Wusun 烏孫 "was no longer willing to attend at the court of the Xiongnu 匈奴 and serve them" after *Chanyu* 單于 Junchen 軍臣 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 died. However its land lay close to the Xiongnu 匈奴, and thus was controlled by the Xiongnu 匈奴. This must have been the primary cause that Zhang Qian 張騫 still was unable to rouse the interest of the Wusun 烏孫. Of course, other factors, such as the state being divided, the king being old, the state being remote to Han 漢 and so on were also effective to a certain extent. Of these, the most important factor was that "Wusun 烏孫 thought that Han 漢 was remote, and had no informed idea of its size", which meant that none of the senior officials of Wusun 烏孫 wished to move. Its envoys, following Zhang Qian 張騫, arrived in Chang'an 長安 and then returned to their state, reporting Han's 漢 prosperity and strength. "Thereafter the state's appreciation of Han 漢 was considerably enhanced". Stronger appreciation of Han 漢 meant that fear of the Xiongnu 匈奴 was weakened slightly. This was the beginning of the Wusun 烏孫 approach to an alliance with Han 漢.

The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, also records that "Hearing that Wusun 烏孫 was in contact with Han 漢, the Xiongnu 匈奴 grew angry and wished to attack. Moreover, when the Han 漢 envoys to Wusun 烏孫 came to leave thence by the south, they made their way to Dayuan 大宛 and the Yuezhi 月氏 continuously without interruption. Wusun 烏孫 now grew apprehensive,

and sent envoys with presents of horses [to the emperor], in the hope of obtaining a princess in marriage and of forming a fraternal alliance". The Han 漢 officials advised that "[the request of Wusun 烏孫] should be granted, with the stipulation that only when the marriage gifts had been delivered to the court should a girl be sent". Thus, according to the same chapter,

Wusun 烏孫 provided a marriage gift of 1,000 horses; and during the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 110–105) Han 漢 sent Xijun 緡君, daughter of [Liu] Jian [劉]建, king of Jiangdu 江都, as a princess to wed [the *Kunmo* 昆莫]. The presents included imperial carriages, wearing apparel, and equipment for imperial use. There was established for her an official staff, and a complement of several hundred eunuchs and serving attendants, and she was sent off with a very rich store of gifts. The *Kunmo* 昆莫 of Wusun 烏孫 appointed her to be a Lady of the Right. The Xiongnu 匈奴 similarly sent a girl to be a wife for the *Kunmo* 昆莫, who appointed her to be a Lady of the Left.

It has been suggested that the date that Princess Jingdu 江都 married the *Kunmo* 昆莫 of the Wusun 烏孫 must have been in the sixth year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 105).³³ In my opinion, the evidence is inadequate. For according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94A,

Han 漢 sent Yang Xin 楊信 as an envoy to the Xiongnu 匈奴. At this time the Han 漢 forces in the east had conquered the Huimo 濊貉 and the state of Chaoxian 朝鮮 and made prefectures out of them, while in the west the Han 漢 had created the Jiuquan 酒泉 Prefecture in order to drive a wedge between the Xiongnu 匈奴 and the Qiang 羌 and cut off communications between them. It had also established relations with the Yuezhi 月氏 and Daxia 大夏 farther west and had sent a princess to marry the king of the Wusun 烏孫, all in an effort to create a split between the Xiongnu 匈奴 and the states to the west which had up to this time aided and supported them.

Therefore, to send "a princess to marry the king of the Wusun 烏孫" must have been before Yang Xin 楊信 was sent as an envoy to the Xiongnu 匈奴. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 6, "in

the autumn [of the fourth year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 107)] an envoy was sent to the Xiongnu 匈奴 to persuade them because their strength was on the wane, and it was possible that they would submit to Han 漢". The envoy who was sent to the Xiongnu 匈奴 was Yang Xin 楊信. The princess's marriage to the *Kunmo* 昆莫, therefore, could not be later than the autumn of the fourth year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 107).³⁴

The fact that the *Kunmo* 昆莫 of Wusun 烏孫 married the Han 漢 princess shows that the Wusun 烏孫 no longer leaned towards the Xiongnu 匈奴. The *Kunmo* 昆莫 appointed the Xiongnu's 匈奴 princess to be Lady of the Left, for the Xiongnu 匈奴 advocated the left. This shows that the accumulated prestige of the Xiongnu 匈奴 still existed. When the Xiongnu 匈奴 heard that Wusun 烏孫 was in contact with Han 漢, they grew angry and wished to attack. Yet the Xiongnu 匈奴 married their princess to the *Kunmo* 昆莫 after Wusun 烏孫 had married the Han 漢 princess. It is clear that the Xiongnu 匈奴 lacked the strength to attack Wusun 烏孫. And Wusun 烏孫 raised its own standing in the Xiongnu's 匈奴 eyes by marrying the Han 漢 princess.

The fact that the Han 漢 princess married the *Kunmo* 昆莫 of Wusun 烏孫 does not show that the alliance against the Xiongnu 匈奴 that Emperor Wu 武 desired had actually been securely established. According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, when Li Guangli 李廣利 embarked on his expedition against Dayuan 大宛, Emperor Wu 武 "sent messengers to notify Wusun 烏孫 that it should call out large forces for a joint attack on [Da]yuan [大]宛. Wusun 烏孫 sent out 2,000 cavalry to go there, but refused to commit itself, and would not advance". The target of the Han 漢 attack was Dayuan 大宛, which indicates all the more clearly what the Wusun's 烏孫 behaviour would have been if the Han 漢 had attacked the Xiongnu 匈奴.

It is probable that after the third or fourth year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 108 or 107), Wusun 烏孫 was unwilling to alienate either party, Han 漢 or the Xiongnu 匈奴, and even Han 漢 or the strong states in the Western Regions. Li Guangli's 李廣利 first attack upon Dayuan 大宛 was defeated, but Emperor Wu 武 was unwilling to disband the army that had been sent against [Da]yuan [大]宛. On the basis of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, one of the causes is that Dayuan 大宛 was a small state, and "if Han 漢 was unable to reduce it", "Wusun 烏孫 and Luntou 侖頭 would easily harass Han 漢 envoys". And from the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir

on Fu Jiezi 傅介子), it can be seen that there were mission contacts between the Xiongnu 匈奴 and the Wusun 烏孫 down to the *Yuanfeng* 元鳳 reign-period of Emperor Zhao 昭 (B.C. 80–75). Marital alliance with the Wusun 烏孫 proved to be a very slow way “to cut off the right arm of the Xiongnu 匈奴”.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that “The *Kunmo* 昆莫 was old and wished to have his grandson the *Cenzou* 岑陬 married to the princess. However, she would not consent, and sent a written message to [the emperor] describing the state of affairs. The Son of Heaven replied ‘You should follow the customs of the state. I wish to make common cause with Wusun 烏孫 to destroy the Hu 胡 (Xiongnu 匈奴)’. The *Cenzou* 岑陬 then took the princess as a wife; and when the *Kunmo* 昆莫 died, the *Cenzou* 岑陬 was established in his place. [The term] ‘*Cenzou* 岑陬’ is the title of an office, and the man’s name was Junxumi 軍須靡. [The term] ‘*Kunmo* 昆莫’ is the title of the king, whose name was Liejiaomi 獵驕靡. Hereafter [the term] will be written ‘*Kunmi* 昆彌’. The *Cenzou* 岑陬 was married to the princess of Jiangdu 江都, and she bore one daughter named Shaofu 少夫. At the death of the princess, Han 漢 for a second time appointed a princess to be wife of the *Cenzou* 岑陬, in the person of Xieyou 解憂, granddaughter of Wu 戊, king of Chu 楚”. In my opinion, the date when the *Kunmo* 昆莫, Liejiaomi 獵驕靡, had died and Junxumi 軍須靡 was established in his place, according to the “*Hanji* 漢紀” of the *Zhizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑿, is given under the sixth year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 105). Junxumi 軍須靡 was married to the Jiangdu 江都 princess before he “was established in his place”. Since in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is recorded of the Jiangdu 江都 princess that “once or twice a year she had a meeting with the *Kunmo* 昆莫” after she had married Liejiaomi 獵驕靡; Xijun 細君 arrived in Wusun 烏孫 probably in the third year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 108), and she died in the sixth year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 105) or the first year of the *Taichu* 太初 reign-period (B.C. 104). The latter must have been the date when *Cenzou* 岑陬 was married to Xieyou 解憂.

Emperor Wu 武 ordered Xijun 細君 to follow the customs of Wusun 烏孫 and marry *Cenzou* 岑陬, and he ordered Xieyou 解憂 to marry the *Cenzou* 岑陬 as soon as Xijun 細君 died, which shows that his plan to form an alliance with Wusun 烏孫 was very firm.

When the *Cenzou* 岑陬 died, Wengguimi 翁歸靡, the son of his father's younger brother, the *Dalu* 大祿, was established in his place. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, "After his accession Wengguimi 翁歸靡 was called the Fei 肥 (fat) king; in his turn he was wedded to Xieyou 解憂, princess of Chu 楚".³⁵ In the same chapter, it is also recorded that,

During the time of Emperor Zhao 昭, the princess sent a written message [to the emperor] saing: "The Xiongnu 匈奴 have called out cavalry to work the land at Jushi 車師; Jushi 車師 and the Xiongnu 匈奴 are forming a single unit to attack Wusun 烏孫 in concert; only the Son of Heaven is in a position to save Wusun 烏孫". Han 漢 was rearing horses for military [use]; and after taking counsel [the government] decided to attack the Xiongnu 匈奴. But at that juncture Emperor Zhao 昭 died. As soon as Emperor Xuan 宣 had acceded to the throne, the princess and the *Kunmi* 昆彌 both sent envoys with letters saying: "The Xiongnu 匈奴 have time and again sent out large forces to penetrate and attack Wusun 烏孫, and again taken the lands of Juyan 車延 and Wushi 惡師, removing the inhabitants. They have sent envoys ordering Wusun 烏孫 to bring the princess with all speed, and they wish [Wusun 烏孫] to sever relations with Han 漢. The *Kunmi* 昆彌 is willing to put half the state's best troops in the field; he will himself produce 50,000 cavalry, men and horse, and will exert his strength to the utmost to attack the Xiongnu 匈奴. It rests only with the Son of Heaven to send out a force so as to save the pricess and the *Kunmi* 昆彌".

Then "Han 漢 called out a large force which amounted to 150,000 cavalry, with five generals setting out by separate routes at the same time". And "Changhui 常惠, a Colonel, was sent with emblems of authority to act as protector of the forces of Wusun 烏孫. The *Kunmi* 昆彌 took personal command of 50,000 cavalry [led by] the *Xihou* 翮侯 and lesser [officers], and made his way from the western side into the court of the Luli 谷蠡 King of the Right. He took prisoner a paternal relative of the *Chanyu* 單于 and his sister-in-law, *Juci* 居次 (noble women), famous kings, and 40,000 men including the Commandant of Liwu 犁汙, Chiefs of the Thousands and Leaders of Cavalry, in addition to over 700,000 head of horse, cattle, sheep, asses, and camels.

The [men of] Wusun 烏孫 themselves took all their booty away, and on his return [Chang] Hui [常]惠 was invested with the title of Marquis of Changluo 長羅; [these events occurred] in the third year of the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period (B.C. 71). Han 漢 sent [Chang] Hui [常]惠 with gold and valuables as presents for the Wusun 烏孫 noblemen who had served with merit”.

In my opinion, in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94A, the statement that the Xiongnu 匈奴 “sent an envoy to Wusun 烏孫 and wished to get the Han 漢 princess, and attacked Wusun 烏孫 and again took the lands of Juyan 車延 and Wushi 惡師” appears before the statement “Emperor Zhao 昭 died”. This shows that the statement in the princess’s written message to the emperor, as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, was talking about the past.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 8, it is recorded that in the autumn of the second year of the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period (B.C. 72), “There was a great mobilization, the raising and appointment of light chariots and valiant soldiers from east of the [Hangu 函谷] Pass. Selections were made from the officials [ranking at] three hundred piculs in the prefectures and states, and the stout, strong, and experienced horsemen and archers were all [sent] to go with the army. The Imperial Counsellor, Tian Guangming 田廣明, was made the General of the Qilian 祁連; the General of the Rear, Zhao Chongguo 趙充國, was made the General of the Pulei 蒲類; and the Grand Administrator of Yunzhong 雲中, Tian Shun 田順, was made the Tiger’s Teeth General. Together with the General Who Crosses the Liao 遼 [River], Fan Mingyou 范明友, and the General of the Van, Han Zeng 韓增, [there were] altogether five generals with an army of one hundred fifty thousand horsemen. The Colonel Chang Hui 常惠, bearing credentials, [was sent] to aid the army of the Wusun 烏孫. All [were sent] to attack the Xiongnu 匈奴”. In the same chapter, it is also recorded that in the first month of the third year, “on the day *wuchen* 戊辰, the five generals and their armies started from Chang’an 長安. In the summer, in the fifth month, the armies were disbanded. The General of the Qilian 祁連, [Tian] Guangming [田]廣明, and the Tiger’s Teeth General, [Tian] Shun [田]順, had committed crimes and were given into the charge of the [high] officials. Both killed themselves. The Colonel Chang Hui 常惠, leading the army of the Wusun 烏孫, penetrated into the western [part of] the Xiongnu 匈奴 territory and made great conquests and captures, so he was enfeoffed as a marquis”.³⁶ On the basis of these records, we know that the five generals’ force was called out in the autumn of the second year of the *Benshi*

本始 reign-period, and they set out in the first month of the next year, from Chang'an 長安. The war ended in the fifth month.

However, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 17, Chang Hui 常惠 was invested with the title of Marquis of Changluo 長羅 in the fourth month of the fourth year of the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period (B.C. 70). Therefore, the dates are noted as "the third year" in the above-quoted chapters because they were mentioned in passing. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Chang Hui 常惠), it is recorded that "The Son of Heaven invested [Chang] Hui [常]惠 with the title of Marquis of Changluo 長羅 because he was sent as an envoy by order of the emperor and made great conquests and captures. And he again sent [Chang] Hui [常]惠 with gold and valuables as presents for the Wusun 烏孫 noblemen who had served with merit". Since it is clear that Chang Hui 常惠 bestowed presents on the Wusun 烏孫 noblemen after he had been invested with the title of Marquis of Changluo 長羅, the fourth year of *Benshi* 本始 (B.C. 70) is possible.

After Xijun 細君 died, Han 漢 married another princess, Xieyou 解憂, to the *Kunmo* 昆莫 of Wusun 烏孫. The relationship between Han 漢 and Wusun 烏孫 was becoming steadily closer, which, of course, disturbed the Xiongnu 匈奴. It is obvious that the Xiongnu 匈奴 launched an attack upon Wusun 烏孫 as soon as it was allied with Jushi 車師, in order to force Wusun 烏孫 to break off contact with Han 漢. Unexpectedly, things turned out contrary to their wishes: the attack forced Wusun 烏孫 to lean to the Han 漢 side completely. One can easily imagine what kind of role the princess played. The war in the third year of the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period (B.C. 71) marked a change in Wusun's 烏孫 attitude, which was equivocal no longer. The policy toward Wusun 烏孫 pursued by Han 漢 since Emperor Wu 武 in the end brought results. In fact, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Chang Hui 常惠), Chang Hui 常惠 ordered his deputy envoy to call out seven thousand of Wusun's 烏孫 soldiers and the forces from the various states to attack Qiuci 龜茲 as soon as he had distributed gold and valuables as presents to the Wusun 烏孫 noblemen who had served with merit. The rebellion of the Wusun 烏孫 was the most frustration the Xiongnu 匈奴 had suffered since they began managing the Western Regions. The defeat during the third year of the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period (B.C. 71) made them nearly unable to recover. This is the basic reason for Huhaxie 呼韓邪 service to the Han 漢 afterwards.³⁷

The above is the first stage of the relationship between the Western Regions and Wusun 烏孫: from the beginning of the *Yuanding* 元鼎 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (ca. B.C. 116) to the third year of the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (B.C. 71). In this stage Wusun 烏孫 wavered between the Western Han 漢 and the Xiongnu 匈奴.

I

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that "In the second year of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 64), the *Kunmi* 昆彌 of Wusun 烏孫 availed himself [of the services of Chang 常] Hui 惠 to send a letter [to the emperor.] 'He wished to have Yuanguimi 元歸靡, whose grandmother had been of Han 漢 extraction, appointed as his heir, and to be able to bring about a further marriage with a Han 漢 princess so as to strengthen family ties. He would turn his back [on former loyalties] and make a complete break with the Xiongnu 匈奴, and would be willing to provide marriage gifts of a thousand horses and mules each'. It was commanded that the senior ministers of state should consider the matter. Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之, the Superintendent of State Visits, took the view that 'Wusun 烏孫 was situated in a remote, isolated region; it would therefore be difficult to guard against untoward events, and [the request] should not be granted'. The emperor thought highly of the great service recently rendered by the Wusun 烏孫, and, moreover, took a serious view of relinquishing the work of his forebears. So he sent an envoy to go to Wusun 烏孫 to take prior delivery of the marriage gifts. The *Kunmi* 昆彌 and the heir apparent, together with the Supreme Leaders of the Left and the Right and the Commandant all sent an embassy, consisting of altogether more than 300 persons, to come to Han 漢 to fetch the princess for her marriage. The emperor thereupon appointed Xiangfu 相夫, [daughter of] the younger brother of Xieyou 解憂, princess of Wusun 烏孫, to be the princess. He established an official staff and complement of over 100 serving attendants, who were lodged in the Shanglin 上林 [Park] to study the language of Wusun 烏孫. The Son of Heaven attended in person at the Pingle 平樂 Lodge. He called a meeting of the Xiongnu 匈奴 envoys and the leading chiefs of the outer states, and after a display of wrestling and a musical entertainment sent the party on their way. [Chang Hui 常惠], Marquis of Changluo 長羅 and Counsellor of the Palace was appointed deputy [envoy] and altogether four men bearing credentials escorted the princess as far

as Dunhuang 敦煌. But before they had passed beyond the defence lines it was reported that Wengguimi 翁歸靡, the *Kunmi* 昆彌 of the Wusun 烏孫, had died, and that the noblemen of Wusun 烏孫 had together complied with the original agreement, establishing Nimi 泥靡, son of the *Cenzou* 岑陬, to be *Kunmi* 昆彌 in his place; he was entitled *Kuang* 狂 (the Mad) King. [Chang] Hui [常]惠 reported in writing [to the emperor] suggesting that 'the princess should be detained at Dunhuang 敦煌 and that he himself should proceed on horseback with all speed to Wusun 烏孫, where he would reproach [the noblemen] for not establishing Yuanguimi 元歸靡 as the *Kunmi* 昆彌; he would then return and fetch the princess'. The matter was referred to the senior ministers of state, and [Xiao] Wangzhi [蕭]望之 again took the view that 'Wusun's 烏孫 attitude was equivocal, and that it was impossible to enter into an agreement with [that state]. Previously a princess had been in Wusun 烏孫 for over forty years; [in spite of] the favour and kindness [shown to Wusun 烏孫], an intimate friendship had not been created and the border lands had not attained a state of peace. This was the evidence of the events of the past; the return of the princess at the present juncture, when Yuanguimi 元歸靡 had not been established [as *Kunmi* 昆彌], would involve no breach of faith towards the barbarians and would be a fortunate matter for the Middle Kingdom. But if the princess were not kept back, conscripts would be called up for service, such actions starting from this incident'. The Son of Heaven followed this advice, and summoned the princess for recall".

In my opinion, all the matters mentioned in the above passage in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, according to the "Hanji 漢紀" of the *Zhizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, are given under the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period (B.C. 60). The stylistic rules and layout of the *Zhizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒 determines this; thus one should not consider that it is a chronological error. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 75, it is recorded that "In the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period (B.C. 60), [Han 漢] sent Chang Hui 常惠, the Marquis of Changluo 長羅, to escort the princess to marry Yuanguimi 元歸靡. ... [Chang] Hui [常]惠 arrived in Wusun 烏孫 to reproach Wusun 烏孫 for breaking its promise and established Yuanguimi 元歸靡 as *Kunmi* 昆彌, and then fetched the princess and returned". From this it can be seen "to escort the princess" took place in the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period. The *Tongjian Kaoyi* 通鑒考異 considers that "*Yunakang* 元康" is an error and should be corrected into "*Shenjue* 神爵".

However, this is incorrect.³⁸ The date that Wengguimi 翁歸靡 made his offer of marriage was really in the second year of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 64). In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 75, it is recorded that "Previous to this, Wengguimi 翁歸靡, the *Kunmi* 昆彌 of Wusun 烏孫, availed himself [of the services of Chang 常] Hui 惠 to send a letter [to the emperor]. He wished to have Yuanguimi 元歸靡, whose grandmother had been a princess of Han 漢, appointed as his heir and to be able to bring about a further marriage with a Han 漢 princess". It is also evidence that Wengguimi 翁歸靡 made his offer of marriage and Chang Hui 常惠 escorted the princess in different year.

The above-quoted passage in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, shows that a great turn in the relationship between the Western Han 漢 and Wusun 烏孫 occurred during the reign-periods from *Yuankang* 元康 to *Shenjue* 神爵.

Emperor Wu 武 wished to send a princess to be the consort of [the *Kunmo* 昆莫] and establish brotherly relations with Wusun 烏孫, when he sent Zhang Qian 張騫 as an envoy to Wusun 烏孫. Later Wusun 烏孫 provided a marriage gift of one thousand horses in order to marry the Han 漢 princess, and establish brotherly relations with Han 漢. Both tried to establish an equal relationship. As a result of Han's 漢 marrying Xijun 細君 to the *Kunmo* 昆莫, and Han's 漢 having Xijun 細君 follow the customs of Wusun 烏孫 and marry the grandson of the *Kunmo* 昆莫, this relationship in the end was established.

The relationship between Han 漢 and Wusun 烏孫 was not an obstacle to the establishment of a similar relationship between Wusun 烏孫 and the Xiongnu 匈奴. In fact, it is possible that Han's 漢 marriage of the princess to the *Kunmo* 昆莫 of Wusun 烏孫 to some extent improved Wusun's 烏孫 position as a Xiongnu 匈奴 dependency. The relationship between Han 漢 and Wusun 烏孫 was based on Wusun's 烏孫 remaining neutral between Han 漢 and the Xiongnu 匈奴. This might have accorded with Wusun's 烏孫 self-interest, but not with Han's 漢 original idea. This is the reason for Xiao Wangzhi's 蕭望之 complaint that Wusun's 烏孫 "attitude was equivocal, and that it was impossible to enter into an agreement with [that state]".

The equivocal policy of Wusun 烏孫 also led to the dissatisfaction of the Xiongnu 匈奴, who wished to attack Wusun 烏孫 to get the princess. In the end a war broke out in the third year

of the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period (B.C. 71). As a result of the war, the relationship between Wusun 烏孫 and the Xiongnu 匈奴 was broken off. Thus, in the second year of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 64), Wengguimi 翁歸靡 advanced a plan to bring about a further marriage with a Han 漢 princess so as to strengthen family ties, turning his back [on former loyalties] and making a complete break with the Xiongnu 匈奴, and Emperor Xuan 宣 agreed with him. This meant that Han 漢 officially declared that Han 漢 had allied itself with Wusun 烏孫. Of course, Wengguimi's 翁歸靡 wish to marry the Han 漢 princess to Yuanguimi 元歸靡 was also in order to obtain foreign support for his son's accession. Emperor Wu's 武 aim, to form an alliance by marriage with Wusun 烏孫, was now completely achieved.

The relationship between Han 漢 and Wusun 烏孫 changed gradually, however, from the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period and even from *Benshi* 本始 reign-period. This is because, after the third year of the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period (B.C. 71), the Xiongnu's 匈奴 force waned day by day and no longer intimidated Han 漢, and Wusun 烏孫 could not restore its former relationship with the Xiongnu 匈奴 and revive the old attitude of being "unwilling to alienate either party". In other words, the base that the Western Han 漢 sought and maintained in its alliance with Wusun 烏孫 by marriage did not exist anymore. In the end Han 漢 did not marry a princess to the *Kunmo* 昆莫 of Wusun 烏孫. The turning point came when Yuanguimi 元歸靡 was not established as *Kunmi* 昆彌 by Wusun 烏孫. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 75, it is recorded that "Later, although Wusun 烏孫 divided its state and both the *Kunmi* 昆彌 were coexistent, Yuanguimi 元歸靡 was established as the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌, Han 漢 no longer intermarried with the Wusun 烏孫". The primary cause was that the situation had changed.

As to the fact that Emperor Xuan 宣 had allowed the Wusun's 烏孫 request in the second year of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 64), the cause was simply that "the emperor thought highly of the great service recently rendered by the Wusun 烏孫, and, moreover, took a serious view of relinquishing the work of his forebears". The original proposal was no longer in effect as soon as the excuse had been found.

On the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 75, we know that Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之 esteemed Confucianism and thus was against opening up border areas and promoting their benefit.³⁹ By contrast, Emperor Xuan 宣 "did not follow Confucianism". Therefore Xiao Wangzhi's 蕭望之

opposition to the marriage to Wusun 烏孫 did not necessarily suit the views of Emperor Xuan 宣. Emperor Xuan 宣 therefore resolved to summon "the princess for recal" not so much out of worry that "conscripts would be called up for service" as that there was no need to bring about a further marriage with Wusun's 烏孫 *Kunmo* 昆莫 to strengthen family ties.

From Xiao Wangzhi's 蕭望之 comment it is clear that some Han 漢 senior officials had disapproved of the policy of marrying into Wusun 烏孫 since the time of Emperor Wu 武.⁴⁰ It was really true that "Wusun's 烏孫 attitude was equivocal, and that it was impossible to enter into an agreement with [that state]" since Han 漢 had married its princess to Wusun 烏孫. But, as mentioned above, this is because Wusun 烏孫 had to do so in view of the benefits to itself. Wusun 烏孫 could not lean to the Han 漢 side, if the Western Han's 漢 forces were not superior to those of the Xiongnu 匈奴 in the wars. It should be noted that in spite of the princess in Wusun 烏孫 for over forty years, and "the favour and kindness [shown to Wusun 烏孫], an intimate friendship had not been created and the border lands had not attained a state of peace", one should not completely disallow the affect of the alliance formed by marriage with Wusun 烏孫 in Han's 漢 course to defeat the Xiongnu 匈奴 and manage the Western Regions. It is enough to explain it that both the princess and the *Kunmi* 昆彌 of Wusun 烏孫 sent written messages to the Han 漢 emperor at the beginning of the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period.

The above is the second stage of the relationship between the Western Regions and Wusun 烏孫, lasting from the third year of the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period (B.C. 71) to the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period (B.C. 60) of Emperor Xuan 宣. In this stage Wusun 烏孫 became an ally of Han 漢, although the alliance in fact was formed in the third year of the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period (B.C. 71), and announced in the second year of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 64).

J

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that "The Mad King was in his turn married to Xieyou 解憂, princess of Chu 楚, who bore one son Chimi 鴟摩. [The Mad King] did not live in a state of amity with the princess; in addition he was oppressive and wicked and lost the goodwill of the people. When the Han 漢 envoy, the Guards' Major Wei Heyi 魏和意, and the

deputy, the Captain Ren Chang 任昌, escorted [back to Wusun 烏孫] the son who had served as an attendant [in Han 漢], the princess said that the Mad King was a source of distress and suffering to Wusun 烏孫 and could easily be punished. A plot was then laid for a banquet to be sent out; at the conclusion of the gathering a soldier was to be sent in to draw his sword and strike the king. The sword [struck him] on his side, and the Mad King, though wounded, mounted his horse and galloped off. His son Xishenshou 細沈瘦 assembled troops and surrounded [Wei] Heyi [魏]和意, [Ren] Chang [任]昌, and the princess in the town of Chigu 赤谷. Several months later Zheng Ji 鄭吉, the Protector General, called out forces of the various states to relieve them, and they were then set free. Han 漢 sent Zhang Zun 張遵, leader of the gentlemen of the palace, to take medicines to cure the Mad King and to give him a present of 20 catties of gold and coloured silks. Using the opportunity to take [Wei] Heyi [魏]和意 and [Ren] Chang [任]昌 in custody, he had them bound in chains and sent in a criminals' van from Weili 尉犁 to Chang'an 長安, where they were beheaded. Zhang Weng 張翁, Aide-in-chief of the General of Chariots and Cavalry was left to investigate the case of the plot of the princess and the envoys to kill the Mad King. The princess did not admit to the charge and, striking her head on the ground, denied complicity. Zhang Weng 張翁 seized her head by the hair and roundly reviled her. The princess sent in a written report, and on his return [Zhang] Weng [張]翁 was brought up on a charge and put to death. Ji Du 季都, a deputy envoy, separately brought a physician to attend the Mad King, who, accompanied by over ten horsemen, escorted him back. On his return [Ji] Du [季]都 was charged with knowing that the Mad King merited punishment by death and failing to take any action, despite seeing an opportunity to do so. He was sent down to the silkworm house [for castration]". In my opinion, this record is very important, because it shows that the relationship between Han 漢 and Wusun 烏孫 had again reached a new stage. The occurrence was during the *Wufeng* 五鳳 reign-period (B.C. 57–54).⁴¹

The Mad King was in his turn married to Xieyou 解憂, and Han's 漢 alliance with Wusun 烏孫 by marriage formally existed as before. Xieyou's 解憂 mission, however, had not yet been "to make common cause with Wusun 烏孫 to destroy the Hu 胡 (Xiongnu 匈奴)" but to control the Wusun 烏孫 for Han 漢. The Mad King, Nimi 泥靡, was a son of Junxumi 軍須靡 and a princess of the Xiongnu 匈奴. Therefore, the Mad King's accession to the throne did not

square with Han's 漢 plan. The Mad King was oppressive and wicked and lost the good will of the people, and the princess and the Han 漢 envoys plotted to kill him. This is the first time that the Western Han 漢 interfered with the interior of Wusun 烏孫, but it did not brazenly commit the act. The Han 漢 court in fact did not oppose what Wei 魏 and Ren 任 had done. The reason both were beheaded is that they plotted to kill the Mad King but were unsuccessful. This also hoodwinked the people of Wusun 烏孫. Zhang Zun's 張遵 being sent to cure the Mad King and to give him a present of gold and silks was nothing but ostentation. Both Zhang Weng 張翁 and Ji Du 季都 offended because they did not understand the true intentions of the imperial court. Both were the victims of the change in the Western Han's 漢 policy toward Wusun 烏孫.⁴²

In the first year of the *Ganlu* 甘露 reign-period (B.C. 53),⁴³ according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, "in a surprise attack", Wujiutu 烏就屠, son of Wengguimi 翁歸靡 with his wife, who was a Xiongnu 匈奴 princess, "killed the Mad King and set himself up as *Kunmi* 昆彌. Han 漢 sent Xin Wuxian 辛武賢, General of the Conquest of the Qiang 羌, to lead a force of 15,000 men to Dunhuang 敦煌, and messengers were sent to reconnoitre, mark out the courses, and dig [for water] to the west of the Beitihou 卑鞞侯 wells. They wished to construct water-channels for the transport of grain, so that this could be accumulated and stored in the Julu 居廬 Granary in order to defeat [Wujiutu 烏就屠]". And Zheng Ji 鄭吉, the Protector General, sent Lady Feng 馮, an attendant serving Xieyou 解憂 and the wife of the Supreme Leader of the Right of Wusun 烏孫, to urge Wujiutu 烏就屠 that, "as Han 漢 troops were about to set out, and that as [the state] would undoubtedly be destroyed, the best thing to do would be to surrender. Wujiutu 烏就屠 was afraid and said that 'he would like to have the use of a lesser title'. Emperor Xuan 宣 summoned Lady Feng 馮 and asked her personally about the situation; and he sent Zhu Ci 竺次, the Internuncio, with Gan Yanshou 甘延壽, Guard of the Gate, as his deputy, to escort Lady Feng 馮. Lady Feng 馮 [rode in] a carriage decked in brocade and carried emblems of authority, and it was commanded that Wujiutu 烏就屠 should proceed to the Marquis of Changluo 長羅 at the town of Chigu 赤谷. Yuanguimi 元歸靡 was established as the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌 and Wujiutu 烏就屠 as the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌, each one being presented with seals and ribbons. The General of Conquest of the Qiang 羌 (Xin Wuxian 辛武賢) returned without having passed outside the defence lines". In my opinion, this is the start of Han 漢 public interference in Wusun

烏孫 interior affairs. In the end the state of Wusun 烏孫 was divided and ruled because Han 漢 utilized the internal contradictions of Wusun 烏孫, intimidated by superior force, and used both hard and soft tactics. The fact that there was Greater and Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌, each one being presented with seals and ribbons, shows that Wusun 烏孫 had become a dependency of Han 漢.⁴⁴

In the same chapter it is also recorded that "Later Wujiutu 烏就屠 had not made a complete restoration to the *Xihou* 翯侯 of their peoples, and Han 漢 again sent [Chang] Hui [常] 惠, Marquis of Changluo 長羅, to lead three colonelcies to garrison Chigu 赤谷. He took the opportunity to divide the inhabitants and lands for the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌 with over 60,000 households and for the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 with over 40,000. However, the affections of the majority lay with the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌". This took place in the first or second year of the *Ganlu* 甘露 reign-period (B.C. 53 or 52).⁴⁵ It is obviously in order to control Wusun 烏孫 for a long time that following closely the *Kunmis*' 昆彌 being presented with seals and ribbons, Han 漢 set up an agricultural colony there and accumulated a store of crops.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 69 (Memoir on Xin Qingji 辛慶忌), it is also recorded that Xin Qingji 辛慶忌 "had set up an agricultural colony along with Chang Hui 常惠, the Marquis of Changluo 長羅, at the town of Chigu 赤谷 in Wusun 烏孫, and fought against *Xihou* 翯侯, breaking through their lines and beating back the enemy". This shows that Han's 漢 control of Wusun 烏孫 suffered resistance from the Wusun 烏孫 people.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is also recorded that "Yuanguimi 元歸靡 and Chimi 鴟靡 both fell ill and died, and the princess sent a written report to the effect that she was old and her thoughts were with her homeland, and that she would like to be able to bring her bones for burial in Han 漢 territory. The Son of Heaven felt pity for her and had her fetched, and she arrived at the capital city in company with her three grandchildren. These events occurred in the third year of the *Ganlu* 甘露 reign-period (B.C. 51)". In my opinion, the alliance between Han 漢 and Wusun 烏孫 in any form no longer existed after Xieyou 解憂 returned to Han 漢. Xieyou 解憂 happened to finish her mission when "the Son of Heaven felt pity for her and had her fetched".

The above is the third stage of the relationship between the Western Regions and Wusun 烏孫: from the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period (B.C. 60) to the third year of the *Ganlu* 甘露 reign-period (B.C. 51) of Emperor Xuan 宣. In this stage Wusun 烏孫 finished the

course that had changed it into a dependency from being an ally of Han 漢. The mark is Xieyou's 解憂 returning to Han 漢.

K

Han 漢 gave both rewards and punishments to Wusun 烏孫 at its pleasure and used both the mailed fist and the velvet glove after Wusun 烏孫 had become a dependency. Here, on the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, we will enumerate the main facts, referring to other records and briefly to do some textual researches.

1. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that "Xingmi 星靡, son of Yuanguimi 元歸靡, became the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌 in his place; but he was weak,⁴⁶ and Lady Feng 馮 sent a letter suggesting that she should be sent to Wusun 烏孫 to support Xingmi 星靡. Han 漢 sent her there with an escort of a hundred conscripts. Han Xuan 韓宣, the Protector General, submitted a statement suggesting that the Supreme Official, the *Dalu* 大祿, and the Supreme Inspector should all be presented with golden seals and purple ribbons, so as to provide honour and support for the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌, and the emperor gave permission for this. Later the Protector General, Han Xuan 韓宣, submitted a further statement to the effect that Xingmi 星靡 was cowardly and weak, and that he should be dismissed; he should be replaced as *Kunmi* 昆彌 by his uncle *Dalu* 大祿, the Supreme Leader of the Left, but Han 漢 did not give permission for this. Later Duan Huizong 段會宗 was Protector General and recalled those who had fled or rebelled in order to have them settled".

In my opinion, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 8, the date that Xieyou 解憂 returned to Han 漢 was in the winter of the third year of the *Ganlu* 甘露 reign-period (B.C. 51), thus it is possible that Yuanguimi 元歸靡 died and Xingmi 星靡 was established in his place in the same year. Han 漢 did its utmost to assist Xingmi 星靡: it sent Lady Feng 馮 to support him, and presented his officers with golden seals and purple ribbons. Han Xuan's 韓宣 call to dismiss him was not approved, and Duan Huizong 段會宗 recalled those who had fled or rebelled for him. This was solely because Xingmi 星靡 was the son of Yuanguimi 元歸靡. Xingmi 星靡, cowardly and weak, did everything to suit Han's 漢 convenience in further controlling Wusun 烏孫.

2. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that "At Xingmi's 星靡 death, his son Cilimi 雌栗靡 took his place, and at the death of Wujiutu 烏就屠, the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌, his son Fuli 拊離 took his place. He was killed by his younger brother Rier 日貳, and an envoy sent by Han 漢 established Fuli's 拊離 son Anri 安日 as Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌. Rier 日貳 fled and entrusted himself to Kangju 康居 and Han 漢 moved the *Ji* 己 Colonel to garrison Gumo 姑墨, so as to look for a favourable opportunity for attack. Anri 安日 sent Gumoni 姑莫匿 and two other noblemen who were to make a pretence of deserting to Rier in order to stab him to death; and Lian Bao 廉褒, the Protector General, presented Gumoni 姑莫匿 and the others each with twenty catties of gold and 300 rolls of silk".

Some suggest that the date that Xingmi 星靡 died was in the first year of the *Jingning* 竟寧 reign-period (B.C. 33),⁴⁷ and others, at the beginning of the *Jianshi* 建始 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成 (B.C. 32).⁴⁸ In my opinion, since the above-quoted text says that Duan Huizong 段會宗 recalled those who had fled or rebelled for Xingmi 星靡 after he became the Protector General, and his first term as Protector General was from the first year of the *Jingning* 竟寧 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 (B.C. 33) to the third year of the *Jianshi* 建始 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成 (B.C. 30), both these theories are acceptable.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Duan Huizong 段會宗), it is also recorded that "The Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 was established in his place by Duan Huizong 段會宗". Therefore, it can be seen that "the envoy" here refers to Duan Huizong 段會宗. Since the first term of the Protector General expired in the third year of the *Jianshi* 建始 reign-period (B.C. 30), Anri 安日 was established in his place after this year, and the earliest date that Fuli 拊離 was killed was the third year of the *Jianshi* 建始 reign-period, after the term of Duan Huizong 段會宗 expired.⁴⁹

The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Chen Tang 陳湯), says also that "The General Protector of the Western Regions, Duan Huizong 段會宗, once found himself besieged by the Wusun 烏孫 soldiers and sent a message [to the court] by mounted courier desiring that soldiers be sent from the walled towns and Dunhuang 敦煌 to rescue him. The Chancellor Wang Shang 王商⁵⁰, the Supreme General Wang Feng 王鳳, and all the officials debated the question for several days without reaching a decision". The Wusun 烏孫 force that besieged Duan Huizong 段會宗 was possibly that led by Rier 日貳.⁵¹

First, in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19B, it is recorded that "Wang Shang 王商, the General of the Right, was the Chancellor on the day of *jiashen* 甲申 of the third month in the fourth year of the *Jianshi* 建始 reign-period (B.C. 29)". And it is also recorded that "Wang Shang 王商, the Chancellor, was dismissed from his post on the day of *renyin* 壬寅 of the fourth month in the fourth year of the *Heping* 河平 reign-period (B.C. 25)". Since in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Chen Tang 陳湯), it is recorded that Duan Huizong 段會宗 sent a written message [to the emperor], and the Chancellor and others debated the question for several days without reaching a decision, the siege by Wusun 烏孫 forces of Duan Huizong 段會宗 was between B.C. 29 and 25. During this period the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌 of Wusun 烏孫 was Cilimi 雌栗靡 and the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 was Anri 安日. It is impossible that the *Kunmi* 昆彌 who besieged Duan Huizong 段會宗 was Cilimi 雌栗靡 because there was no conflict between Cilimi 雌栗靡 and Han 漢. And Anri 安日 was originally established by Duan Huizong 段會宗. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (the Memoir on Duan Huizong 段會宗), he had gone to Qiuci 龜茲 to call on Duan Huizong 段會宗 because he felt grateful for all Duan Huizong 段會宗 had done during Duan's 段 second term as Protector General. Therefore, it seems impossible that the *Kunmi* 昆彌 who besieged Duan Huizong 段會宗 was Anri 安日. The only man who opposed Han 漢 at that time was Rier 日貳. Rier 日貳 probably sent out troops to besiege Duan Huizong 段會宗 because he was resentful that Duan Huizong 段會宗 had established Anri 安日 as *Kunmi* 昆彌. As a result of his defeat, Rier 日貳 fled and entrusted himself to Kangju 康居. Of course it is also possible that Rier 日貳 had fled to Kangju 康居 first, and then besieged Duan Huizong 段會宗 with the aid of the Kangju's 康居 forces. This matter was not recorded in the "Memoirs on the Western Regions" or the "Memoir on Duan Huizong 段會宗", and it was referred to only when Chen Tang 陳湯 was described in the "Memoir on Chen Tang 陳湯" because the siege was ended after only a few days.

Second, the date when Duan Huizong 段會宗 was besieged, according to the "Hanji 漢紀" of the *Zhizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, is given under the fourth year of the *Jianshi* 建始 reign-period (B.C. 29). Wang Shang 王商 was the Chancellor at that time. It is also quite possible that this is the same year that Duan Huizong 段會宗 was sent as an envoy to Wusun 烏孫 and established Anri 安日 as Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌, and that Rier 日貳 fled and entrusted himself to

Kangju 康居. The fact that Rier 日貳 was killed during Lian Bao's 廉褒 term as Protector General (B.C. 30–27) would not be inconsistent with the above calculation.

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (the Memoir on Duan Huizong 段會宗), Duan Huizong 段會宗 was twice appointed the Protector General of the Western Regions. His second term lasted from the fourth year of the *Yangshuo* 陽朔 reign-period (B.C. 21) to the third year of the *Hongjia* 鴻嘉 reign-period (B.C. 18). Therefore, it is insufficiently precise for Duan Huizong 段會宗, when he was besieged by Rier 日貳, to be called "the Protector General of the Western Regions" in "the Memoir on Duan Huizong 段會宗", just as Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之 in the second year of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 64) was called "the Superintendent of State Visits" in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B.

3. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that "Later Anri 安日 was killed by some of the people who had surrendered, and Han 漢 established his younger brother Mozhenjiang 末振將 in his place. At this time Cilimi 雌栗靡, the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌, was strong and the *Xihou* 翊侯 all submitted to him in fear. He gave notice that people who herded horses or stock animals should not enter the herding lands [under the control of other tribal chiefs], and within the state there was greater peace than had been in the days of Wengguimi 翁歸靡. Mozhenjiang 末振將, the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌, was afraid that he would be taken over and sent Wuriling 烏日領, a nobleman, to make a pretence of surrendering, so as to stab Cilimi 雌栗靡 to death. Han 漢 wished to attack him with troops but was unable to do so. So Duan Huizong 段會宗, Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, was sent to take gold and valuables, and to plan tactics with the Protector General. They established Yizhimi 伊秩靡, grandson of the princess and uncle of Cilimi 雌栗靡, as Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌, and Han 漢 took into custody the son of the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 who was in attendance at the capital city [i.e., Chang'an 長安]. After a long period, Nanqi 難栖, *Xihou* 翊侯 of the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌, killed Mozhenjiang 末振將, and Anlimi 安犁靡, son of Mozhenjiang's 末振將 older brother Anri 安日, became Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 in his place. Han 漢 was angry that he had not personally punished Mozhenjiang 末振將, and again sent Duan Huizong 段會宗 on a mission. He promptly killed the heir apparent, Fanqiu 番丘, and on his return the rank of Marquis of Guanna 關內 was conferred upon him. This was in the second year of the *Yuanyan* 元延 reign-period (B.C. 11)".

In my opinion, the date that Anri 安日 died must have been in the fourth year of the *Hongjia* 鴻嘉 reign-period (B.C. 17) or the first year of the *Yongshi* 永始 reign-period (B.C. 16). According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Duan Huizong 段會宗), "Duan Huizong 段會宗 returned to the court after his term as Protector General had expired. Because he called out the troops under the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel without authorization, he violated the military law called "faxing 乏興". The emperor issued an edict to permit him to mitigate his punishment by paying a ransom, and appointed him governor of Jincheng 金城 Prefecture. But he was recalled because he became ill. Over a year later, the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 was killed by his own people, and the *Xihou* 翺侯 were in terrible disorder". Since Duan Huizong's 段會宗 term had expired in the third year of the *Hongjia* 鴻嘉 reign-period (B.C. 18), "over a year later" must have been the fourth year of the *Hongjia* 鴻嘉 reign-period (B.C. 17) or the first year of the *Yongshi* 永始 reign-period (B.C. 16). In the same chapter, it is recorded that "[The emperor] called up [Duan] Huizong 段會宗 and appointed him Junior Department Head, Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, and Counsellor of the Palace, and sent him to pacify Wusun 烏孫. Duan Huizong 段會宗 established Mozhenjiang 末振將, the elder [it should be 'younger'] brother of the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌, as Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌, settled the state peacefully and returned". From this, it can be seen that the person who established Mozhenjiang 末振將 as Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 was Duan Huizong 段會宗, and the matter took place at the beginning of the *Yongshi* 永始 reign-period (ca. B.C. 16).⁵² This is because Mozhenjiang's 末振將 being established as Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 was more than a year later after Duan Huizong 段會宗 had been recalled because of illness, and Duan Huizong's 段會宗 term as the governor of Jincheng 金城 Prefecture is unknown.

After Duan Huizong 段會宗 had settled the Wusun 烏孫 peacefully, in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Duan Huizong 段會宗), it is recorded that "In the following year Mozhenjiang 末振將 killed the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌. He himself died of illness, and Han 漢 hated being unable to kill him. During the *Yuanyan* 元延 reign-period (B.C. 12–9) Han 漢 again sent [Duan] Huizong [段]會宗 to call out the troops under the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel and other forces in the various states in the Western Regions, and there killed the crown prince of Mozhenjiang 末振將, Fenqiu 番丘". From this, it can be seen that in the following year, when Mozhenjiang 末振將 was established as Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌, he killed Cilimi 雌栗靡. If he was

established at the beginning of the *Yongshi* 永始 reign-period (ca. B.C. 16), Cilimi 雌栗靡 would have died in B.C. 15. Duan Huizong 段會宗 therefore would have established Yizhimi 伊秩靡 as the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌 in the second or third year of the *Yongshi* 永始 reign-period (B.C. 15 or 14). Since Duan Huizong 段會宗 killed Fanqiu 番丘 in the middle of the *Yuanyan* 元延 reign-period (ca. B.C. 11–10),⁵³ Mozhenjiang 末振將 must have died before the second year of the *Yuanyan* 元延 reign-period (B.C. 11). The "Memoir on Duan Huizong 段會宗" says that Mozhenjiang 末振將 died of illness, but the "Memoir on the Western Regions" says that Mozhenjiang 末振將 was killed by Nanqi 難栖. The latter should be correct.

4. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that "[Duan] Huizong [段]會宗 took the view that, although the murder of Mozhenjiang 末振將 by *Xihou* 翮侯 Nanqi 難栖 had not been intended for the Han 漢 cause, the action was tantamount to punishing a criminal. He recommended in a written report that he should be appointed Commandant of Stout Defence. The *Dalu* 大祿, Supreme Official and Supreme Inspectors were asked to explain the circumstances in which Cilimi 雌栗靡 had been killed; their golden seals and purple ribbons were removed from them and replaced by bronze and black [ones]. Beiyuanzhi 卑爰氈, younger brother of Mozhenjiang 末振將, had originally plotted to kill the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌; and, leading a group of over 80,000 persons north, he attached himself to Kangju 康居. He made plans in the hope of borrowing troops so as to annex [the lands of] the two *Kunmi* 昆彌, who were afraid and put their friendship and trust in the Protector General".

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Duan Huizong 段會宗), "At this time, possessing sufficient forces, Beiyuanzhi 卑爰氈, the Lesser *Kunmi*'s 昆彌 uncle, wished to kill the *Kunmi* 昆彌, Han 漢 again sent [Duan] Huizong [段]會宗 to settle the matter peacefully, working in coordination with Sun Jian 孫建, the Protector General". From this, we know that Duan Huizong 段會宗 was again sent as an envoy to the Western Regions after he had killed Fanqiu 番丘, which must have been before the fourth year of the *Yuanyan* 元延 reign-period (B.C. 9), when Sun Jian's 孫建 term as the Protector General had expired.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94B, it is also recorded that "In the second year of the *Jianping* 建平 reign-period of Emperor Ai 哀 (B.C. 5), the forces of the *Xihou* 翮侯 Beiyuanzhi 卑爰氈, the son of a concubine of Wusun's 烏孫 *Kunmi* 昆彌, entered the western border area of the

Xiongnu 匈奴, plundered cattle and livestock and killed a considerable number of people. When the *Chanyu* 單于 heard about it, he sent Wuyiling 烏夷冷, the Left Grand *Donghu* 當戶, to lead five thousand cavalry to attack Wusun 烏孫. Wuyiling 烏夷冷 killed several hundred men, looted more than a thousand men, and drove cattle and livestock away. Beiyuanzhi 卑援薁 was afraid and sent his son, Qulu 趨遼, as a hostage to the Xiongnu 匈奴. The *Chanyu* 單于 accepted this and sent a message to the Han 漢 emperor describing the state of affairs. Han 漢 sent Ding Yelin 丁野林, Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, and Gongsheng Yin 公乘音, the Deputy Colonel, as envoys to the Xiongnu 匈奴, and they accused the *Chanyu* 單于 and ordered him to return the hostage. The *Chanyu* 單于 accepted the demand and sent him back to Wusun 烏孫". It is possible that "Beiyuanzhi 卑援薁, the son of a concubine of Wusun's 烏孫 *Kunmi* 昆彌" here was also Beiyuanzhi 卑援薁, the younger brother of Mozhenjiang 末振將, who "attached himself to Kangju 康居 in the north" as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B. Han 漢 ordered the *Chanyu* 單于 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 to return the hostage not in order to shield Beiyuanzhi 卑援薁, but because it worried that the *Chanyu* 單于 were colluding with Beiyuanzhi 卑援薁. Moreover, according to the view of the Western Han 漢, since the Xiongnu 匈奴 and Wusun 烏孫 were all subject to Han 漢 the *Chanyu* 單于 normally should not accept a hostage from Beiyuanzhi 卑援薁.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 45 (Memoir on the Xifu Gong 息夫躬), it is recorded that "... At the time that the *Chanyu* 單于 was scheduled to come to court, he sent an envoy instead, saying that he was ill and wished to come to court the next year. Accordingly, [Xifu] Gong [息夫]躬 submitted a statement suggesting that the *Chanyu* 單于 should enter the Barrier in the eleventh month. Later however he excused his absence by saying that he was ill, thus I doubt it happened accidentally. Both the *Kunmi* 昆彌 were now weak, and Beiyuanzhi 卑援薁 was powerful, occupying the land of Qianhuang 強煌 and possessing one hundred thousand troops. He united the *Chanyu* 單于 in the east and sent his son to attend to them. If Beiyuanzhi 卑援薁 sent out troops to attack southwards, relying on his long-established prestige and power and advancing along the course of Wujiutu 烏就屠, the momentum to swallow up Wusun 烏孫 would be formed. If Wusun 烏孫 was swallowed up, the Xiongnu 匈奴 would be powerful and the Western Regions would be in danger". From this, we see that Beiyuanzhi 卑援薁 had stood

equal like the legs of a tripod with both the *Kunmi* 昆彌 at that time. Han 漢 truly needed to guard against him.

5. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that "In the second year of the *Yuanshuo* 元朔 reign-period of Emperor Ai 哀 (B.C. 1), Yizhimi 伊秩靡, the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌, paid a visit to the court together with the *Chanyu* 單于, and Han 漢 felt that this was a magnificent [achievement].⁵⁴ In the middle of the *Yuanshi* 元始 reign-period (A.D. 1–5), Beiyuanzhi 卑爰氈 killed Wuriling 烏日領 as a means of self-assertion, and Han 漢 invested him with the title of Noble of Guiyi 歸義 (Allegiance to Righteousness). The two *Kunmi* 昆彌 were both weak, and Beiyuanzhi 卑爰氈 harrassed them; Sun Jian 孫建 the Protector General killed him in a surprise attack. From the time when Wusun 烏孫 split between the two *Kunmi* 昆彌, Han 漢 suffered sorrows and troubles, and had no years of tranquillity".

In my opinion, this was an inevitable result of the relationship between Han 漢 and Wusun 烏孫 that developed after the *Ganlu* 甘露 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (B.C. 53–50) when the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌 paid a visit to the court. During the *Yuanshi* 元始 reign-period (A.D. 1–5) when Beiyuanzhi 卑爰氈 killed Wuriling 烏日領 to show his loyalty, his aim was to gain the acknowledgement of Han 漢 so that he could swallow up both the *Kunmi* 昆彌. Therefore, if Beiyuanzhi 卑爰氈 were to be granted an official title by Han 漢, he must hurry to invade and bully both the *Kunmi* 昆彌. This is the reason Han 漢 ordered Sun Jian 孫建 to kill him by surprise.⁵⁵

The main aim of Han 漢 in establishing the two *Kunmi* 昆彌 was to divide Wusun 烏孫 and rule it. This policy can be traced back to the *Kunmo* 昆莫 Liejiaomi 獵驕靡 who appointed the Han 漢 princess to be the Lady of the Right, and the Xiongnu's 匈奴 princess to be a Lady of the Left. After both the *Kunmi* 昆彌 had been established the contradictions between them were constantly emerging. Han 漢 had to interfere again and again, to mediate their disputes. Thus Han 漢 set up an agricultural colony at the town of Chigu 赤谷 and moved the *Ji* 己 Colonel to garrison Gumo 姑墨 and rewarded them with gold and valuables or granted them seals and ribbons. Duan Huizong 段會宗 alone was sent as an envoy to Wusun 烏孫 four times. This is the reason the "Memoir of the Western Regions" says "Han 漢 suffered sorrows and troubles".

6. In the fifth year of the *Shijianguo* 始建國 reign-period (A.D. 13), according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 99B, "The Greater and Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 of the Wusun 烏孫 sent envoys to offer tribute. The Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌, was a grandson of the Middle Kingdom [House of Han 漢] on the distaff side. His son by a wife who was a Hu 胡 (Xiongnu 匈奴) princess had become the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌, to whom the Wusun 烏孫 had turned and adhered. [Wang] Mang 王莽 saw that the Xiongnu 匈奴 were simultaneously invading the various borders, so, with the intention of seeking to obtain the affection of the Wusun 烏孫, he sent a commissioner to lead the envoy from the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 and place him [in the court] at a station above that of the envoy of the Great *Kunmi* 昆彌. The Libationer for the Masters and Companions [of the Heir-apparent] Guarantor of His Perfection, Man Chang 滿昌, memorialized him, impeaching [Wang Mang's 王莽] commissioner, saying, 'the barbarians consider that the Middle Kingdom has [a knowledge of] what is right and proper, hence they submit and are obedient to [the Middle Kingdom]. The Great *Kunmi* 昆彌 is the monarch [and the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 is his subject]. Now, to rank the envoy of a subject above the envoy of his monarch is not the way to hold [the affection of] the barbarians. The commissioner was seriously disrespectful'. [Wang] Mang 王莽 became angry and dismissed [Man] Chang [滿]昌 from his office".

In my opinion, the first Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌, Wujiutu 烏就屠, was the son of Wengguimi 翁歸靡 and a Xiongnu 匈奴 princess, and the statement that "His son by a wife who was a Hu 胡 (Xiongnu 匈奴) princess had become the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌" in the above-cited chapter refers to Wujiutu 烏就屠. Man Chang's 滿昌 memorial says that the relationship between the Greater and Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 were like that between the monarch and his subject, which was recognized by all the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 since Wujiutu 烏就屠. Maybe it is the reason why the Great *Kunmi*'s 昆彌 names all end in "mi 靡", and the Lesser *Kunmi*'s 昆彌 names do not.⁵⁶ The only exception is Anlimi 安犁靡, the son of Anri 安日. However, it is very possible that the "mi 靡" was a redundancy. Otherwise, it is because the son of Anri 安日 was not reconciled to using "a lesser title", overstepped his authority, and called himself "Anlimi 安犁靡" after he had been established as the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌. If this is true, the cause is not only Wang Mang's 王莽 political trickery but also the developing circumstances at that time, that he ranked the envoy of a subject above the envoy of his monarch.

Wang Mang 王莽 sought "to obtain the affection of the Wusun 烏孫" because "the Xiongnu 匈奴 were simultaneously invading various borders". The relationship between the Xin 新 Dynasty of Wang Mang 王莽 and Wusun 烏孫 resembled that between the Western Han 漢 in the time of Emperor Wu 武 and Wusun 烏孫. Wang Mang's 王莽 way of dealing with the situation, however, unexpectedly built the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 up and played down the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌. He barely realized that one of the reasons the affections of the majority of the Wusun 烏孫 lay with the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 must have been that the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 was "the son of a Hu 胡 (Xiongnu 匈奴) princess", and thus could rely on the power of his mother's family.

The above is the fourth stage of the relationship between the Western Han 漢 and Wusun 烏孫: Wusun 烏孫 was the dependency of Han 漢.

Notes

1. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.1).
2. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.1).
3. The statement is "he took the opportunity to stage a display of his military power to shock [states] like Wusun 烏孫 and Dayuan 大宛", in the *Houshu* 漢書, ch. 96A. *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu* says that "In my opinion, at that time, only Dayuan 大宛 did not communicate with Han 漢, and Wusun 烏孫 had made peace and friendship with Han 漢. Therefore it is impossible to say he displayed the prestige of the army in order to corner it. The *Hanshu* 漢書 is more precise than the *Shiji* 史記". In my opinion, Xu's 徐 theory is inadequate. Wusun 烏孫 had not yet made peace and friendship with Han 漢 at that time, and the statement "displayed the prestige of his army in order to put pressure on" is also acceptable.
4. On the date of Li Guangli's 李廣利 attack on Dayuan 大宛, cf. Yu, T. (1992), p. 79.
5. Cf. the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110 and the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94.
6. On the Southern and Northern routes on which Li Guangli 李廣利 attacked Dayuan 大宛 for the second time, cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 70–84.
7. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Fu Jiezi 傅介子), it is recorded that Fu Jiezi 傅介子 as the Superintendent of Fine Horses [Stables], asked to be sent on a diplomatic mission to Dayuan 大宛. And in the same book, ch. 79 (Memoir on Feng Fengshi 馮奉世), it is recorded that Feng Fengshi 馮奉世 escorted back visitors from Dayuan 大宛 and gained *Xianglong* 象龍 (like a dragon), the famous horse of the king

of [Da]yuan [大]宛, and returned home.

8. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 98–101.
9. *Hanshu Buzhu*, vol. 57B: “[Zhang] Qian [張]騫 was sent on his mission to the Western Regions, and returned in the third year of the *Yuanshuo* 元狩 reign-period (B.C. 120). Kangju 康居 in the Western Regions did not seem to communicate with the Middle Kingdom at the time that [Sima Xiangru 司馬相如] instructed Ba 巴 and Shu 蜀. Therefore the words of [Sima] Xiangru [司馬]相如 must be inflated. It is probably possible there were incidental communications [between Kangju 康居 and Han 漢] at that time that were not recorded clearly in the historical books”. In my opinion, it is possible “there were incidental communications” between Kangju 康居 and Han 漢, but it is inadequate to consider Sima Xiangru’s 司馬相如 words inflated. There is the statement, “To the north we went on an expedition against the Xiongnu 匈奴. The *Chanyu* 單于, alarmed and panicky, cupping one hand in the other before the chest, accepted the official post [offered by Han 漢], and, bending his knees, begged peace” before the reference “Kangju 康居 and the Western Regions” and so on. Wang Xianqian 王先謙 also considers that words such as “bending his knees, begged peace” are inflated. In fact the purpose of Sima Xiangru’s 司馬相如 address was propaganda and it thus was different from the general exaggeration of men of letters.
10. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 6, it is recorded that, in the fifth year of the *Yuanguang* 元光 reign-period (B.C. 130), “in the summer, [the men of] Ba 巴 and Shu 蜀 were mobilized to repair the routes to the southern barbarians”. Therefore the date that Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 instructed the people of Ba 巴 and Shu 蜀, according to the “Hanji 漢紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, is given under the fifth year. Enoki (1982), suggests that it took place in the sixth year. In my opinion, Enoki’s theory is inadequate. Also, Yu, T. (1992), p. 108, suggests it was at the middle of the *Yuanguang* 元光 reign-period (B.C. 132 or 131), which is not precise.
11. It was in the first year of the *Yuanguang* 元光 reign-period (B.C. 134) that Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 presented the memorial, see Shi. Enoki (1982) suggests that Emperor Wu 武 issued an imperial edict to the Capable and Good to receive the document and examine the interrogations in the fifth month, in the first year of the *Yuanguang* 元光 reign-period (B.C. 134), thus Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 must have presented the memorial after this year. In the second and sixth year of the *Yuanguang* 元光 reign-period (B.C. 133 and 129), and in the first and second year of the *Yuanshuo* 元狩 reign-period (B.C. 122 and 121), Emperor Wu 武 had gone on expeditions against the Xiongnu 匈奴 time after time, but he never gained battle results worth recording in letters of gold. However, the largest-scale expedition, which took place in the sixth month of the second year of the *Yuanguang* 元光 reign-period (B.C. 133), must have given a vigorous pounding to the various states and tribes on the periphery of the Xiongnu 匈奴. That Kangju 康居 and other states in the Western Regions came over to Han 漢 and presented tribute was perhaps the influence of this expedition. But, in my opinion, this theory is inadequate. It is impossible that the expedition in the

- second year of the *Yuanguang* 元光 reign-period (B.C. 133) gave Kangju 康居 so huge an influence. Not only was Kangju 康居 too far from Han 漢, but also the expedition did not, in the slightest degree, threaten the rule of the Xiongnu 匈奴 in the Western Regions. After the *Yuanshou* 元狩 reign-period (B.C. 122–117), when the power of the Xiongnu 匈奴 greatly waned, the *Kunmo* 昆莫 of Wusun 烏孫 and his ministers still lived in dread of the Xiongnu 匈奴. Zhang Qian 張騫, as an envoy, was unable to rouse the interest of the Wusun 烏孫, let alone Kangju 康居, at the beginning of the *Yuanguang* 元光 reign-period (B.C. 134). On the basis of this alone, Enoki deduces that Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 must have presented the memorial after the second year of the *Yuanguang* 元光 reign-period (B.C. 133). This is also inadequate. The “Kangju 康居 and the Western Regions” are mentioned in Sima Xiangru’s 司馬相如 address. In fact, Kangju 康居 is true, but the Western Regions was an embellishment. Kangju 康居 was one of the states in the Western Regions that were the first to present tribute to Han 漢. It perhaps had something to do with Kangju’s 康居 occupying Sogdiana at that time. The Sogdians were adept in business, and their footprints were all over the world. It is very possible that those who came to present tribute at the beginning of the *Yuanguang* 元光 reign-period (B.C. 134) were the Sogdians who were subject to Kangju 康居. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp.108–111.
12. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.4). When the ensuing notes involve the term of the Protector General, please refer to this paper, as it will no longer be noted here.
 13. Ise, p. 57, also considers that the king of Kangju 康居 had sent his son to attend at the court during the reign of Emperor Yuan 元. In my opinion, this view is inadequate.
 14. This and the situation that the Thirks occupied Sogdiana afterwards corroborate each other. Cf. Yu, T. (1986), pp. 107–108.
 15. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 52–69.
 16. For details, see Tang, pp. 34–36.
 17. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 28–37.
 18. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.1) and Yu, T. (1992), pp. 168–181.
 19. Zhang (1980-2).
 20. Huang, W. (1989-1) also considers that Jiuquan 酒泉 Prefecture was established in the second year of the *Yuanding* 元鼎 reign-period (B.C. 115). According to this theory, since in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is recorded that “For the first time [fortifications] were built at Lingju 令居, and, at first the prefecture of Jiuquan 酒泉 was founded”, the date when Jiuquan 酒泉 Prefecture was established was the same as that when fortifications were built at Lingju 令居. In addition, on the basis of the commentary on the “Heshui 河水” chapter of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, the fortifications were built at Lingju 令居 in the second year of the *Yuanding* 元鼎 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (B.C. 115). Therefore, it is clear that Jiuquan 酒泉 Prefecture was established in this year. In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110,

it is recorded that “After this the Xiongnu 匈奴 withdrew far, and their courts were no longer established in the south of the desert. In the territory beyond the Yellow River from Shuofang 朔方 west to Lingju 令居, the Han 漢 established irrigation works and set up garrison farms here and there”. This shows that fortifications were built at Lingju 令居 probably in the fourth year of the *Yuanshou* 元狩 reign-period (B.C. 119) at the earliest. However, the above-quoted records in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, cannot be taken as evidence to prove that fortifications were built at Lingju 令居 in the second year of the *Yuanding* 元鼎 reign-period (B.C. 115). The *Shuijingzhu* 水經注 considers that it was in the second year of the reign-period *Yuanding* 元鼎, but we do not know what is the foundation of this record. In addition, the original text of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注 is that “The river rises outside the barrier to the northwest of Lingju 令居 County where it flows south and passes west of the former town of the county seat, which was established in the second year of the *Yuanding* 元鼎 reign-period of Han 漢 Emperor Wu 武 (B.C. 115)”. It is possible that fortifications were built at Lingju 令居 and that Lingju 令居 County was established at a different time.

21. Cf. Zhou, pp. 157–171.
22. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 131–133.
23. Zhang (1980-3).
24. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 101–104.
25. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 193–196.
26. *Hanshu Buzhu*, vol. 28B.
27. Dubs, pp. 1–48.
28. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 193–196.
29. On this theory, there is detailed criticism in Yang, and his comments are worth consulting.
30. Zhang (1980-3) suggests that the county of Likan 驪軒 was named after the conjurors from Lixuan 黎軒 who were presented by Anxi 安息. In my opinion, this understanding is too mechanical.
31. Wen.
32. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 131–137.
33. For example, Jian, p. 142.
34. In the “Hanji 漢紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 (under the sixth year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period [B.C. 105]), it is recorded that “The envoys of Wusun 烏孫 returned to their state after observing Han’s 漢 greatness with their own eyes, the state’s appreciation of Han 漢 was considerably enhanced. Hearing that Wusun 烏孫 was in contact with Han 漢, the Xiongnu 匈奴 grew angry and wished to attack. In addition, all the states at their side such as Dayuan 大宛 as well as Yuezhi 月氏 had served Han 漢. Wusun 烏孫

now grew apprehensive, and sent envoys, in the hope of obtaining a princess in marriage and of forming a fraternal alliance. The Son of Heaven took counsel with his attendant officials and gave permission for this. Wusun 烏孫 provided a marriage gift of one thousand horses for the Han 漢 princess. Han 漢 sent Xijun 細君, daughter of [Liu] Jian [劉]建, king of Jiangdu 江都, as a princess to wed [the *Kunmo* 昆莫 of] Wusun 烏孫. She was sent off with a very rich store of gifts. The *Kunmo* 昆莫 of Wusun 烏孫 appointed her to be a Lady of the Right. The Xiongnu 匈奴 similarly sent a girl to be a wife for the *Kunmo* 昆莫, who appointed her to be a Lady of the Left. The princess had buildings constructed for her residence. Once or twice a year she had a meeting with the *Kunmo* 昆莫, when a banquet was set out. The *Kunmo* 昆莫 was old, and [he and the princess] had no verbal communication. In her deep sorrow the princess wished to return to her home country. When the Son of Heaven heard this, he felt pity for her, and every other year sent envoys carrying drapery, brocades and embroideries to supply her needs. The *Kunmo* 昆莫 said, ‘I am old’, and wished to have his grandson the *Cenzou* 岑娶 married to the princess. However, the princess would not consent, and sent a written message to [the emperor] describing the state of affairs. The Son of Heaven replied ‘You should follow the customs of the state. I wish to make common cause with Wusun 烏孫 to destroy the Hu 胡 (Xiongnu 匈奴)’. The *Cenzou* 岑娶 then took the princess as a wife; when the *Kunmo* 昆莫 died, the *Cenzou* 岑娶 was established in his place”. It is suggested that the date that the princess of Jiangdu 江都 married the *Kunmo* 昆莫 of the Wusun 烏孫 must have been in the sixth year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 105). The basis for this was possibly the records in the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑. However the various matters recorded in this section in the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 could not have taken place within a year. The only matter that is actually recorded by the editor of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 under the sixth year is that “when the *Kunmo* 昆莫 died, the *Cenzou* 岑娶 was established in his place”. All before this tells about the past. The stylistic rules and layout of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 indicate this. In fact, after Xijun 細君 had married the *Kunmo* 昆莫 “once or twice a year she had a meeting with the *Kunmo* 昆莫”. Emperor Wu 武 also “every other year sent envoys” to supply her needs. This shows that the time from Xijun’s 細君 arriving at Wusun 烏孫 to the *Kunmo*’s 昆莫 death could not be within one year.

35. It is very difficult to deduce the date when Wengguimi 翁歸靡 ascended the throne. There is a theory in Wang, M. & Wang, B., p.79, that is worth consulting.
36. Cf. the *Hanshu*, ch. 94.
37. Cf. the *Hanshu*, ch. 94.
38. There is a detailed analysis in *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu*, which is worth consulting.
39. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 79 (Memoir on Feng Fengshi 馮奉世), it is recorded that Feng Fengshi 馮奉世 was sent on a mission to the Western Regions and called out the forces of the various states, on the pretext of accepting the imperial edict to “attack Suoju 莎車 and capture its towns. The king of Suoju 莎車

committed suicide, and his head was transmitted to Chang'an 長安. The various states were all put down. Han 漢 military prowess spread in the Western Regions”. The chancellor and generals all thought that “it would be proper to give to him a marquis title or land to compensate him”. Only Xiao Wangzhi 蕭望之 thought that “[Feng] Fengshi [馮]奉世, as an envoy, should uphold a certain purpose. However, he disobeyed the commands to call out the forces of the various states on the pretext of accepting the imperial edict. The achievements had been known, but it can not be taken as a model for later generations. If [Feng] Fengshi [馮]奉世 were enfeoffed, it would open the way for later envoys to strive for gain. Saying that they are equal to [Feng] Fengshi [馮]奉世, they would compete in calling out the forces and take credit at a distance of ten thousand *li* 里, inviting barbarian disaster for our nation. The bad thing that is just beginning to crop up cannot be permitted to develop. It is not proper to enfeoff [Feng] Fengshi [馮]奉世”.

40. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is recorded that at the time of Emperor Cheng 成, Guo Shun 郭舜, the Protector General, submitted reports to the following effect: “The prosperity which the Xiongnu 匈奴 originally enjoyed was not due to the fact that they had achieved united possession of Wusun 烏孫 and Kangju 康居; and when the time came that they declared themselves [our] servants, this was not because they had lost those two states”. This seems to be a criticism of Emperor Wu’s 武 policy to marry a princess into Wusun 烏孫.
41. According to *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu*, it is incorrect that the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 records the above-quoted matters under the first year of the *Ganlu* 甘露 reign-period (B.C. 53), and they should take place during the *Wufeng* 五鳳 reign-period (B.C. 57–54). In my opinion, those events that the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 records under the first year of *Ganlu* 甘露 reign-period (B.C. 53) are the death of the Mad King and the establishment of the Greater and Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌. The various matters before this are just referred to in passing. This is a stylistic rule of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑. Xu’s 徐 theory is not careful enough.
42. This theory is based on the basis of *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu*.
43. *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu* points out that “according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 69 (Memoir on Zhao Chongguo 趙充國), Xin Wuxian 辛武賢, the Administrator of Jiuquan 酒泉 Prefecture, was appointed the Poqiang 破羌 (Conquest of the Qiang 羌) General in the first year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period (B.C. 61). In the fifth month of the second year ‘he was dismissed and returned to the post of the Administrator of Jiuquan 酒泉 Prefecture’. ‘Seven years later he again took up the post of the Poqiang 破羌 General and went on a campaign against Wusun 烏孫’. This shows that he went on an expedition against Wujiutu 烏就屠 in the first year of the *Ganlu* 甘露 reign-period (B.C. 53).
44. According to the above-quoted *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, Wei Huyi 魏和意 and Ren Chang 任昌 arrived at the state of Wusun 烏孫 because they “escorted the son who had served as an attendant [in Han 漢]”. We do not know if “the son who had served as an attendant [in Han 漢]” was from Wusun 烏孫 or other states.

We do not know if Wusun 烏孫 had sent its king's son as an attendant in Han 漢 at that time. If the son who was escorted by Wei 魏 and Ren 任 was from Wusun 烏孫, Wusun's 烏孫 sending the son as an attendant would not be later than the end of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period (B.C. 58) or beginning of the *Wufeng* 五鳳 reign-period (B.C. 57). Wusun 烏孫 had not yet been subject to the Protector General at the end of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period (B.C. 58) or beginning of the *Wufeng* 五鳳 reign-period (B.C. 57). If Wusun 烏孫 really sent its prince as an attendant in the Han court at that time, its intention was possibly the same as that of Kangju 康居, which sent its king's son as an attendant in the Han 漢 court during the reign of Emperor Cheng 成. The “Hanji 漢紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 states only that “Han 漢 sent the Guards' Major Wei Heyi 魏和意 and the deputy, Captain Ren Chang 任昌 to Wusun 烏孫”, does not mention “escorted the son who had served as an attendant [in Han 漢]”.

45. The “Hanji 漢紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 records this under the first year of the *Ganlu* 甘露 reign-period (B.C. 53). *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu* considers that it must have been in the second year.
46. “*Ruo* 弱”, according to Yan Shigu 顏師古, “is to say, Xingmi 星靡 was still very young”. In my opinion, since Xingmi 星靡 was considered to be “cowardly and weak” in the ensuing paragraph, it is possible “*ruo* 弱” not only refers to very young but also cowardly.
47. This is the Zhou Shouchang's 周壽昌 theory; see *Hanshu Buzhu*.
48. This is the theory; see *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu*.
49. Zhang (1980-1) suggests that the Anri's 安日 establishment was in the first or second year of the *Jianshi* 建始 reign-period (B.C. 32 or 31). In my opinion, this is inadequate. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.4).
50. *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu* suggests that “the Chancellor” must be “the General of the Right”. In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. See Zhang (1980-1).
51. Cf. *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu*. Of Xu's 徐 suggestions, it is correct that the man who besieged Duan Huizong 段會宗 was Rier 日貳, but it is incorrect that the event took place in the first or second year of the *Jianshi* 建始 reign-period (B.C. 32 or 31).
52. *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu* concludes it was the second year of the *Yongshi* 永始 reign-period (B.C. 15). We do not know what his evidence is.
53. On Fanqiu's 番丘 being put to death, there is a detailed record in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Duan Huizong 段會宗): “[Duan] Huizong [段]會宗 worried that if the main forces entered Wusun 烏孫, Fanqiu 番丘 would be frightened, become a fugitive, and elude capture. He thus kept his forces out in the land of Dianlou 墊婁, picked a crack troop of thirty trained bowmen, arrived right at the place where the *Kunmi* 昆彌 was, and summoned Fanqiu 番丘. He blamed him for Mozhenjiang's 末振將 causing flesh and blood kill each other and killing the descendants of the Han 漢 princess, and for his dying before suffering execution. He told him that the envoy accepted the imperial edict to put Fanqiu 番丘 to death, and

he immediately took a two-edged sword in his hand and killed him. His official subordinates and those lower [than they] were frightened and galloped back. The Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌, Wulimi 烏犁靡, who was the son of the elder brother of Mozhenjiang 末振將, led several thousand cavalry to besiege [Duan] Huizong [段]會宗. [Duan] Huizong [段]會宗 told him the plan to put Fanqiu 番丘 to death, saying ‘Now you besiege and kill me, and it’s as much as taking a single hair out of the Han 漢 ox hide. The heads of the king of [Dayuan 大宛] and Zhizhi 鄧支 were hanged on Gao 藁 Street [on which was located the government lodge for barbarians], a fact known by Wusun 烏孫’. The [Lesser] *Kunmi* 昆彌 and those [ranking] lower [than he] all were convinced and said that ‘Since Mozhenjiang 末振將 abandoned Han 漢 it is right to put his son to death. But how could you not tell me this and let me give him food and drink?’ [Duan] Huizong [段]會宗 said, ‘If I announce the *Kunmi* 昆彌 in advance, and if [Fanqiu 番丘] were thus to escape and hide, it would be a serious crime. If you give him food and drink and then hand him over to me, it would hurt your feelings of kinship. Therefore I did not announce this to you in advance. Weeping and wailing, the *Kunmi* 昆彌 and those of the lower ranks all were discharged. [Duan] Huizong [段]會宗 returned and memorialized these matters. The ministers were summoned to discuss the situation; they thought that [Duan] Huizong [段]會宗 had expediently seized the opportunity to lead the light cavalry deep into Wusun 烏孫, immediately put Fanqiu 番丘 to death, and publicly raised the national prestige. It would be proper to give him a high reward. The Son of Heaven granted [Duan] Huizong [段]會宗 the rank of marquis of Guannei 關內 with hundred catties of real gold’. This record vividly describes the plight of Wusun 烏孫, which had been reduced to a dependency of the Western Han 漢.

54. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 11, it is recorded that in the first month of the second year of the *Yuanshou* 元壽 reign-period (B.C. 1), “the *Chanyu* 單于 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 and the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌 of Wusun 烏孫 came to pay court”.
55. Zhang (1980-1) suggests that, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, Sun Jian 孫建 was made the Protector General during the *Yuanshi* 元始 reign-period (A.D. 1–5). According to the same book, ch. 70 (Memoir on Duan Huizong 段會宗), Sun Jian 孫建 was made the Protector General during the *Yuanyan* 元延 reign-period (B.C. 12–9). The latter record is correct. In my opinion, “*Yuanshi* 元始” in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, is probably a textual error for “*Yuanyan* 元延”. If Beiyuanzhi 卑爰寔 was really killed by Sun Jian 孫建 during the *Yuanshi* 元始 reign-period (A.D. 1–5), it is possible that he was called the “Protector General Sun Jian 孫建” in the text because of his former official position.
56. According to Yan Shigu’s 顏師古 commentary on the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B: “*Kunmo* 昆莫 was originally the title of the king but it was noted as *Kunmi* 昆彌. This is because the king’s name was Liejiaomi 獵驕靡, *kun* 昆 was taken to indicate *Kunmo* 昆莫, and *mi*, [Lie]jiaomi [獵]驕靡. There are differences of light and heavy in pronunciations of 彌 and 靡, but these are essentially identical. Thereupon *Kunmi* 昆彌 was used as the title of king afterwards”. In my opinion, Yan Shigu’s 顏師古 theory seems to be inadequate. Most of the names of the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 had no character 靡. Why would they be addressed as *Kunmi* 昆彌? It

Taishan Yu, "A History of the Relationship Between the Chinese Dynasties and the Western Regions"
Sino-Platonic Papers, 131 (March 2004)

is possibly because the pronunciations of 彌 and 莫 were interchangeable. That is to say, *Kunmi* 昆彌 had nothing to do with 靡.

Chapter 2

The Western Han Dynasty and the Western Regions (B)

A

At the same time that Emperor Wu 武 sent Zhang Qian 張騫 as an envoy to Wusun 烏孫, he actively opened up the roads to the Western Regions. Since the plan to manage the barbarians of the southwest in order to open communications with Daxia 大夏 suffered repeated setbacks, Han 漢 diverted its attention to the Southern Route where the control of the Xiongnu 匈奴 was relatively weak. Loulan 樓蘭 was the first to be affected.

The capital of the state of Loulan 樓蘭 was located to the southwest of the Lob nor, which was situated on the Southern Route. It is very possible that Zhang Qian 張騫 went through Loulan 樓蘭 when he returned after achieving his mission to the Western Regions, and it is also possible that Zhang Qian 張騫 went to Wusun 烏孫 by way of that state.¹

The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, records that "Originally Emperor Wu 武 had been won over by Zhang Qian's 張騫 reports and whole-heartedly wished to open communications with Dayuan 大宛 and various states. [Han 漢] envoys were in sight of each other [as they made their way] along the routes, and as many as ten missions were sent during a single year. Loulan 樓蘭 and Gushi 姑師, being situated on the route, harrassed these missions, attacking and robbing envoys such as Wang Hui 王恢. In addition they frequently acted as ears and eyes for the Xiongnu 匈奴, enabling their troops to intercept the Han 漢 envoys". This must have been the situation since the third year of the *Yuanshuo* 元朔 reign-period (B.C. 126), especially in the second year of the *Yuanding* 元鼎 reign-period (B.C. 115). It shows that the Western Han 漢 first opened communications with the Western Regions mostly by way of the Southern Route.

One could set out from the Yang 陽 Barrier and go west to the capital of Loulan 樓蘭, which was situated to the southwest of the Lob nor, and along the northern foot of the Āltyn-tagh. And then he could go further west to the various states on the Southern Route along the northern foot of the Kunlun 昆侖 Mountains, or set out from the capital of Loulan 樓蘭 and go north and reach Gushi 姑師, which was situated to the northwest of the Lob nor at that time, and then go to the various states on the Northern Route along the Konche-darya from Gushi 姑師. These routes

were used mainly because the envoys could not pass through the eastern end of the Tian 天 Mountains, where the Xiongnu’s 匈奴 force was very powerful.

According to the *Hanshu*, ch. 96A, Emperor Wu 武 was displeased that Loulan 樓蘭 and Gushi 姑師 intercepted the Han 漢 envoys, and he heard that “The Han 漢 envoys frequently said that those states possessed towns, and that their troops were weak and easy to attack”. “Whereupon Emperor Wu 武 sent Zhao Ponu 趙破奴, the Marquis of Congpiao 從票, to take command of a force, composed of cavalry from the dependent states and troops from the prefectures, and numbering several tens of thousands, to attack Gushi 姑師. Wang Hui 王恢 had on several occasions been harrassed by Loulan 樓蘭, and the emperor ordered him to assist [Zhao] Ponu [趙]破奴 in leading the troops. [Zhao] Ponu [趙]破奴 reached the destination first, with seven hundred light cavalry; and, having captured the king of Loulan 樓蘭, he then defeated Gushi 姑師. He took the opportunity to stage a display of his military power so as to shock (states) like Wusun 烏孫 and Dayuan 大宛. On his return, [Zhao] Ponu [趙]破奴 was invested with the title of Marquis of Zhuoye 浞野 and [Wang] Hui [王]恢 with that of Hao 浩. Han 漢 now [built] a line of government posts and defences stretching as far as the Yumen 玉門 Barrier”.

In my opinion, on the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 17, it was in the third year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 108) that Zhao Ponu 趙破奴 was invested with the title of Marquis of Zhuoye 浞野, and it was “on the day of *jiashen* 甲申, in the first month” of the fourth year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 107). Therefore, it is given under the third year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 108) that Loulan 樓蘭 and Gushi 姑師 were defeated in the “Hanji 漢紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒. On the basis of chapter 17, Wang Hui 王恢, “as a former Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, was invested with the title of marquis because he arrested the king of Jushi 車師”. However, it is only recorded that he arrested the king of Loulan 樓蘭 in ch. 96A. We do not know which is correct.

Zhao Ponu 趙破奴 attacked Gushi 姑師, but he first sent Wang Hui 王恢 to Loulan 樓蘭. This shows that the Han 漢 forces advanced north and attacked Gushi 姑師 after they reached the town of Wuni 扞泥 along the northern foot of the Āltyn-tagh. This was because one could reach the various states on the Northern Route going west along the Konche Darya. Han 漢

could take "the opportunity to stage a display of his military power so as to shock (states) like Wusun 烏孫 and Dayuan 大宛" only after Gushi 姑師 was defeated.

After that, in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is recorded that "Once Loulan 樓蘭 had surrendered and presented tributary gifts [to the Han 漢 emperor], the Xiongnu 匈奴 heard of those events and sent out troops to attack [Loulan 樓蘭]. Whereupon [the king of] Loulan 樓蘭 sent one son as a hostage to the Xiongnu 匈奴 and one as a hostage to Han 漢". This shows that Loulan 樓蘭 had changed into a subject of both Han 漢 and the Xiongnu 匈奴 from being completely subject to the Xiongnu 匈奴, after the third year of the reign-period *Yuanfeng* 元封 (B.C. 108). Gushi 姑師 was not referred to, probably because the rest of Gushi 姑師 crossed the Kuruk tagh and went north to the Xiongnu 匈奴 for shelter after its king had been arrested. The Gushi 姑師 after this were called "Jushi 車師" in history.²

Although Loulan 樓蘭 subjected itself to both parties, it was very difficult to be even-handed between Han 漢 and the Xiongnu 匈奴 because the latter force was powerful. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, "Later, the army of the Ershi 貳師 [General] attacked Dayuan 大宛. Although the Xiongnu 匈奴 wished to intercept him, the Ershi 貳師 [General's] forces were strong and [the Xiongnu 匈奴] did not dare to confront them. So they sent cavalry to Loulan 樓蘭 so as to await those of the Han 漢 envoys who were the last to pass by, with the intention of cutting them off and denying them a way through. At this time Ren Wen 任文, an Army Controller, was in command of a force; he was garrisoning the Yumen 玉門 Barrier, and acting as a rear-guard for the Ershi 貳師 [General]. From live captives whom he had taken he ascertained the facts of the situation and reported accordingly. The emperor commanded [Ren] Wen [任]文 to lead the troops by a suitable route, to arrest the king of Loulan 樓蘭, and to bring him to the palace at the capital city. [Ren Wen 任文] interrogated the king by presenting him with a bill of indictment, which he answered by claiming that '[Loulan 樓蘭] was a small state lying among large states, and that unless it subjected itself to both parties, there would be no means of keeping itself in safety; he therefore wished to remove his kingdom and take up residence within the Han 漢 territory'. The emperor accepted this statement as true and sent him back to his state; in addition he employed [the king's] services to keep a watch on the Xiongnu 匈奴, who from then on showed no great friendliness or trust in Loulan 樓蘭".

From the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94A, we learn that "When he heard that Ershi 貳師 General Li Guangli 李廣利 defeated Dayuan 大宛, cut off the head of its king, and returned home, the *Chanyu* 單于 tried to block his return but dared not do it". The event in which "they sent cavalry to Loulan 樓蘭 so as to await those of the Han 漢 envoys who were the last to pass by, with the intention of cutting them off and denying them a way through", as noted in the "Memoir on the Western Regions", must have been in the winter of the third year of the *Taichu* 太初 reign-period (B.C. 102), when Li Guangli 李廣利 himself led the army on its return along the Southern Route. The year that Ren Wen 任文 arrested the king of Loulan 樓蘭 and brought "him to the palace at the capital city" must have been the fourth year of the *Taichu* 太初 reign-period (B.C. 101).

What the king of Loulan 樓蘭 voiced himself briefly to Emperor Wu 武 regarding the plight of the small states in the Western Regions under both the hostile powers of Han 漢 and the Xiongnu 匈奴 was true. It was both ineluctable and difficult "to subject oneself to both parties".

The king of Loulan 樓蘭 had to keep close to Han 漢 after he had returned. Han 漢 not only had him keep a watch on the Xiongnu 匈奴, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, but also sent out the Loulan's 樓蘭 force to attack Jushi 車師 in the second year of the *Tianhan* 天漢 reign-period (B.C. 99). This was the first time that Han 漢 sent out Loulan's 樓蘭 force. After that, Han 漢 often called out the Loulan's 樓蘭 (or Shanshan's 鄯善) force when it attacked Jushi 車師.

The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, also records that "In the first year of the *Zhenghe* 征和 reign-period (B.C. 92) the king of Loulan 樓蘭 died. His countrymen came to [Chang'an 長安] to request the person of the king's son who was serving as a hostage in Han 漢, as they wished to set him up as king. But the king's son who was held as a hostage had been indicted according to the terms of the Han 漢 laws and sent down to the silk-worm house to undergo castration. For this reason Han 漢 did not send him to Loulan 樓蘭, but affirmed in reply that 'the Son of Heaven has become greatly attached to his attendant and is unable to send him away; in his place you should enthrone the next son who is suitable to accede'. Loulan 樓蘭 established a king in his place and Han 漢 once more claimed a hostage. Another son was likewise sent as hostage to the Xiongnu 匈奴. Later the king died, in his turn. The Xiongnu 匈奴 heard the news first and sent their hostage back to [Loulan 樓蘭] so that he could be established as king. Han 漢 sent an

envoy bearing a command for the new king, ordering him to come to court, and [promising that] the Son of Heaven would reward him richly. Now the later wife of the king of Loulan 樓蘭 was his step-mother, and she spoke to the king in the following terms: 'Neither of the sons sent by the previous king as hostages to Han 漢 has come back; what purpose is there in proceeding to court'? The king accepted her advice and made his apologies to the envoy; he said that 'he had but recently acceded to the throne and that his land was not yet stable; he would prefer to wait for a subsequent year before making his way to court for an audience with the Son of Heaven'".

This record shows vividly by what diplomatic means the Western Han 漢 and the Xiongnu 匈奴 fought for Loulan 樓蘭. At the beginning of the *Zhenghe* 征和 reign-period (ca. B.C. 92), the Xiongnu 匈奴 established the post of Commandant of Tongpu 僮僕 (Slaves) over Yanqi 焉耆, Weixu 危須 and Weili 尉犁, strengthening control over various states in the Western Regions. Loulan 樓蘭, situated in a communications hub, was the place the Xiongnu 匈奴 must contend for. Finally, Loulan 樓蘭 grew closer to the Xiongnu 匈奴 and was estranged from Han 漢 because the hostage who was sent to the Xiongnu 匈奴 was first sent back to Loulan 樓蘭 and was established as the king. It was a misstep that Han 漢 indicted its hostage from Loulan 樓蘭 according to the terms of its own laws.

The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, also records that "Loulan 樓蘭 was the furthest east [of the states of the Western Regions]. It lay close to Han 漢 and faced the White Dragon Mounds. The locality was short of water and pasture, and the state was regularly responsible for sending out guides, conveying water, bearing provisions, and escorting or meeting Han 漢 envoys. In addition, the state was frequently robbed, reprimanded or harmed by officials or conscripts and found it inexpedient to keep in contact with Han 漢. Later the state again conducted espionage for the Xiongnu 匈奴, often intercepting and killing Han 漢 envoys. The [king's] younger brother, Weituqi 尉屠耆, submitted to Han 漢 and gave a full account of the situation".

In my opinion, the area northwest of the Lob nor belonged to the state of Loulan 樓蘭 after the Gushi 姑師 people had moved north. Loulan 樓蘭 is noted as the state therefore, which faced the White Dragon Mounds. The more important the situation of Loulan 樓蘭 became, as a small state situated on the route, the heavier its burden was, enduring not only penal servitude but also military service. On the basis of the same chapter, we know that in the third year of the

Zhenghe 征和 reign-period (B.C. 90) Han 漢 once again called out its troops to attack Jushi 車師. Under these conditions the instigation of the Xiongnu 匈奴 easily succeeded. Loulan's 樓蘭 interception and killing of Han 漢 envoys was because it leaned to the side of the Xiongnu 匈奴. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Fu Jiezi 傅介子), it is recorded that "Angui 安歸, the king of Loulan 樓蘭, had conducted espionage for the Xiongnu 匈奴 and awaited Han 漢 envoys to intercept and kill them, set out troops to kill and rob the Guards' Major An Le 安樂, the Counsellor of the Palace Zhong 忠 and the Gentleman Attendant at the Gate Sui Cheng 遂成, and others, three parties of Han 漢 envoys in all, and the envoys of Anxi 安息 and Dayuan 大宛, and plundered their tallies, seals and tributary gifts". From this, we know that Loulan 樓蘭 not only killed the Han 漢 envoys who went west but also killed the envoys of the various states in the Western Regions who came east and played a role in severing Han 漢 communications with various states in the Western Regions. Han 漢 could obviously not put up with the conduct of Loulan 樓蘭.³

Then, in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is recorded that "In the fourth year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign period, the supreme general Huo Guang 霍光 laid before the emperor a plan for sending Fu Jiezi 傅介子, Inspector [of the Stables] at the Pingle 平樂 Palace, to go out and stab the king to death.... [Fu] Jiezi [傅]介子 then beheaded the king, who was named Changgui 嘗歸, and sent his head by the mounted messenger service to the palace, where it was suspended at the Northern Tower.... [Han 漢] then established Weituqi 尉屠耆 as king, changing the name of the state to Shanshan 鄯善. An official seal was engraved for [the king's] use; he was presented with one of the women of the palace to be his wife, and carriages, a mounted retinue, and baggage carts were prepared for him. The chancellor [and generals] led [a group] of government officials to escort him outside the Guang 橫 Gate; and when the ceremony of "godspeed" had been performed he was sent on his way. The king had made a personal request to the Son of Heaven. "For a long time", he said, 'I have been in Han 漢. Now I am returning home deserted and weak at a time when sons of the former king are alive, and I fear that I may be killed by them. There is a town [called] Yixun 伊循 in the state, whose land is fertile. I would be grateful if Han 漢 could send one leader to set up an agricultural colony there and accumulate a store of field-crops, so that I would be able to rely on the support of Han 漢 prestige'. Thereupon Han 漢 sent one major

and forty officers and others to colonise Yixun 伊循, in order to maintain a peaceful situation. At a later time the office of Commandant was established instead; the foundation of an official post at Yixun 伊循 started at this juncture”.

On the basis of the same chapter, we know that after he had stabbed the king to death, Changgui 嘗歸 (i.e., Angui 安歸, as noted in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70), the king of Loulan 樓蘭, Fu Jiezi 傅介子, proclaimed the following message of admonition from the Han 漢 emperor to the countrymen of Loulan 樓蘭, saying “It is proper that in his place you should enthrone his younger brother Weituqi 尉屠耆, who is at present in Han 漢”. The message of admonition was recorded as “It is proper that in his place you should enthrone the former crown prince who is at present in Han 漢” in ch. 70 (Memoir on Fu Jiezi 傅介子). From this, it can be seen that the former king of Loulan 樓蘭 had sent one son, Weituqi 尉屠耆, as hostage to Han 漢, and another son, Angui 安歸, as hostage to the Xiongnu 匈奴. Since the later wife of the king of Loulan 樓蘭 said to the king: “Neither of the sons sent by the previous king as hostages to Han 漢 has come back”; and “for a long time”, Weituqi 尉屠耆 said, “I have been in Han 漢” when he returned home, one can see that the statement “Weituqi 尉屠耆, submitted to Han 漢 and gave a full account of the situation” in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, mainly refers to the situation before Angui’s 安歸 accession. The statement from “Loulan 樓蘭 was the farthest east [of the states of the Western Regions]” to “Later the state again conducted espionage for the Xiongnu 匈奴, often intercepting and killing Han 漢 envoys” describes the circumstance both before and since Angui’s 安歸 accession.

On the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Fu Jiezi 傅介子), we know that when he returned after being sent on a diplomatic mission to Dayuan 大宛, Fu Jiezi 傅介子 “spoke to the Supreme General Huo Guang 霍光: ‘Loulan 樓蘭 and Qiuci 龜茲 changed sides many times. If they aren’t killed, nobody will be frightened and watchful. When [Fu] Jiezi [傅] 介子 went through Qiuci 龜茲, the king stood near to me, so he will be easy to kill. I wish to stab him to death, and put on a show of force to the various states “.

The king of Qiuci 龜茲 would be easy to kill, but Angui 安歸, the king of Loulan 樓蘭, was not, because he was “not close to” Fu Jiezi 傅介子, according to the same chapter. The fact that Huo Guang 霍光 insisted that Fu Jiezi 傅介子 stab the king of Loulan 樓蘭 first is

obviously because Loulan 樓蘭 was more important than Qiuci 龜茲. Han 漢 stabbed Angui 安歸, which had been established by the Xiongnu 匈奴, propped up Weituqi 尉屠耆, who was close to Han 漢, and sent a general to colonize Yixun 伊循, all in order to eliminate the factors that caused Loulan 樓蘭 to be disloyal. As expected, Loulan 樓蘭, i.e., Shanshan 鄯善, was subject to Han 漢 from then on.

In the time of Emperor Xuan 宣, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, "a Guards' Major was sent with a commission to protect Shanshan 鄯善 and the several states to the west".

B

There were also six states, i.e., Qimo 且末, Jingjue 精絕, Wumi 扞彌, Yutian 于闐, Pishan 皮山, and Suoju 莎車, to the west of Shanshan 鄯善 along the southern side of the Tarim Basin. In addition, eleven states, Ruo Qiang 婼羌, Xiao Yuan 小宛, Ronglu 戎廬, Qule 渠勒, Xiye 西夜, Zihe 子合, Puli 蒲犁, Yinai 依耐, Wulei 無雷, Wuzha 烏秣, and Nandou 難兜 were scattered in the valleys of the Kunlun 崑崙 Mountains. However, of them, only four states, i.e., Wumi 扞彌, Yutian 于闐, Suoju 莎車, and Ruo Qiang 婼羌, have deeds recorded about their relationship with the Western Han 漢. About the others, except Nandou 難兜, we know only that they had once been subject to the Protector General of the Western Regions. The following is what is known about the relationship between the four states and the Western Han 漢.

1. The state of Wumi 扞彌: Wumi 扞彌 is noted as 扞彌 in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, and as 扞罽 (Wumi 扞彌) in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123. It was one of the states that Zhang Qian 張騫 passed on his journey homeward from his first mission to the Western Regions.⁴ Zhang Qian 張騫 again sent his deputy envoys to Wumi 扞罽 when he was sent as an envoy to Wusun 烏孫. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is clearly recorded that Wumi's 扞彌 envoys "followed the Han 漢 envoys with tribute and had audience with the Son of Heaven". Wumi 扞彌 was one of the earlier states of the walled towns in the Western Regions that had contact with the Western Han 漢.

On the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, Wumi 扞彌 adjoined "Qiuci 龜茲 on the northeast". In the same chapter it is also recorded that "When on an earlier occasion the Ershi 貳師 General Li Guangli 李廣利 had attacked Dayuan 大宛, he had passed through Wumi 扞彌 on

his return. Wumi 朮彌 had sent its heir apparent, Laidan 賴丹 to be a hostage at Qiuci 龜茲, and [Li] Guangli [李]廣利 had upbraided Qiuci 龜茲, saying: 'The outer states are subject to Han 漢; by what authority has Qiuci 龜茲 accepted hostages from Wumi 朮彌'? He immediately sent Laidan 賴丹 to the capital city [of Chang'an 長安]. Emperor Zhao 昭 thereupon adopted the advice previously tendered by Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊, and appointed Laidan 賴丹, heir apparent of Wumi 朮彌, as a colonel to lead a force to work the land at Luntai 輪臺. The lands of Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂 are contiguous. Guyi 姑翼, a nobleman of Qiuci 龜茲, spoke to the king saying: 'Laidan 賴丹 was originally subject to our state; but now he comes here wearing a Han 漢 seal and ribbon on his belt; and he is going to work the land right close to our own state. This is bound to cause harm'. The king immediately put Laidan 賴丹 to death and forwarded a written statement of explanation to Han 漢, which was unable to take corrective action".

It is possible that Ershi 貳師 General Li Guangli 李廣利 divided the forces advancing along the Northern Route when he led the main forces to return along the Southern Route. Li Guangli 李廣利 reached Wumi 朮彌, heard that Laidan 賴丹 had been sent to be a hostage at Qiuci 龜茲, then sent an envoy to upbraid Qiuci 龜茲. His sending "Laidan 賴丹 to the capital city" must have been in the spring of the fourth year of the *Taichu* 太初 reign-period (B.C. 101).⁵

Also, in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded that "When the Ershi 貳師 General marched east, all the small states which he traversed had heard of the defeat of [Da]yuan [大]宛. They sent their [king's] sons or younger brothers to follow the army in order to present tribute, and they were to be received by the Son of Heaven and become hostages". From this it can be seen that the situation in which "the outer states are subject to Han 漢" did not begin to be formed until Li Guangli 李廣利 triumphantly returned after his attack on [Da] Yuan [大]宛, and Wumi 朮彌 became one of the earliest states in the Western Regions which were subject to Han 漢.

After this, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Chang Hui 常惠), in the fourth year of the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period (B.C. 70), Emperor Xuan 宣 "again sent [Chang] Hui [常]惠 with gold and valuables as presents for the Wusun 烏孫 noblemen who had served with merit. Chang Hui 常惠, therefore, submitted a statement suggesting that [the king of] the state of Qiuci 龜茲 had killed Colonel Laidan 賴丹 but had not got the punishment he deserved.

He requested permission to attack the king by taking a shortcut. Emperor Xuan 宣 did not give permission for this. The Supreme General Huo Guang 霍光 hinted that [Chang] Hui 常惠 could act according to circumstances. Chang Hui 常惠 arrived at Wusun 烏孫 with five hundred officers and soldiers, returned and passed through Qiuci 龜茲, and set out a force of twenty thousand men from the western states. Then he ordered his deputy envoy to call out a force of twenty thousand men from the states to the east of Qiuci 龜茲 and a force of seven thousand men from Wusun 烏孫 to attack Qiuci 龜茲 from three sides. With the troops not yet assembled, he sent a man to blame the king for having formerly killed the Han 漢 envoy. The king excused himself by saying that at that time his predecessor had been deceived by Guyi 姑翼, a nobleman, and that he himself was guiltless. Chang Hui 常惠 said, 'If this is so, tie Guyi 姑翼 and bring him with you! I'll excuse you'. The king arrested Guyi 姑翼 and sent him to [Chang] Hui [常]惠, who had him beheaded and returned".

Qiuci 龜茲 was a great state on the Northern Route. If Qiuci 龜茲 did not submit to Han 漢, the Northern Route could not pass through, and Han 漢 would find it difficult to connect with Wusun 烏孫. Moreover, Laidan 賴丹 had been killed, and the Han 漢 had dispatched troops with just cause. The king of Qiuci 龜茲 had no choice at all but to surrender.

That is all concerning the relationship between the Western Han 漢 and Wumi 扞彌 that is recorded in the historical books. Their relations remained generally friendly since their first contact.

2. The state of Yutian 于闐: Yutian 于闐 appears first in the *Hanshu* 于闐, ch. 96, then as “于寘” in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123. Like Wumi 扞彌, Yutian 于闐 was also one of the states that Zhang Qian 張騫 passed on the way home from his first mission to the Western Regions.⁶ Zhang Qian 張騫 also sent his deputy envoys to Yutian 于闐 when he was sent as an envoy to Wusun 烏孫.

According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, Zhang Qian 張騫 reported to Emperor Wu 武 after his first mission to the Western Regions, saying that “The rivers to the west of Yutian 于寘 all flow west, running into the Western Sea. Its eastern rivers flow east, running into the Salt Marsh. To the south of it is the source from which the [Yellow] River rises. There is an abundance of jadestone. The River flows through the Middle Kingdom”. After this, according the chapter, “a

Han 漢 envoy penetrated to the source of the [Yellow] River; which arose in Yutian 于闐. There is considerable jade-stone in the mountains there, and they collected it and came [back to Han 漢]. The Son of Heaven consulted ancient maps and books and named the hills where the [Yellow] River originates the 'Kunlun 崑崙'. The situation becomes clearer in the time described in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A: "Its river has two sources, of which one rises in the Cong 葱 Mountains (i.e., the Pamirs) and the other in Yutian 于闐. Yutian 于闐 lies at the foot of the Southern Mountains, and its river runs northward to join the river that comes from the the Cong 葱 Mountains. Eastward it flows into the Puchang 蒲昌 Sea". From this, it can be seen that the envoys of the Western Han 漢 had reached Yutian 于闐 and its vicinity many times. Besides collecting jadestone, they had also investigated, as much as they could at that time, the geographical circumstances of Yutian 于闐, and, especially, the so-called "source of the Yellow River".

3. The state of Suoju 莎車: The relationship between the Western Han 漢 and Suoju 莎車 was mainly recorded in the following passage from the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A:

In the time of Emperor Xuan 宣, the princess of Wusun 烏孫 had a younger son called Wannian 萬年 whom the king of Suoju 莎車 loved. The king of Suoju 莎車 died without a son, and at his death Wannian 萬年 was in Han 漢. The people of the state of Suoju 莎車 made plans with the intention of attaching themselves to Han 漢, and in addition wished to secure the good-will of Wusun 烏孫. So they promptly sent a letter asking that Wannian 萬年 should be made king of Suoju 莎車. Han 漢 allowed the request, and sent the envoy Xi Chongguo 奚充國 to escort Wannian 萬年. As soon as he was established, Wannian 萬年 behaved oppressively and wickedly, and the people of the state took no pleasure [in his rule]. Hutuzheng 呼屠徵, younger brother of the [former] king of Suoju 莎車, put Wannian 萬年 to death. He also killed the Han 漢 envoy, and setting himself up as king entered into an agreement with various other states to turn against Han 漢. It happened at this time that Feng Fengshi 馮奉世, Guards' Captain, was being sent on a mission to escort back visitors from Dayuan 大宛. He seized the

opportunity to call out troops from various states to attack and kill [Hutuzheng 呼屠徵]; and in his place he established as king of Suoju 莎車 the son of another of [the late king's] brothers. On his return, [Feng] Fengshi [馮]奉世 was appointed Counsellor of the Palace; this year was the first in the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 65).

The people of Suoju 莎車 sent a letter asking that Wannian 萬年, the second son of Wengguimi 翁歸靡 and Xieyou 解憂, should be made king of Suoju 莎車, intending to ingratiate themselves with the Western Han 漢 and Wusun 烏孫. To their surprise, the result was just the opposite. Since Suoju 莎車 was just a small state, this outcome was probably inevitable. Wannian 萬年 was killed as soon as he was established. The Han 漢 envoy who was sent to escort Wannian 萬年 had not yet returned home and thus was assumed to have been killed also. Wannian 萬年 was king for just over a year, possibly beginning the final year of the *Dijie* 地節 reign-period (B.C. 66).

The rebellion of Hutuzheng 呼屠徵 was also recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 79 (Memoir on Feng Fengshi 馮奉世). On the basis of this chapter, Feng Fengshi 馮奉世 was sent on a mission to escort visitors from Dayuan 大宛 home and arrived at the town of Yixun 伊循. There "Commandant Song Jiang 宋將 reported that Suoju 莎車 had besieged the town of Jushi 車師 with the nearby states and killed the king of Suoju 莎車, Wannian 萬年, who was established by Han 漢, and also killed Xi Chongguo 奚充國, the Han 漢 envoy. At that time the Xiongnu 匈奴 also sent out forces to attack the town of Jushi 車師, but withdrew because it was unable to occupy it. Suoju 莎車 sent envoys to threaten and declared that the various states on the Northern Route were subject to the Xiongnu 匈奴. Thereupon it attacked and robbed the states on the Southern Route and swore an oath of alliance with various states by smearing the mouth with the blood of sacrifice and vowing to betray Han 漢. The roads to the west of Shanshan 鄯善 were all impassable. Because the Protector General Zheng Ji 鄭吉 and the Colonel Sima Yi 司馬意 were in various states on the Northern Route, Feng Fengshi 馮奉世 and his assistant Yan Chang 嚴昌 took the view that if it was not attacked immediately, Suoju 莎車 would become more and more powerful and its influence would be difficult to control. The

Western Regions would have been in danger. Therefore they gave explicit instructions by emblems of authority to the kings of various states and called out their forces, fifteen thousand men from the states on the Southern and Northern Routes in all, to attack Suoju 莎車 and occupy its town. The king of Suoju 莎車 took his own life and his head was sent to Chang'an 長安".

In my opinion, Hutuzheng's 呼屠徵 threat that the states on the Northern Route were subject to the Xiongnu 匈奴 was just swashbuckling. At that time Qiuci 龜茲 was subject to Han 漢, and the Protector General and others were on the Northern Route. Hutuzheng 呼屠徵 could reach only a few states on the Southern Route. Since they had no support from Xiongnu 匈奴, they could not have withstood Feng Fengshi 馮奉世. From then on Suoju 莎車 was a dependency of Han 漢.

Moreover, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, in the third year of the *Tianfeng* 天鳳 reign-period of Wang Mang 王莽 (A.D. 16), the General of Five Majestic, Wang Jun 王駿, and the Protector General, Li Chong 李崇, called out the forces from Suoju 莎車 to attack Yanqi 焉耆.

A wooden document of Han 漢 times, which was unearthed from the town of Little Fangpan 方盤 in Dunhuang 敦煌, records: "To offer one *dou* 斗 and three *sheng* 升 of millet to Xu Xiangru 續相如, who is an envoy to Suoju 莎車, and two volunteers, who are writing a message to the emperor, to eat on the day of *guimao* 癸卯 in the eighth month...". "Xu Xiangru 續相如" also occurs in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 17, which reports that "The Marquis of Chengfu 承父, Xu Xiangru 續相如, when on a mission to the Western Regions, having mobilized the relatives of the outer kings and executed the King of Fule 扶樂, and taking prisoner two thousand and five hundred persons, was nominated, and given a salary of one thousand and five hundred households, in the fifth month of the third year of the *Taishi* 太始 reign-period (B.C. 94)". There is no marquis title before the name of "Xu Xiangru 續相如" in the above-quoted document, which shows that his mission to Suoju 莎車 was before the third year of the *Taishi* 太始 reign-period.⁷

4. The state of Ruo Qiang 婁羌: In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, it is recorded that "Setting out from the Yang 陽 Barrier, the state nearest to Han 漢 is that one of the Qiang 羌 [tribes that is termed] Ruo 婁. Its king is entitled Quhulai 去胡來 (abandoner of the Hu 胡 who made over to

the King). Distant by 1,800 *li* 里 from the Yang 陽 Barrier and 6,300 *li* 里 from Chang'an 長安, [the state] lies secluded in the southwest and is not situated on the main route. There are 450 households, 1,750 individuals including 500 persons able to bear arms. To the west it adjoins Qiemo 且末.... It is said: advancing to the northwest, one reaches Shanshan 鄯善 and then meets the Route". It also records that the state of Little Yuan 小宛 "adjoins the [land of the] the Ruo Qiang 婁羌" on the east, the state of Ronglu 戎廬 adjoins "the [land of the] Ruo Qiang 婁羌 on the south", the state of Qule 渠勒 adjoins "the [land of the] Ruo Qiang 婁羌 in the west", the state of Yutian 于闐 "adjoins [the land of the] Ruo Qiang 婁羌 in the south", the state of Nandou 難兜 adjoins "Ruo Qiang 婁羌 to the south". In my opinion, since the state of Ruo Qiang 婁羌 was very small, with 450 households, it could have adjoined Qiemo 且末 and Xiao Yuan 小宛 to the west, but it could not have adjoined Ronglu 戎廬, Qule 渠勒, Yutian 于闐, and Nandou 難兜 simultaneously. Therefore, we have to consider that the people of Ruo Qiang 婁羌 were distributed over a vast region, and that the state of Ruo Qiang 婁羌, described in the section "Ruo Qiang 婁羌", was just a branch whose "king is entitled Quhulai 去胡來".⁸ "Quhulai 去胡來" is probably a transliteration of "Tochari". Yan Shigu's 顏師古 comment that it "abandoned the Hu 胡 and Rong 戎 and came over to submit to Han 漢" has just pointed out its literal meaning when it was translated to Chinese. In other words, the subject was probably the Ruo Qiang 婁羌, and the king or the persons of royal lineage were probably the Tochari in the state of Ruo Qiang 婁羌.⁹ The Ruo Qiang 婁羌, as described in the historical books associated with Han 漢, were mainly those who were led by the King of Quhulai 去胡來. Of course these possibly included other people of Ruo Qiang 婁羌. The following is what we know about their deeds on the basis of relevant sources.

(1) The *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, records that Zhang Qian 張騫 returned, "making his way along the Southern Mountains, as he wished to go back by way of the Qiang 羌 peoples; he was again captured by the Xiongnu 匈奴" after his first mission to the Western Regions. "The Southern Mountains" probably refers to both the Southern Mountains of Han 漢, i.e., the present Qilian 祁連 Mountains and to the Southern Mountains in the Western Regions, i.e., the present Kunlun 崑崙 Mountains and Āltyn-tagh. "The Southern Mountains" possibly even includes both the Southern Mountains of Han 漢 and the Southern Mountains of the Western Regions.

Therefore the so-called "country of the Qiang 羌" probably refers to both the area where the Qiang 羌 resided in the Southern Mountains of Han 漢 and the area of the Ruo Qiang 婁羌, or the area of the other Ruo Qiang 婁羌 that adjoined Ronglu 戎廬, Qule 渠勒, Yutian 于闐 and others. However, Zhang Qian 張騫 was probably arrested by the Xiongnu 匈奴 on his way eastward from Gushi 姑師 after he reached Loulan 樓蘭, located to the southwest of the Lob nor, along the Southern Route, and then reached Gushi 姑師, which was located to the northwest of the Lob nor, and "to return through the country of the Qiang 羌" was his plan. In view of this possibility, "the country of the Qiang 羌" would refer to the area where the Qiang 羌 lived in the Southern Mountains of Han 漢.¹⁰

(2) In the edict of Emperor Xuan 宣, as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 69, it is said that "the Colonel of the Chang 長 River, Fu Chang 富昌, and the Captain of Jiuquan 酒泉 Fengshi 奉世 led the forces of four thousand men from the Ruo 婁 and Yuezhi 月氏" to attack the Ruo Qiang 婁羌. On the basis of the same book, ch. 8, this was in the first year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period (B.C. 61). If "Ruo 婁" here were really the Ruo Qiang 婁羌, they would have been in the present Qilian 祁連 Mountains area. From this we know that there were also the Ruo Qiang 婁羌 in the Qilian 祁連 Mountains.

(3) The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 73, records the advice of Wang Shun 王舜 and Liu Xin 劉歆, that "To attack Dayuan 大宛, stand together with the thirty-six states, ally with Wusun 烏孫, and establish the prefectures of Dunhuang 敦煌, Jiuquan 酒泉, and Zhangye 張掖, to separate them from the Ruo Qiang 婁羌 and to sever the right arm of the Xiongnu 匈奴 in the west". The "Ruo Qiang 婁羌" here was also called "the Southern Qiang 羌", as it appears in the appreciation of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, which says "[The Han 漢] thereupon demarcated the area [west of] the [Yellow] River; a line of four prefectures was established and Yumen 玉門 [Barrier] was opened so as to communicate with the Western Regions, and in order to sever the right arm of the Xiongnu 匈奴 and to separate them from the Southern Qiang 羌 and the Yuezhi 月氏". From this, it can be seen that there really were Ruo Qiang 婁羌 in the Qilian 祁連 Mountains area. One of the main reasons that Han 漢 established the four prefectures in the Hexi 河西 Region was to separate the Xiongnu 匈奴 from the Ruo Qiang 婁羌 in this area.

(4) The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, records that during of the *Yuanshi* 元始 reign-period (A.D. 1–5), "In addition, Tangdou 唐兜, the Quhulai 去胡來 king (abandoner of the nomads who makes over to the king) lay close to the Red Water Qiang 羌 of the Great Tribes, and was several times subjected to raiding. Finding the situation intolerable, he reported a state of emergency to the Protector General, but Dan Qin 但欽, the Protector General, did not bring him relief or help at the right time. Tangdou 唐兜 was in a grave and urgent situation; angry with [Dan] Qin [但]欽, he went east to seek [the means of] defence from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier where he was not admitted. He then took his wife and children and over 1,000 of his people and fled to surrender to the Xiongnu 匈奴. The Xiongnu 匈奴 received him and sent an envoy [to Han 漢] with a letter describing the state of affairs". At that time Wang Mang 王莽 was in sole control of the administration, and he sent an envoy on a mission to Xiongnu 匈奴 to inform the *Chanyu* 單于 that "he had not authority to accept [their fugitives]". The *Chanyu* 單于 delivered the Tangdou 唐兜 and others to the envoys. Wang Mang 王莽 commanded the kings of the various states of the Western Regions to assemble, and at a military parade he had them beheaded. This is the only specific record about the relations between the Western Han 漢 and the Ruo Qiang 婁羌 under the King of Quhulai 去胡來. The date when Tang Dou 唐兜 was killed, according to the "Hanji 漢紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑿, is given as the second year of the *Yuanshi* 元始 reign-period of Emperor Ping 平 (A.D. 2). The event concerning Tangdou 唐兜 was an indication that the Western Han's 漢 rule in the Western Regions was nearing collapse.

C

In the third year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (B.C. 108), Han 漢 forces attacked Gushi 姑師 and captured its king after destroying Loulan 樓蘭. Gushi 姑師 attacked by the Han 漢 was northwest of the Lob nor. Zhang Qian 張騫 passed it when he returned from his first mission to the Western Regions. Later he again passed through the place on the mission to Wusun 烏孫.¹¹ According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, the envoys of Gushi 姑師 "followed the Han 漢 envoys with tribute and had audience with the Son of Heaven". Gushi 姑師 was also one of the states having walled towns that had earlier been associated with the Western Han 漢.

After Gushi 姑師 had been destroyed and its king arrested, the survivors crossed the Kuruk tagh Mountains and went to the Xiongnu 匈奴 for shelter. After this, the state of Gushi 姑師 that occupied the south and north of the Bogdo Range was called "Jushi 車師" in the historical books.¹² "Jushi 車師" and "Gushi 姑師" in fact are different transcriptions of the same name.

In order to open up the Northern Route in the Western Regions and carry out the strategy to cut off the Xiongnu's 匈奴 right arm, the Western Han 漢 fought with the Xiongnu 匈奴 for Jushi 車師 again and again.

The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, records that "In the second year of the *Tianhan* 天漢 reign-period (B.C. 99), Emperor Wu 武 appointed the King of Jiehe 介和, who had surrendered from the Xiongnu 匈奴, to be Marquis of Kailing 開陵. Taking command of a force from the state of Loulan 樓蘭, he was the first to attack Jushi 車師, and the Xiongnu 匈奴 sent the Wise King of the Right, with a force of cavalry several myriads strong, to its relief. The Han 漢 forces were unsuccessful and withdrew". This was the Western Han's 漢 first attack upon Jushi 車師, located north of the Bogdo Range, and it therefore is noted as "the first to attack Jushi".¹³ The main aim of this attack was to cooperate with the activity of the Han 漢 army, which was attacking the Xiongnu 匈奴 in the eastern end of the Tian 天 Mountains. In this year Han 漢 sent Li Guangli 李廣利 out from Jiuquan 酒泉 Prefecture to attack the Wise King of the Right. The Han 漢 forces returned without result because the Xiongnu 匈奴 sent aid in time.

The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, also records that "In the fourth year of the *Zhenghe* 征和 reign-period (B.C. 89), Han 漢 sent Ma Tong 馬通, Marquis of Chonghe 重合, with a force of 40,000 horse to attack the Xiongnu 匈奴 and his route passed north of Jushi 車師. In addition [Han 漢] sent the Marquis of Kailing 開陵 to take command of troops from a total of six states, including Loulan 樓蘭, Weili 尉犁, and Weixu 危須, to make a separate attack on Jushi 車師, and to prevent it blocking the way of the Marquis of Chonghe 重合. The forces of the various states together laid siege to Jushi 車師, whose king surrendered and submitted to Han 漢".

On the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 6, "In the third year [of the *Zhenghe* 征和 reign-period] (B.C. 90)... In the third month [the Emperor] sent the General of Ershi 貳師, [Li] Guangli [李]廣利, leading seventy thousand men, out of [the prefecture] of Wuyuan 五原; the

Imperial Counsellor, Shangqiu Cheng 商丘成, with twenty thousand men, out of [the prefecture] of Xihe 西河; and the Marquis of Zhonghe 重合, Ma Tong 馬通, with forty thousand cavalry, out of [the prefecture] of Jiuquan 酒泉.... [Ma] Tong 馬通 reached the Tian 天 Mountains. The savages [i.e., the Xiongnu 匈奴] led away [their troops]; thereupon he [brought about] the surrender of Jushi 車師". From this, one can see that "the fourth year of the *Zhenghe* 征和 reign-period (B.C. 89)" in chapter 96B should be noted as "the third year of the *Zhenghe* 征和 reign-period". It is suggested that the "Tian 天 Mountains" Ma Tong 馬通 had reached is the Shiluoman 時羅漫 Mountains in Tang 唐 times (Barkul dawân), and he in fact had not passed "north of Jushi 車師". Therefore, the surrender of Jushi 車師 had nothing to do with Ma Tong 馬通. Chapter 6 credits Ma Tong 馬通 with the surrender of Jushi 車師; this is incorrect.¹⁴

Together with the record of passing "north of Jushi 車師" in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, the statement "reached the Tian 天 Mountains" does not necessarily refer to reaching the Shiluoman 時羅漫 Mountain, because the possibility that Ma Tong 馬通 advanced continually west and passed north of Jushi 車師 after reaching the Shiluoman 時羅漫 Mountain cannot be ruled out.¹⁵ As to the surrender of Jushi 車師, it is of course the result of the Marquis of Kailing 開陵 leading the various states to besiege it, but it also has something to do with the army of the Marquis of Zhonghe 重合 having reached north of the Tian 天 Mountain to compel the Xiongnu 匈奴 to withdraw. The statement "he [brought about] the surrender of Jushi 車師" in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 6, is just stating the cause and effect of the matter, and does not mean to give the credit completely to Ma Tong 馬通.

The aim to attack Jushi 車師 in the third year of the *Zhenghe* 征和 reign-period (B.C. 90), the same as that of the first time, was to cooperate with the Han 漢 forces' attack upon the Xiongnu 匈奴 at the eastern end of the Tian 天 Mountains. The surrender of Jushi 車師 might have been quite contrary to Han's 漢 expectations. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94A, "Han 漢 was afraid the forces of Jushi 車師 blocked the way of the Marquis of Zhonghe 重合, thus it sent the Marquis of Kailing 開陵 to lead separate forces to besiege Jushi 車師. The latter captured its king and its masses and returned". This shows that Han 漢 did not guard Jushi 車師 after taking it. And the land of Jushi 車師 must have returned to the Xiongnu 匈奴 again after Han 漢 army left.

At the end of the reign of Emperor Zhao 昭 (B.C. 74), according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, "The Xiongnu 匈奴 took the further step of sending 4,000 cavalymen to work the land at Jushi 車師, and after his accession Emperor Xuan 宣 dispatched five leaders with troops to attack the Xiongnu 匈奴. Those who were working the land at Jushi 車師 fled in alarm, and Jushi 車師 resumed relations with Han 漢". This was in the third year of the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period (B.C. 71). After this, "In some anger, the Xiongnu 匈奴 summoned Junsu 軍宿, heir apparent [of Jushi 車師], wishing to make him into a hostage. Junsu 軍宿, who was a grandson of Yanqi 焉耆 in the female line of descent, had no wish to serve as an hostage with the Xiongnu 匈奴, and fled to Yanqi 焉耆. In his place the king of Jushi 車師 established his son Wugui 烏貴 as heir apparent. On his accession as king, Wugui 烏貴 contracted a matrimonial alliance with the Xiongnu 匈奴, and persuaded them to block the road that communicated between Han 漢 and Wusun 烏孫". Since Loulan 樓蘭 had submitted to Han 漢 during the *Yuanfeng* 元鳳 reign-period of Emperor Zhao 昭 (B.C. 80–75), Jushi 車師 was more important to the Xiongnu 匈奴, and it was imperative to fight for it. Wugui 烏貴 would be established as king because he had undoubtedly gained the support of the Xiongnu 匈奴. Han 漢 had again in fact lost Jushi 車師, due to Wugui's 烏貴 closeness with the Xiongnu 匈奴.

The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, also records that "Han 漢 sent the Gentleman in Attendance, Zheng Ji 鄭吉, and Colonel Sima Xi 司馬熹 to take a force of convicts who had been excused punishment to work the land at Quli 渠犂 and gather the harvest, with the intention of attacking Jushi 車師. When the autumn came the corn was gathered in, and [Zheng] Ji [鄭]吉 and [Sima] Xi [司馬]熹 called out a force of over ten thousand men from the various states of the walled cities, and together with the 1,500 agriculturalists who were under their own command took concerted action against Jushi 車師. They attacked and took the town of Jiaohe 交河; but the king, who was still in the stone fortress to the north, was not taken. At this juncture military supplies were exhausted; and [Zheng] Ji [鄭]吉 and his colleagues temporarily disbanded their forces and returned to work the land at Quli 渠犂". In the third year of the *Dijie* 地節 reign-period (B.C. 67), "On completion of the autumn harvest, they again sent out a force to attack the king of Jushi 車師 in the stone fortress. When he heard of the imminent approach of Han 漢 forces, the king fled north to the Xiongnu 匈奴 to seek help; but before the Xiongnu 匈奴 had

sent forces for him, he came back to take counsel with his nobleman Suyou 蘇猶. He wished to surrender to Han 漢 but was afraid that he would not be trusted. Suyou 蘇猶 persuaded him to attack Lesser Pulei 蒲類, a state neighbouring on the Xiongnu 匈奴; and having executed or imprisoned some of its people, he made over to [Zheng] Ji 鄭吉. The small state of Jinfu 金附, neighbouring on Jushi 車師, had followed after the Han 漢 army to loot Jushi 車師, whose king rejoined by making a personal request to attack and conquer Jinfu 金附".¹⁶ Since the king of Jushi 車師, Wugui 烏貴, surrendered to Han 漢, Han 漢 occupied Jushi 車師 again.

The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, also states that "When the Xiongnu 匈奴 heard that Jushi 車師 had surrendered to Han 漢, they sent out forces to attack Jushi 車師, and [Zheng] Ji 鄭吉 and [Sima] Xi 司馬熹 took their forces north to meet them. The Xiongnu 匈奴 did not dare to advance; so [Zheng] Ji 鄭吉 and [Sima] Xi 司馬熹 immediately detached a captain with twenty conscripts to stay and guard the king, and [Zheng] Ji 鄭吉 and his colleagues led their forces back to Quli 渠犂. Being afraid that Xiongnu 匈奴 forces would re-appear and that he would be killed, the king of Jushi 車師 forthwith fled to Wusun 烏孫, riding light. [Zheng] Ji 鄭吉 had his wife and children met and established themselves at Quli 渠犂, and then travelled east to report what had occurred. When he reached Jiuquan 酒泉 [prefecture, he was met by] an imperial command ordering him to return to work the land at Quli 渠犂 and Jushi 車師; he was to lay in store large stocks of grain, so as to set at rest the western states and [prepare] for an invasion of the Xiongnu 匈奴. On his return, [Zheng] Ji 鄭吉 had the king of Jushi 車師 and his family conveyed by relay service to Chang'an 長安, where they were rewarded very handsomely. Whenever barbarians were assembled at court, they were always honoured conspicuously, so as to make an example. Thereupon [Zheng] Ji 鄭吉 for the first time had 300 officers and conscripts set up separate farming establishments at Jushi 車師". In my opinion, it was in the fourth year of the *Dijie* 地節 reign-period (B.C. 66) that Zheng Ji 鄭吉 had the king of Jushi 車師 and his family conveyed to Chang'an 長安, and farms established at Jushi 車師. The rest can be considered to have taken place after the autumn of the third year of the *Dijie* 地節 reign-period (B.C. 67).¹⁷ The farming establishments show that Han 漢 was determined to occupy Jushi 車師.

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94A, "In the following year the various states of the walled towns in the Western Regions took concerted action against the Xiongnu 匈奴 and conquered the state of Jushi 車師, captured its king and people, and returned. The *Chanyu* 單于 again established the younger brother of the Jushi 車師, Doumo 兜莫, as the king of Jushi 車師, and removed the rest of the inhabitants east. Han 漢 sent a further force of agriculturalists to divide and work the land at Jushi 車師 and strengthened it". On the basis of related records in the same chapter, "the following year" should be the third year of the *Dijie* 地節 reign-period (B.C. 67). However "the various states of the walled towns in the Western Regions took concerted action against the Xiongnu 匈奴" and so on must have taken place during the *Dijie* 地節 reign-period (B.C. 69–66) from the second to the third year. To capture "its king and people" in fact was to capture "its king's wives and children". Its king, Wugui 烏貴, had run to Wusun 烏孫 at that time. "Han 漢 sent a further force of agriculturalists to divide and work the land at Jushi 車師" occurred in the fourth year of the *Dijie* 地節 reign-period (B.C. 66). Therefore, what the 94th chapter adds to the 96th chapter is that, in the third year of the *Dijie* 地節 reign-period (B.C. 67), the Xiongnu 匈奴 established Doumo 兜莫 as the king of Jushi 車師, removed the rest of the inhabitants east, and in the next year Zheng Ji 鄭吉 sent officers and others to strengthen it.¹⁸

The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, also records that the Xiongnu 匈奴 were disturbed that Han 漢 worked the land at Jushi 車師. "[They] sent cavalry to come [to Jushi 車師] and attack the field workers, so [Zheng] Ji [鄭]吉 and the colonel took the entire force of 1,500 agriculturalists from Quli 渠犂 to proceed to the fields [of Jushi 車師]. In return the Xiongnu 匈奴 dispatched reinforcements of cavalry. The Han 漢 conscripts detailed for agricultural work were few in number, and, being unable to confront [the enemy], sought protection in the town of Jushi 車師. The leaders of the Xiongnu 匈奴 drew up close to the walls and said to [Zheng] Ji [鄭]吉; 'The *Chanyu* 單于 will be certain to contest these lands; they are not to be colonised'. After surrounding the town for several days [the Xiongnu 匈奴] gave up the siege. Later several thousands of cavalrymen used constantly to ride to and fro to guard Jushi 車師. During the defence of Jushi 車師, [Zheng] Ji [鄭]吉 sent up a written report saying that 'Jushi 車師 lay at a distance of over a thousand *li* 里 from Quli 渠犂, separated by rivers and hills. The northern [parts] lay close to the Xiongnu 匈奴 and the situation of the Han 漢 forces at Quli 渠犂 was

such that they were unable to come to each other's relief. He would therefore like to increase the establishment of conscripts detailed for agricultural work'. The senior ministers considered [this proposal] and concluded that the distance was long, irksome, and involved waste; and it would be right to disband the colonies at Jushi 車師. It was ordered that the Marquis of Changluo 長羅 should be put in command of a force of cavalry from Zhangye 張掖 and Jiuquan 酒泉 [Prefectures]. He advanced over a thousand *li* 里 north of Jushi 車師 to make a demonstration of military power, and the Hu 胡 cavalry in the vicinity of Jushi 車師 withdrew. [Zheng] Ji [鄭]吉 was then able to emerge and return to Quli 渠犂, and all [forces] under the three colonels were set to work at the military colonies".

The 94th chapter of the same book, notes that "In the following year (the fourth year of the *Dijie* 地節 reign-period, i.e., B.C. 66) the Xiongnu 匈奴 had a grudge against the various states that took concerted action to attack Jushi 車師 and sent the Left and Right Generals to lead over ten thousand cavalymen to set up an agricultural colony in their right territory. They wanted to attack and to approach Wusun 烏孫 and the Western Regions. Two years later, the Xiongnu 匈奴 sent the Left and Right Aojian 奧鞬 [Kings], together with the Left General, to lead six thousand cavalymen to attack the Han 漢 colonies at Jushi 車師, but they were unable to capture it". Combining relevant records concerning Feng Fengshi's 馮奉世 calming the rebellion of Suoju 莎車 in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96 and 79, one can see that the Left and Right Aojian 奧鞬 [Kings] and the Left General's attack upon the Han 漢 colonies at Jushi 車師 took place in the first year of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 65). This must have been the year that Zheng Ji 鄭吉 sent a written report to the emperor. Combining the statement "two years later" in the chapter 94, one can see that the statement "later several thousands of cavalymen used constantly to ride to and fro to guard Jushi 車師" in the chapter 96 must have taken place in the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period between the first and second year.¹⁹ The Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌 of Wusun 烏孫, Yuanguimi 元歸靡, availed himself [of the services of Chang] Hui [常]惠 to send a letter to the emperor in the second year of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 68), thus we can infer that the Marquis of Changluo 長羅 made a demonstration of military power in the same year. In this year Han 漢 disbanded the colonies at Jushi 車師.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that “When the king of Jushi 車師 fled to Wusun 烏孫, Wusun 烏孫 detained him and did not send him away. Wusun 烏孫 sent envoys with a written message saying that it would like to retain the king of Jushi 車師 as a precautionary measure so that, should any emergency arise, it would be possible to proceed from the western route to attack the Xiongnu 匈奴. Han 漢 gave its consent, and, summoning Junsu 軍宿, the former heir apparent of Jushi 車師 who was present in Yanqi 焉耆, established him as king. The population of the state of Jushi 車師 was removed completely and ordered to live in Quli 渠犂, and the former lands of Jushi 車師 were then made over to the Xiongnu 匈奴. The king of Jushi 車師 was able to be close to the Han 漢 office of agriculture, and, breaking with the Xiongnu 匈奴, he enjoyed friendly relations with Han 漢 in peace. Later Han 漢 sent Yin Guangde 殷廣德 a Gentleman in Attendance, to reproach Wusun 烏孫 and to seek delivery of Wugui 烏貴, king of Jushi 車師, to the palace. He was presented with a residence and lived there with his wife and children. This was in the fourth year of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 62)”.

Han 漢 established Junsu 軍宿 as king and ordered him to live in Quli 渠犂, just as the Xiongnu 匈奴 had established Doumo 兜莫 as king and removed the people of Jushi 車師 in the third year of the *Dijie* 地節 reign-period (B.C. 67). Both actions resulted from their ability not being equal to their ambition. In fact, the Xiongnu 匈奴, which regained “the former lands of Jushi 車師” was also beaten. On the situation of both Han 漢 and the Xiongnu 匈奴 at that time, there are also records in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 74: “During the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 65–61) the Xiongnu 匈奴 sent forces to attack the Han 漢 colony at Jushi 車師 but was unable to capture it. The emperor and the Rear General, Zhao Chongguo 趙充國, discussed the matter and decided to take advantage of the Xiongnu’s 匈奴 decline to attack their right side so that they would not dare to trouble the Western Regions any more”. Wei Xiang 魏相 memorialized and admonished them, saying that “... The Xiongnu 匈奴 have recently offered good will, and the Han 漢 people captured by them have always been respectfully returned. And our borders have not been impinged. Although they contend for setting up an agricultural colony at Jushi 車師, it is not worth taking this seriously”. The “good will” is just an expression of enervation. The situation of the Xiongnu 匈奴 was troubled, but Han 漢 was also beset with difficulties. In the

words of Wei Xiang 魏相, "Now the border prefectures are suffering and indigent. A father and his sons together wear a coat of dog or sheep fur, eat seeds of weeds, and the people are afraid they do not have the means of keeping themselves alive. It is thus difficult to send out forces". This is the reason Han 漢 disbanded the colonies at Jushi 車師.

After this, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 8, in the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (B.C. 60), "In the autumn, the Xiongnu's 匈奴 King of Rizhu 日逐, Xianxianchan 先賢揮, leading a multitude of over ten thousand people, came to surrender [to Han 漢]. The Emperor sent the Protector General of the Western Regions, the Commandant of Cavalry, Zheng Ji 鄭吉, to receive the Rizhu 日逐 [King]. [Zheng Ji 鄭吉] had routed the forces of Jushi 車師". In my opinion, the King of Rizhu 日逐 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 had established the post of Commandant of Tongpu 僮僕 (Slaves) over Yanqi 焉耆, Weixu 危須, and Weili 尉犁, strengthening control over the various states in the Western Regions. Because the King of Rizhu 日逐 surrendered to Han 漢, Jushi 車師 was weakened in strength and thus destroyed. In an edict of Emperor Xuan 宣 recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70, it is said that [Zheng] Ji [鄭吉] "fetched the men of the Rizhu 日逐 King, a cousin of the Xiongnu's 匈奴 *Chanyu* 單于, and attacked and took the town of Douzi 兜訾 at Jushi 車師. His achievements are abundant and apparent". From this, it can be seen that the people of Jushi 車師 had stood up to the Han 漢 forces at the town of Douzi 兜訾. The relationship between the Western Regions and Jushi 車師, and even the whole Western Regions, entered into a new stage at the point that the King of Rizhu 日逐 surrendered to Han 漢.

After Jushi 車師 had been destroyed, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, "Agricultural colonists were thereupon removed to work the land in Northern Xujian 胥鞬, and the lands of Suoju 莎車 were allocated [for this purpose]. The Colonel of the Agricultural Colonies was first subordinated to the Protector General". In my opinion, "Xujian 胥鞬" and "Qiegu 且固", a place name in the Further tribe of Jushi 車師, which occur in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, are probably the different transcriptions of one and the same name.²⁰ It is possible that Northern Xujian 胥鞬 was located in the town later called Qiegu 且固. The Xiongnu 匈奴 set up an agricultural colony at Jushi 車師 during the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (B.C. 73–70), and the locale was probably at about this area. After the King of

Rizhu 日逐 had surrendered to Han 漢, the Xiongnu 匈奴 became increasingly weaker and were unable to approach the Western Regions. Han 漢 thereupon moved on to work the land northwards, to consolidate control of the northern area of Jushi 車師.

“Xujian 胥鞬” and “Suoju 莎車” can also be taken to be different transcriptions of one and the same word. Jushi 車師 were originally one tribe of the Sai 塞 people, and the Sai 塞 did not consist of simple tribes. “Jushi 車師” can be taken as a variant transcription of “Gasiani”, and the people of Jushi 車師 were mainly the Gasiani people, but there were also other tribes of the Sai 塞 within the state of Jushi 車師. Since “Xujian 胥鞬” and “Suoju 莎車” can be taken as variant transcriptions of “Sacarauli,” it may be that there were also Sacarauli people in the state of Jushi 車師. “Xujian 胥鞬” was named because of the Suoju 莎車 people (the Sacarauli) who had lived there. The Han 漢 worked the land in Northern Xujian 胥鞬, therefore “the lands of Suoju 莎車 were allocated”. It has been suggested that “Suoju 莎車” must have been a textual error for “Jushi 車師”, which may be inadequate.²¹

Han 漢 started to work the land at Jushi 車師 from the fourth year of the *Dijie* 地節 reign-period (B.C. 66), and disbanded the effort in the second year of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 64). The colony may be near the town of Jiaohe 交河. The above-quoted *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, says that “the Han 漢 conscripts detailed for agricultural work were few in number”, and, being unable to confront the Xiongnu 匈奴 come over to attack, they “sought protection in the town of Jushi 車師”. “The town of Jushi 車師” must have been the town of Jiaohe 交河.²² The agricultural colony near the town of Jiaohe 交河 was not recovered until the reign of Emperor Yuan 元. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, “the additional post of the Wuji 戊己 Colonel was established to set up agricultural colonies at the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師”. And on the basis of the chapter 19B of the same book, we know that “the Wuji 戊己 Colonel was established in the first year of the *Chuyuan* 初元 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 (B.C. 48)”. From this, it can be seen that the reference “agricultural colonists were thereupon removed” means that some of the agricultural colonists at Quli 渠犂 were removed.

The so-called “royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師” must have been the town of Jiaohe 交河. It had originally been the royal court of the state of Jushi 車師, and it became the royal court of the Nearer state after Jushi 車師 was divided into the Nearer and Further states. The *Hanshu* 漢

書, ch. 96A, records that "In the time of Emperor Xuan 宣, a Guards' Major was sent with a commission to protect Shanshan 鄯善 and the several states to the west. At the conquest of Gushi 姑師 [the state] was not completely destroyed but was split between the two kings of Nearer and Further Jushi 車師 and six other states north of the mountains. At that time Han 漢 only protected the Southern Route, being unable to take over the Northern Route completely. However the Xiongnu 匈奴 no longer felt at ease". On the basis of this, we know that Jushi 車師 had been divided into the Nearer and Further kingdoms before Zheng Ji 鄭吉 protected both the Northern and Southern Route. However, considering the circumstances and using common sense, we see that if Jushi's 車師 being divided into the Nearer and Further kingdoms was really done by the Han 漢, it probably could not have taken place when the Han 漢 protected only the Southern Route.

The truth may be that, after the Gushi 姑師 people who were "not completely destroyed" had moved north in the third year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 108), they were first divided among the six other states north of the mountains and Jushi 車師. Of them, Jushi 車師 redivided into the Nearer and Further states of Jushi 車師 after the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period (B.C. 60).

It can be taken as evidence that there is no record about Nearer or Further kingdoms of Jushi 車師 in historical books before the second year of the reign-period *Shenjue* 神爵 (B.C. 60). Jushi's 車師 being divided into Nearer and Further states of course was because the Han 漢 people divided and ruled it intentionally, but the matter was presaged when the Xiongnu 匈奴 and the Western Han 漢 established Doumo 兜莫 and Junsu 軍宿 as kings. In a sense, the Han 漢 acknowledged just that actuality.²³

After sixty years of Jushi's 車師 subjection to Han 漢, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, "During the *Yuanshi* 元始 reign-period (B.C. 1–5) there was a new route in the royal kingdom of Further Jushi 車師. This led to the Yumen 玉門 Barrier from north of Wuchuan 五船, and the journey was comparatively shorter. Xu Pu 徐普, the Wuji 戊己 Colonel, wanted to open up this route for use, so as to reduce the distance by half and to avoid the obstacle of the White Dragon Mounds. Gugou 姑句, king of the state of Further Jushi 車師, realized that because of [the passage of] the road he would be obliged to make provisions available [for Han 漢 travellers]

and in his heart thought that this would not be expedient. In addition, his lands were rather close to those of the southern general of the Xiongnu 匈奴. [Xu] Pu [徐]普 wished to demarcate the territories clearly and report the matter only after the event. He summoned Gugou 姑句 to have him certify the action, but he was unwilling to do so and [Xu Pu 徐普] had him apprehended". Gugou 姑句 was afraid of being put "under detention for a long time and surely dying", "He immediately broke out on horseback from the fortress of Gaochang 高昌 and made his way to the Xiongnu 匈奴". This event, according to the "Hanji 漢紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, was in the second year of the *Yuanshi* 元始 reign-period.

In the same year, Tangdou 唐兜, the Quhulai 去胡來 King, also fled to surrender to the Xiongnu 匈奴. On the basis of the same chapter, Wang Mang 王莽 sent envoys "to inform the *Chanyu* 單于 that the Western Regions acknowledged allegiance to Han 漢 and that he had not authority to accept [their fugitives]". "The *Chanyu* 單于 excused himself for his criminal action, and delivered the two kings to the envoys". Wang Mang 王莽 "commanded the kings of the various states of the Western Regions to assemble, and at a military parade he had Gugou 姑句 and Tangdou 唐兜 beheaded as an example".

Most scholars suggest that "Further kingdom" in the statement "there was a new route in the Further kingdom of Jushi 車師" is a textual error for "Nearer kingdom", saying that this is the new route that Xu Pu 徐普 wanted to open up in the Nearer kingdom of Jushi 車師.²⁴ If this were true, "Gugou 姑句, king of the state of Further Jushi 車師" should be a textual error for "Gugou 姑句, king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師". The scholars who hold this theory suggest that the Further king was concurrently regent of the state of Further Jushi 車師 at that time. I disagree with this.²⁵

Xu Pu 徐普 wished to open up the new route, but Gugou 姑句 thought that this would not be expedient. This was for no other reason than because of the difficulties involved in the arrivals and departures and the increased corvees when the new route would open, and these could not be borne. This shows that the Western Han's 漢 rule in Jushi 車師 was unpopular at least in that time. As was the Tangdou 唐兜 event, the Gugou 姑句 event was also a signal that the Western Han's 漢 rule in the Western Regions tended to disintegrate.

The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, records that "At his usurpation of the throne, in the second year of [*Shi*]jianguo [始]建國 (A.D. 10), Wang Mang 王莽 appointed Zhen Feng 甄豐, Duke of Guangxin 廣新, to be Count of the Right. He was engaged in setting out for the Western Regions when Xuzhili 須置離, king of Further Jushi 車師, heard of these events and laid a plan with Gutu 股鞮, Leader of the Right, and Shinizhi 尸泥支, Leader of the Left. He said: 'I have heard that Duke Zhen 甄 has been made Supreme Count of the Western Regions and is actually setting out there. According to precedent, envoys are supplied with cattle, sheep, corn, cut fodder, guides, and interpreters. Previously when the General of Five Majestic passed through, it was impossible to supply the needs of the envoys; and now, when the Supreme Count is in his turn setting out, the state is poorer and will probably not be able to meet [the requirements]'. They therefore wished to escape to the Xiongnu 匈奴. When Dao Hu 刀護, the Wuji 戊己 Colonel, heard of this he summoned [Xu]zhili [須]置離 and interrogated him to obtain proof. In his statement he made a confession, and he was then bound and delivered to the town of Lielou 埒婁 where Dan Qin 但欽 the Protector General happened to be. [Xu]zhili's [須]置離 people realised that he would not return, and they all accompanied him on his way, lamenting; and on his arrival, [Dan] Qin [但]欽 had him beheaded. His elder brother Hulanzhi 狐蘭支, the Noble of Support of the State, took the lead of more than 2,000 of [Xu]zhili's [須]置離 people; and driving their stock animals he fled and surrendered to the Xiongnu 匈奴 with the whole state. At this time [Wang] Mang [王]莽 had had the *Chanyu's* 單于 signet altered, and, bitterly angry, the *Chanyu* 單于 accepted Hulanzhi's 狐蘭支 surrender. He sent troops to launch a concerted raid on Jushi 車師, killing the Chief of the Further Town and wounding the Major of the Protector General, then making their way back to the Xiongnu 匈奴 with Hulanzhi's 狐蘭[支] troops".

The General of Five Majestic passed through, and the Supreme Count was in his turn sent out, and the Further king couldn't attend to them all. It appears that the new route that Xu Pu 徐普 wanted to open up was open at that time and spread to the various states north of the mountains from Gaochang 高昌.²⁶ Supplying envoys with cattle, sheep, corn, cut fodder, guides and interpreters is what Gugou 姑句 thought would not be expedient. Dan Qin 但欽 raised Han 漢 prestige by means of slaughter, but he was unable to hold back the collapse of the Han 漢 rule in the Western Regions. On the contrary, his action accelerated this course. Since Hulanzhi 狐蘭

支 “surrendered to the Xiongnu 匈奴 with the whole state”, the Jushi 車師 that the Xiongnu 匈奴 “sent troops to launch a concerted raid on”, aside from the state of the Chief of the Further Town of Jushi 車師, refers mainly to the state of Nearer Jushi 車師. The state of Further Jushi 車師 was possibly subject to the Xiongnu 匈奴 from then on. The situation of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 also was as precarious as a pile of eggs because before long the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel Dao Hu 刀護 was killed, and his aides Chen Liang 陳良 and Zhong Dai 終帶 forced over two thousand men to make their way to the Xiongnu 匈奴.

D

In the third year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 108), Gushi 姑師 was destroyed by the Han 漢 forces, and the rest of the people removed north and formed Jushi 車師 and the so-called “six other states north of the mountains”, one after another. The latter must have been the states of Nearer and Further Pulei 蒲類, the states of Eastern and Western Qiemi 且彌, and the states of Nearer and Further Beilu 卑陸.²⁷ The six states were all subject to the Protector General, but, of them, we have only the concrete sources about the relationship between the Western Regions and the states of Nearer and Further Pulei 蒲類.

The states of Nearer and Further Pulei 蒲類 were located around the present Barkul nor, which had been named “the Pulei 蒲類 Sea” after the state of Pulei 蒲類. This area had been under the control of the Xiongnu 匈奴 after the Modu 冒頓 *Chanyu* 單于 drove the Yuezhi 月氏 away in B.C. 177/176, and it was the territory of the King of Hunxie 渾邪 in the west of the Xiongnu 匈奴 for a time. As early as the second year of the *Yuanshou* 元狩 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (B.C. 121) the Western Han’s 漢 influence had come into this area in order to attack the Xiongnu 匈奴.

On the basis of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 110, we know that in this summer, “The Cavalry General, with the Marquis of Heqi 合騎, leading a force of cavalry several myriads strong set off from the prefectures of Longxi 隴西 and Beidi 北地 and endured a two thousand *li* 里 march to attack the Xiongnu 匈奴. Crossing the Juyan 居延 [River], they attacked the Qilian 祁連 Mountains, and more than three tens of thousands of the tribesmen were beheaded or made prisoners, and more than seventy deputy and lesser kings were captured by them”.

The so-called "Qilian 祁連 Mountains" must refer to the present Tian 天 Mountains. In an edict of Emperor Wu 武 in the same year the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 55 (Memoir on Huo Qubing 霍去病), records that "The Cavalry General (Piaoqi 驃騎) set foot in the Junqi 鈞耆 [River], crossed the Juyan 居延 [River], arrived in the territory of the Xiao Yuezhi 月氏, and then attacked the Qilian 祁連 Mountains. They showed their might at Lude 鱒得 and captured the kings of Danhuan 單桓 and Qiutu 酋涂 of the *Chanyu* 單于". Of these, Dahuan 單桓 was a small state north of the Tian 天 Mountains, and the "King of Danhuan 單桓 of the *Chanyu* 單于" who was captured by [Huo] Qubing [霍]去病 may be a lesser king in the state of Dahuan 單桓, established by the Xiongnu 匈奴. The so-called "Xiao Yuezhi 月氏" must have been the remnant who were left by the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 at the eastern end of the Tian 天 Mountains when the latter moved west.²⁸

In the autumn of the second year of the *Yuanshou* 元狩 reign-period (B.C. 121), the *Chanyu* 單于 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 were angered by the defeat of the kings of Hunxie 渾邪 and Xiutu 休屠, and wanted to call them up to kill them. The King of Hunxie 渾邪 thus plotted to surrender to Han 漢 with the King of Xiutu 休屠. Afterwards the King of Hunxie 渾邪 killed the King of Xiutu 休屠 because the latter broke their contract and led the people to surrender to Han 漢. After Hunxie 渾邪 had surrendered, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, "[The King of] Hunxie's 渾邪 former territory has become deserted". As a result, in the first or second year of the *Yuanding* 元鼎 reign-period (B.C. 116 or 115), Han 漢 sent Zhang Qian 張騫 as an envoy to Wusun 烏孫 and wanted to induce its people to move east and live in their former lands, i.e., the present area from Barkul to Hami 哈密. Because the Wusun 烏孫 did not move east to their former lands, and Han 漢 lacked the strength to garrison it, this area before long fell into the control of the Xiongnu 匈奴. In both the second year of the *Tianhan* 天漢 reign-period (B.C. 99) and third year of the *Zhenghe* 征和 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (B.C. 90), Han 漢 had launched an attack upon the eastern end of the Tian 天 Mountains, but it was not enough to occupy this area. The Xiongnu 匈奴 returned as soon as the Han 漢 army withdrew.

In B. C. 71 at the latest, the state of Pulei 蒲類 was established in the Barkul area. It is possible that the state of Pulei 蒲類 divided into the states of Nearer and Further Pulei 蒲類 before long.²⁹ The states of Nearer and Further Pulei 蒲類 were small states which relied upon

the Xiongnu 匈奴 for protection as did the states of Eastern and Western Qiemi 且彌, the states of Nearer and Further Beilu 卑陸. During the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (B.C. 73–70), Han 漢 also sent Zhao Chongguo 趙充國, the General of Pulei 蒲類, to attack the Xiongnu 匈奴 on the Pulei 蒲類 Marsh. Han's 漢 army won and captured the envoy of the *Chanyu* 單于, the King of Puyin 蒲陰,³⁰ but was not strong enough to garrison it.

By the time Han 漢 set up agricultural colonies at the royal court of Nearer Jushi 車師, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, "Zilizhi 茲力支, the king of East Pulei 蒲類 of the Xiongnu 匈奴, led more than 1,700 of his people to submit to the Protector General". It is possible that the states of Nearer and Further Pulei 蒲類 were subject to the Protector General from then on.³¹

Now there were the states of Wutzanzili 烏貪訾離, Yulishi 郁立師, Danhuan 單桓, Jie 劫, Huhu 狐胡, [Mo]shan [墨]山, the state of the Commandant of Jushi 車師 and the state of the Chief of the Further Town of Jushi 車師 in the eastern region of the Tian 天 Mountains, except the states of Nearer and Further Jushi 車師, and the so-called "six other states north of the Mountains", sixteen states in all.

The state of Wutzanzili 烏貪訾離, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, joined when Zilizhi 茲力支, the king of Pulei 蒲類 to the east of the Xiongnu 匈奴, led his people to submit, and "the Protector General separated the western part of [the land of] the king of Further Jushi 車師 to become the territory of Wutzanzili 烏貪訾離, in order to settle them there". This shows that the state was the one established by Han 漢 for the people who surrendered.

It is generally suggested that both the state of the Commandant of Jushi 車師 and the state of the Chief of the Further Town of Jushi 車師 were established by Han 漢.³² However this is not necessarily correct. There were also "the commandant" and "the chief of the town" in some states of the Western Regions. The possibility exists that both the states were divided from the state of Jushi 車師.

On the relations of the rest of the states with the Western Han 漢, we know that they submitted to the Protector General for a time only because of the silence of the sources.

E

Of the states on the Northern Route, except Jushi 車師, Quli 渠犂 was the state that had the closest relations with the Western Han 漢. The following describes the relations between the Western Han 漢 and Quli 渠犂, and concurrently with Luntai 輪臺 and Wulei 烏壘.

The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, says that, "After the Ershi 貳師 General's attack on Dayuan 大宛, the Western Regions were shocked and frightened. Most of the states sent envoys to [Han 漢] to present tributary gifts, and those persons who were sent by Han on missions to the Western Regions felt more satisfied [with the reception that they now received]. Government posts were thereupon erected at frequent intervals in a series running westwards from Dunhuang 敦煌 to the Salt Marsh, and a complement of several hundred agricultural conscripts was stationed at both Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂. A Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys was established to protect them and to provide supplies for the Han 漢 envoys who were proceeding to the outer states".

"The Salt Marsh" here is noted as "the river of Salt" in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123. The latter may be correct, and it refers to the river that flows east and pours into the Salt Marsh to its west, correspond approximately to the present Kuruk River west of Yingpan 營盤 and the Konche Darya east of Yingpan 營盤.³³

One must first go west up the river of Salt to Quli 渠犂 by way of the present Loulan 樓蘭 ruins northwest of the Salt Marsh, if he wanted to go to the various states on the Northern Route before Han 漢 attacked Dayuan 大宛. It is very obvious that the geographical situation of Quli 渠犂 was important at that time. One of the reasons Han 漢 attacked Dayuan 大宛 was to preserve "the route that leads from east to west" from blockage. After attacking Dayuan 大宛, Han 漢 established the Colonel [for the assistance of imperial] Envoys and set up an agricultural colony at Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂 to consolidate the victory. And the reference "the Government posts were thereupon erected at frequent intervals in a series running westwards from there (Dunhuang 敦煌) to [the valley] of the river of Salt" possibly shows that the government posts had arrived at Quli 渠犂. The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 6, records that in the second year of the *Tianhan* 天漢 reign-period (B.C. 99), Quli 渠犂 "sent envoys to pay tribute".

The reference "a complement of several hundred agricultural conscripts was stationed at both Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂" is noted only as "a complement of several hundred agricultural conscripts was stationed at Luntou 侖頭" in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123.³⁴ "Luntou 侖頭" must have been "Luntai 輪臺", which was to the west of Quli 渠犂. It was originally a small state on the Northern Route. It was butchered when Li Guangli 李廣利 attacked Dayuan 大宛, and it was no longer a state from then on. As a result, it became possibly the area where the Western Han 漢 first set up an agricultural colony.

As to setting up an agricultural colony at Quli 渠犂, it is possible that this was after Qili 渠犂 paid tribute in the second year of the *Tianhan* 天漢 reign-period (B.C. 99). The matter does not occur in the *Shiji* 史記 because it is too late to be recorded by Sima Qian 司馬遷. This is probably the reason why there is a difference between the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, and *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123.

Since the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, records that "over a year later", "[a colonel for the assistance of imperial] envoys was established to guard the cultivated land and to store the crops of grain" after "Han 漢 had attacked [Da]Yuan [大]宛", to set up an agricultural colony at Luntou 侖頭, this was probably in the fourth year of the *Tianchu* 太初 reign-period (B.C. 101) or the first year of the *Tianhan* 天漢 reign-period (B.C. 100).

The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, also records that in the *Zhenghe* 征和 reign-period (B.C. 89), Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊, the Commandant for the Collection of Grain, made a written recommendation in the following terms: "To the east of old Luntai 輪臺 there are Jiezhi 捷枝 and Quli 渠犂 which are both ancient states. The land is extensive and rich in water and pasture, and there are over 5,000 *qing* 頃 of irrigated, arable land. The place enjoys a warm and temperate climate; the land is fine and it is possible to dig more ditches and canals and to sow the five field crops, which will ripen at the same time as they do in the Middle Kingdom. The neighbouring states rarely use coined money and value gold and silks. If it were possible to exchange these goods for corn, food supplies would be adequate for our needs and there would be no deficiency. We humbly suggest that conscripts detailed for work in agricultural colonies should be sent to old Luntai 輪臺 and the area east and that a complement of three colonels should be established with divided responsibilities for the supervision of the area. Each one should survey the

topography and build and exploit water-courses, with their efforts bent on increasing the yield of the five field crops according to season. ... When the fields have been worked for a year there will be an accumulation of corn. A call may then be made to able-bodied and fit members of the [Han 漢] population who have family responsibilities and who are ready to emigrate, suggesting that they should proceed to the sites of the farms and make the collection of the harvest their main occupation. More and more land may be reclaimed and irrigated, and gradually a line of posts may be constructed, leading to the west and connected by a wall; these may be used to advantage as a means of overawing the states of the west and supporting Wusun 烏孫". Sang's 桑 recommendation was not adopted because Emperor Wu 武 wanted to change his policy at that time.³⁵

Emperor Wu 武 thereupon issued an edict "expressing his deep regret for past actions" in the following terms: "Now we are asked to set up farming establishments at a great distance away, at Luntai 輪臺; and it is desired that we should establish posts and beacon stations. Such measures would bring anguish and toil to the world and are no way of treating its people with generosity; we cannot at present bring ourselves to accept such advice".

In my opinion, during the *Taichu* and *Tianhan* 天漢 reign-periods (B.C. 104–101 and 100–97) there were respectively set up farming establishments at Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂, but at both areas there were complements of only several hundred agricultural conscripts. The scale was too small to satisfy the needs of communications between the East and West, which were growing day by day, Sang Hangyang 桑弘羊 thus advanced the above advice. The advice, i.e., "to set up farming establishments at a great distance away, at Luntai 輪臺", as described in the Emperor Wu's 武 edict, was in fact to set up farming establishments to the east of Luntai 輪臺, in order to expand the scale of farming and to have "over 5,000 *qing* 頃 of irrigated, arable land" from Luntai 輪臺 to Quli 渠犂 under cultivation. The statement that "gradually a line of posts may be constructed, leading to the west and connected by a wall" refers to the line of posts from Quli 渠犂 to Luntai 輪臺 that was constructed.³⁶

After this, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, 96B, "Emperor Zhao 昭 thereupon adopted the advice previously tendered by Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊" and ordered Laidan 賴丹, the heir apparent of Wumi 扞彌, as a colonel to lead a force "to work the land at Luntai 輪臺". It was

during the *Shiyuan* 始元 reign-period (B.C. 86–80).³⁷ Since the chapter says that Emperor Zhao 昭 “adopted the advice previously tendered by Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊”, “to work the land at Luntai 輪臺”, this refers to working the land east of Luntai 輪臺 because, as described in the chapter, “the lands of Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂 are contiguous”. The plan was unable to take effect because Laidan 賴丹 was killed.

During the reign of Emperor Xuan 宣, the Western Han 漢 fought for Jushi 車師 with the Xiongnu 匈奴 again and again, and Quli 渠犂 became the base of the Han’s 漢 army. It is necessary to point out that, as described in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, “In the second year of the *Dijie* 地節 reign-period (B.C. 68), Han 漢 sent the Gentleman in Attendance, Zheng Ji 鄭吉, and Colonel Sima Xi 司馬熹 to take a force of convicts who had been excused punishment to work the land at Quli 渠犂 and gather the harvest, with the intention of attacking Jushi 車師”. This of course did not mean that the Western Han 漢 did not work at Quli 渠犂 until the second year of the *Dijie* 地節 reign-period (B.C. 68). From the above-quoted records in the chapter, which say there were “one thousand and five hundred agriculturalists” at Quli 渠犂, and “the three colonels were set to work at the military colonies” and so on, one can see that the scale of agricultural colony at Quli 渠犂 during the *Dijie* 地節 reign-period (B.C. 69–66) was the same as “the advice previously tendered by Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊”. Therefore “to work the land at Quli 渠犂” was in fact “to work the land to the west of Quli 渠犂”, i.e., to dig up irrigated arable land to the west of Quli 渠犂 and as far as Luntai 輪臺. As for the small scale of the agricultural colony at Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂, which started from the reign-periods between *Taichu* 太初 (B.C. 104–101) and *Tianhan* 天漢 (B.C. 100–97), we do not know whether or not it continued until the beginning of the *Dijie* 地節 reign-period.

After this, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Zheng Ji 鄭吉), “Since [Zheng] Ji [鄭]吉 destroyed Jushi 車師, and the King of Rizhu 日逐 surrendered, shocking the Western Regions, and thereupon protected the Northern Route to the west of Jushi 車師, he was called the Protector General. ... [Zheng] Ji [鄭]吉 thus established his general headquarters at the center of the Western Regions, having his seat in the town of Wulei 烏壘. The Protector General pacified the various states and sent armed forces to suppress or bring them”. Wulei 烏壘, as described in *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, was “close to the agricultural office of Quli 渠犂. The land

was fertile and the location was at the centre of the Western Regions; for these reasons the Protector General had his seat there". One of the reasons the seat of the government of Wulei 烏壘 was the same as that of the Protector General is that it was "close to the agricultural office of Quli 渠犂". The agricultural colony at Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂, which was set up by the Western Regions beginning in the *Taichu* 太初 (B.C. 104–101) and *Tianhan* 天漢 (B.C. 100–97) reign-periods was important in the course of Western Han 漢 unification of the Western Regions.

F

As mentioned above, the Western Han 漢 went west to the various states on the Northern Route for a time by way of the northwestern area of the Lob nor, via Quli 渠犂 and Luntai 輪臺. However, according to the above-quoted Emperor Wu's 武 edict from the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 61, "Weixu 危須 and [the states to the] west" made a compact to kill the Han 漢 envoys and the envoys from the state of Shendu 身毒. "Weixu 危須 and [the states to the] west" included at least the three states of Weixu 危須, Yanqi 焉耆 and Weili 尉犂. So far as location goes, the three states were all to the east of Quli 渠犂. There was no need to pass through the three states when the Han 漢 envoys went west or the envoys of Shendu 身毒 came east. It is possible that the three states took part in "severing the route that leads from East to West" at the instigation of the Xiongnu 匈奴. Or they were directed by the envoys of the Xiongnu 匈奴 who were stationed in the three states.

The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, shows that the Xiongnu 匈奴 had established the post of Commandant of Tongpu 僮僕 (Slaves) over the states of Weixu 危須, Yanqi 焉耆, and Weili 尉犂, and levied "taxes from the various states" through the Commandant. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 69, it is recorded that "Recently, the Xiongnu 匈奴 were stranded in the west,³⁸ and, when they heard that the Wuhuan 烏桓 came over the border barriers to seek protection sent their envoys to the various states of Weili 尉犂 and Weixu 危須 frequently to purchase young women and marten coats, they wanted to wreck and disintegrate it because of fearing that forces would be also called out in the east". It can be taken as an example of the way the Commandant of Tongpu 僮僕 operated.

It is generally understood that the post of the Commandant of Tongpu 僮僕 was established during the *Taishi* 太始 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (B.C. 96–93). That is to say, it was not long after Xianxianchan 先賢揮 had become the King of Rizhu 日逐 in the first year of the *Taishi* 太始 reign-period (B.C. 96). Before this, it is possible that the Xiongnu 匈奴 had established a similar institution in the three states. This is taken as evidence that the three states of Weixu 危須 and others took part in “severing the route that leads from east to west” in the above-quoted Emperor Wu’s 武 edict.

In the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (B.C. 60), the King of Rizhu 日逐 surrendered to Han 漢, and the post of Commandant of Tongpu 僮僕 was abolished. Weixu 危須, Yanqi 焉耆 and Weili 尉犁 were then subject to the Protector General. After that, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 69 (Memoir on Xin Qingji 辛慶忌), during the *Ganlu* 甘露 reign-period (B.C. 53–50) Xin Qingji 辛慶忌 “led officers and soldiers stationed in the state of Yanqi 焉耆”. Some suggest that “stationed in the state of Yanqi 焉耆” refers just to the station and not necessarily to setting up an agricultural colony.³⁹

It should be pointed out that the three states of Weixu 危須 and so on were not completely controlled by the Xiongnu 匈奴 before they surrendered to Han 漢 in the second year of the *Shenjue* 神爵 reign-period (B.C. 60). For example, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, in the fourth year of the *Zhenghe* 征和 reign-period (B.C. 89), when the Marquis of Kailing 開陵 attacked Jushi 車師, the forces of Weili 尉犁 and Weixu 危須 were called out.⁴⁰ And Junsu 軍宿, the prince of the state of Jushi 車師, who did not wish to be a hostage of the Xiongnu 匈奴, dared to take refuge at Yanqi 焉耆. It is possible that the three states’ unwilling to alienate either party, Han 漢 or the Xiongnu 匈奴, came into being soon after the *Taichu* 太初 (B.C. 104–101) or *Tainhan* 天漢 (B.C. 100–97) reign-periods, and that this was not unusual even during the time that Xianxianchan 先賢揮 established the Commandant of Tongpu 僮僕.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 99, it is recorded that in the fifth year of the *Shijianguo* 始建國 reign-period (A.D. 13),⁴¹ “The various states of the Western Regions considered that [Wang] Mang 王莽 had repeatedly broken [the ties of] grace and faithfulness [binding them to Han 漢]. [The state of] Yanqi 焉耆 revolted first, murdering the Protector General, Dan Qin 但欽”. And on the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, the reason why Yanqi 焉耆 revolted first is that the

state was "near to the Xiongnu 匈奴". In chapter 99, it is also recorded that "In the third year of the *Tianfeng* 天鳳 reign-period (A.D. 16), Wang Mang 王莽 dispatched Wang Jun 王駿, the General of Five Majestic, and Li Chong 李崇, the Protector General of the Western Regions, to take command of the [troops of] the Wuji 戊己 Colonel and to proceed to the Western Regions. The various states all met them with a welcome, and provided them with troops and corn. Yanqi 焉耆 made a pretence at surrendering, but assembled troops in self-defence. [Wang] Jun [王]駿 and his colleagues took a force of over 7,000 men from Suoju 莎車 and Qiuci 龜茲, and, dividing them into several units, invaded Yanqi 焉耆. Yanqi 焉耆 placed troops in ambush so as to obstruct [Wang] Jun [王]駿; and when troops of the states of Gumo 姑墨, Weili 尉犁, and Weixu 危須, who had acted as spies, returned, they altogether attacked [Wang] Jun [王]駿 and his colleagues killing them all, except for Guo Qin 郭欽, the Wuji 戊己 Colonel, who was in command of a separate force and reached Yanqi 焉耆 later. As the forces of Yanqi 焉耆 had not yet returned, [Guo] Qin [郭]欽 killed those [of its inhabitants] who were old or weak, and [led] his troops back [to Han 漢]".

On the basis of studies of the wooden documents that were recently unearthed from the ruins of beacon towers of Han 漢 times in Maquanwan 馬圈灣, Dunhuang 敦煌, we know that Wang Jun's 王駿 official title was "The Envoy to the Western Regions and the Commandant of Left Lieutenant of Five Majestic". (T5: No. 103, 78) Wang Jun 王駿 passed through the section of Qianqiu 千秋 in Yumen 玉門 in the twelfth month of the third year of the *Tianfeng* 天鳳 reign-period (A.D. 16), and arrived at the defence of the company of Da Jiandu 大煎都 in the first month of the next year. He established his general headquarters here, assembled troops, and prepared rations and forage. (T5: 141, 142) All the troops led by Wang Jun 王駿 were called up from the prefectures in the Hexi 河西 region, and were sent and reached the company of Da Jiandu 大煎都 of Dunhuang 敦煌 in batches of three, (T5: 12, 38, 116) seven thousand men in all. The Han 漢 forces advanced along two routes. One of them, about two thousand men led by Wang Jun 王駿 and Li Chong 李崇 themselves, came west out from the company of Da Jiandu 大煎都 and reached Weili 尉犁, passing Shanshan 鄯善, then joined the forces from the states of the Western Regions, Suoju 莎車, Qiuci 龜茲, and Weili 尉犁 and so on, seven thousand men in all, to attack Yanqi 焉耆 in the sixth month of the fourth year of the *Tianfeng* 天鳳 reign-period

(A.D. 17). (T5: 102, 55, 7, 90) At the first fight the Han 漢 army cut off heads and captured prisoners, and it asked the imperial court for its reward. (T5: 11, 42) However, the forces soon fell into an ambush and were defeated, so they sent a written message to the emperor to ask for punishment and to call for reinforcements. (T5: 53, 108, 65, 100) After Wang Jun 王駿 had been killed and the whole army had been overwhelmed, Li Chong 李崇 withdrew to Qiuci 龜茲 and sent a written message to the emperor to ask for punishment (T5: 88, 106).

As to another force, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 99B, "[Wang Jun 王駿] ordered his Associate Lieutenant, He Feng 何封, and the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, Guo Qin 郭欽, to separate their commands [from his]". The two generals led a force of five thousand men, by the way of the "New Route", i.e., Jushi 車師, southwest to attack Yanqi 焉耆. After killing those [of Yanqi's 焉耆 inhabitants] who were old or weak, they withdrew to Jushi 車師. (T5: 80, 110) Yanqi 焉耆 made a joint attack on Jushi 車師 with the Xiongnu 匈奴. (T5: 80, 110) He Feng 何封 and Guo Qin 郭欽 and others fought in isolation and suffered great hardships. (T5: 9, 63, 4) In the end they were unable to hold their ground and withdrew and entered the barrier because "the commissariat was gone and the officers and soldiers were hungry". (T: 83, 94, 96)⁴² From this time on the three states were cut off from the Wang Mang 王莽.

G

Of the various states on the Northern Route to the west of Quli 渠犂 and Luntai 輪臺, only the relations of two states, Qiuci 龜茲 and Gumo 姑墨, with the Western Han 漢 are known. These are all fragments; thus it is difficult to see the whole picture.

1. The state of Qiuci 龜茲: the relations between the Western Han 漢 and Qiuci 龜茲, which are described in the historical records, mainly concern the Laidan 賴丹 event. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96 A: When Li Guangli 李廣利 passed through Wumi 扞彌 on his return after he had attacked Dayuan 大宛, he heard that Laidan 賴丹, the heir apparent of Wumi 扞彌, was a hostage at Qiuci 龜茲 and dispatched an envoy to upbraid Qiuci 龜茲, sending Laidan 賴丹 to the capital city. Emperor Zhao 昭 appointed Laidan 賴丹 a colonel to lead a force to work the land to the east of Luntai 輪臺. Qiuci's 龜茲 king adopted the advice of Guyi 姑翼, a nobleman, and killed Laidan 賴丹. Han 漢 was unable to take corrective action.

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Fu Jiezi 傅介子), "Qiuci 龜茲 and Loulan 樓蘭 had killed the Han's 漢 envoy. ... During the *Yuanfeng* 元鳳 reign-period (B.C. 80–75), [Fu] Jiezi [傅]介子, the Superintendent of Fine Horses [Stables], asked to be sent on a diplomatic mission to Dayuan 大宛. Thereupon an edict ordered him to upbraid the states of Loulan 樓蘭 and Qiuci 龜茲. ... [Fu] Jiezi [傅]介子 arrived at Qiuci 龜茲 and upbraided the king. The king admitted his guilt. When [Fu] Jiezi [傅]介子 returned to Qiuci 龜茲 from Dayuan 大宛, Qiuci's 龜茲 king told him that the envoys of the Xiongnu 匈奴 had returned from Wusun 烏孫 and were there. [Fu] Jiezi [傅]介子, therefore, led his officers and others to execute the Xiongnu's 匈奴 envoys". This shows that Qiuci 龜茲 was unwilling to alienate either party till the middle of the *Yuanfeng* 元鳳 reign-period. This is the reference "chopped and changed many times" in the same chapter. As for the statement, Qiuci 龜茲 "had killed the Han's 漢 envoy", "envoy" undoubtedly refers to Laidan 賴丹, the heir apparent of the state of Wumi 扞彌. Laidan 賴丹 was from the state of Wumi 扞彌, but was no different from a Han 漢 envoy because he had been sent by Han 漢. Han 漢 had to execute all those who killed the Han 漢 envoys. Therefore [Fu] Jiezi [傅]介子 spoke to the Supreme General Huo Guang 霍光: "if they were not killed, nobody would be frightened and watchful". The king of Qiuci 龜茲 was not killed because Huo Guang 霍光, eager to conquer Loulan 樓蘭, was too busy to execute the king at that time.

After this, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, "In the time of Emperor Xuan 宣, Chang Hui 常惠, Marquis of Changluo 長羅, was sent on a mission to Wusun 烏孫. On his way back he found a suitable opportunity to call out forces from the various states, amounting altogether to 50,000 men, and to attack Qiuci 龜茲. He blamed them for having formerly killed Colonel Laidan 賴丹, and the king excused himself by saying 'at that time his predecessor had been deceived by Guyi 姑翼, a nobleman, and that he himself was guiltless'. He arrested Guyi 姑翼 and sent him to [Chang] Hui [常]惠, who had him beheaded".⁴³ The statement Chang Hui 常惠 "was sent on a mission to Wusun 烏孫" refers to the fact that Han 漢 sent [Chang] Hui [常]惠 with gold and valuables as presents for the Wusun 烏孫 noblemen in the fourth year of the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period (B.C. 70). The Laidan 賴丹 event did not finish until Guyi 姑翼 was beheaded.

The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, goes on to record that "At this time the princess of Wusun 烏孫 had sent her daughter to the capital city to study lute-playing. Han 漢 sent Le Feng 樂奉, a Gentleman in Attendance, to escort her back, and they passed through Qiuci 龜茲. Qiuci 龜茲 had previously sent men to Wusun 烏孫 to request the hand of the daughter of the princess, but they had not yet returned. It so happened that the princess' daughter was then passing through Qiuci 龜茲, and the king detained her without sending her on. He sent a further messenger to report matters to the princess who gave her consent. Later the princess sent a written message expressing her wish that her daughter should be treated like a member of the imperial household and admitted to court. For his part, Jiangbin 絳賓, king of Qiuci 龜茲, loved his wife, and he wrote that, having obtained the hand of a granddaughter of the Han 漢 [imperial family], he had become a brother [of the Han 漢 house]; and he would like to pay a visit to the court in company with the princess' daughter. In the first year of *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 65), they thereupon came to court to offer their congratulations. The king and his consort each had seals and ribbons bestowed upon them. His consort was granted the style and title of princess, and given carriages and a complement of riders, banner-carriers, drummers, singers and flautists numbered by tens, together with patterned silks, embroideries, variegated silks, and precious gems corresponding altogether in value to tens of millions [of cash]. After remaining for a visit of almost a year, they were given generous gifts and sent on their way. Later they paid several visits to the court to present their congratulations. They delighted in the Han 漢 style of dress and institutions; on returning to their own state they built residences, with an outside road running round the perimeter; they arranged a relay system of calls to announce their arrival or departure with the beating of bells and drums; and their protocol was like that of the house of Han 漢. The outer states and the Hu 胡 people all said: "An ass that is no ass; a horse that is no horse; it's like the king of Qiuci 龜茲, what we call a mule".

In my opinion, the king of Qiuci 龜茲 was close to Han 漢 because he married the daughter of the princess of Wusun 烏孫. This was a byproduct of Han's 漢 alliance with Wusun 烏孫, and Han 漢 probably did not expect it. In fact, that the personage such as Jiangbin 絳賓 occurred at that time was not accidental. Down to the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period (B.C. 73–70), the Han 漢 culture had early seeped into the Western Regions, especially the various states to the

east of the Cong 葱 Mountains. Wusun 烏孫 assimilated the Han 漢 culture very easily since it and Han 漢 had formed an alliance by marriage. Since Qiuci 龜茲 was a close neighbour of Wusun 烏孫, and had the only road by which Han 漢 communicated with Wusun 烏孫, it is needless to say that it deeply accepted the influences of the Han 漢 culture. From the fact that Jiangbin 絳賓 "had previously sent men to Wusun 烏孫 to request the hand of the daughter of the princess" and later "loved his wife", one can see the factors that look forward to assimilating the Han 漢 culture. The fact that "they delighted in the Han 漢 style of dress and institutions" did not start from their offering their congratulations in the first year of *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 65).

After Qiuci 龜茲 had submitted to Han 漢, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (M memoir on Zheng Ji 鄭吉), Zheng Ji 鄭吉 called out the troops from the state of Qiuci 龜茲 when he received the King of Rizhu 日逐, who surrendered to Han 漢.

After the death of Jiangbin 絳賓, according to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, "his son Chengde 丞德 styled himself grandson of the Han 漢 house in the female line of descent. In the time of Emperors Cheng 成 and Ai 哀, the king undertook the journey to and from [Chang'an 長安] very frequently, and Han 漢 likewise treated him with a very close friendship".

On the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, in the third year of the *Tianfeng* 天鳳 reign-period (A.D. 16), Wang Jun 王駿, the General of Five Majestic, and Li Chong 李崇, Protector General of the Western Regions, took command of the troops of Suoju 莎車 and Qiuci 龜茲 to attack Yanqi 焉耆. Afterwards, only Qiuci 龜茲 did not revolt, when states of Gumo 姑墨, Weili 尉犁, Weixu 危須 and others all revolted. After Wang Jun 王駿 was killed, "Li Chong 李崇 collected the remaining troops and sought protection in Qiuci 龜茲". This is related to the fact that Qiuci 龜茲 had been in close association with Han 漢 and accepted the influences of the Han 漢 culture deeply since the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (B.C. 73–70).

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28B, it is recorded that there was a Qiuci 龜茲 county in Shang 上 Prefecture. Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentaries said, "the countrymen of Qiuci 龜茲 who came over and surrendered were put there, and it therefore was named after them". Seeing that Qiuci 龜茲 was in close association with Han 漢, Yan Shigu's 顏師古 words may be accepted. The Qiuci 龜茲 people who lived or naturalized there must not have been in the minority.

2. The state of Gumo 姑墨: on the relations between the Western Han 漢 and Gumo 姑墨 there are just some fragmentary records.

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, Rier 日貳, his younger brother, killed Fuli 拊離, the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 of Wusun 烏孫. The latter escaped to Kangju 康居. Thereupon "Han 漢 moved the *Ji* 己 Colonel to garrison Gumo 姑墨 (漢徙己校屯姑墨)" so as to look for a favourable opportunity to attack Rier 日貳. In my opinion, "to garrison Gumo 姑墨" was in the first year of the *Heping* 河平 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成 (B.C. 28). It is also possible that "tun 屯" (to garrison) refers to setting up an agricultural colony.⁴⁴

According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, in the fourth year of the reign-period *Tianfeng* 天鳳 of Wang Mang's 王莽 Xin 新 Dynasty (A.D. 17), Gumo 姑墨, Weili 尉犁 and others altogether had acted as spies and killed Wang Jun 王駿, the General of Five Majestic, who was sent to attack Yanqi 焉耆. It seems that Gumo's 姑墨 submission to Han 漢 began during the reign of Emperor Xuan 宣, and that it had revolted and been cut off until this time.

H

The following section is an account of the relations between the Western Han 漢 and Jibin 罽賓 and also gives an account of Wuyishanli 烏弋山離.

The state of Jibin 罽賓 was located in the middle and lower reaches of the Kabul River. It was established by the Sakās who moved south from the valleys of the Ili and Chu rivers. The date of the state's establishment is unknown but could not be earlier than B.C. 129.⁴⁵ According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A,

Communications started from [the time of] Emperor Wu 武. Jibin 罽賓 believed that it lay cut off by the long distance and that Han 漢 troops would not be able to reach it; and Wutoulao 烏頭勞, the king, frequently menaced or killed Han 漢 envoys. When Wutoulao 烏頭勞 died, his son acceded in his place, and despatched envoys bearing gifts. Han 漢 ordered Wen Zhong 文忠, Commandant of the Barrier, to escort them [back to Jibin 罽賓], but the king reverted to earlier practice and tried to injure [Wen] Zhong [文]忠. When he realized what was

happening, [Wen] Zhong [文]忠 entered into a plot with Yinmofu 陰末赴, son of the Rongqu 容屈 king, to attack Jibin 罽賓 and kill the king. Yinmofu 陰末赴 was established as king of Jibin 罽賓 and invested with a seal and ribbon. Later Zhao De 趙德, an Army Captain, was sent as an envoy to Jibin 罽賓 and fell out with Yinmofu 陰末赴. Yinmofu 陰末赴 had [Zhao De 趙德] bound in chains, and put to death seventy members [of his mission] including his deputy; and he then submitted a written account of the incident [to the Han 漢 emperor] begging to be forgiven. In view of the distance [at which the state lay] Emperor Xiaoyuan 孝元 did not order the matter to be considered [for further action], and he had the envoy [from Jibin 罽賓] set free at the Suspended Crossing. Relations were severed and there was now no communication [between Han 漢 and Jibin 罽賓].

The statement "communications started from [the time of] Emperor Wu 武" probably refers to the period after Zhang Qian 張騫 had been sent on a mission to Wusun 烏孫. This is because Jibin 罽賓 does not seem to be included in the states to which the deputy envoys were sent by Zhang Qian 張騫 when the latter was sent to Wusun 烏孫. Of course, the possibility is not completely ruled out that those who discovered Jibin 罽賓 and thus had communication with it were the deputy envoys sent by Zhang Qian 張騫 to Shendu 身毒.

During the reign of Emperor Yuan 元, at the latest, a change had taken place in the royal system of Jibin 罽賓. This change was caused by a coup d'état in which Wen Zhong 文忠, a Han 漢 envoy, had plotted with and instigated Yinmofu 陰末赴, the son of the king of Rongqu 容屈 to take over. It is suggested that "Rongqu 容屈" was a transcription of "Ιωνακη". Thus it is possible that Yinmofu 陰末赴 was a descendant of the Greek nobles who had ruled the middle and lower reaches of the Kabul River before the Sakās did. "To attack Jibin 罽賓" and so on also seems to show that Yinmofu 陰末赴 had been a power outside the state of Jibin 罽賓 that was ruled by the Sakās.⁴⁶ As for Wen Zhong 文忠, taking part in overturning the Sakā power of Jibin 罽賓 was because Wutoulao 烏頭勞, the Sakān king, and his son frequently menaced or killed Han 漢 envoys. And from the reference "Yinmofu 陰末赴 was established as king of Jibin 罽賓

and invested with a seal and ribbon" it can be seen that the act of Wen Zhong 文忠 was approved and supported by the Han 漢 court after the event at least.

After Yinmofu 陰末赴 had been established, the event of the Han 漢 envoys' being killed took place. Yinmofu 陰末赴 soon sent an envoy to offer an apology but "in view of the distance [at which the state lay] Emperor Xiaoyuan 孝元 did not order the matter to be considered [for further action]", and "relations were severed and there was now no communication" between Han 漢 and Jibin 罽賓. This shows that the policy of the Western Han 漢 toward the Western Regions had suffered a great change at the point that Yinmofu 陰末赴 killed the Han 漢 envoys. On the basis of the same chapter, the states that Emperor Yuan 元 left out of consideration because they lay at such a great distance, aside from Jibin 罽賓, also included Kangju 康居, Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Anxi 安息, Wuyishanli 烏弋山離, and others. It is self-evident that it had very different tastes and interests, contrasting to the policy towards the Western Regions in effect since Emperor Wu 武.

The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, continues by recording that "In the time of Emperor Cheng 成, Jibin 罽賓 again sent an envoy with gifts and a message of apology. Han 漢 intended to send an envoy in return, to escort the mission back [to Jibin 罽賓], but Du Qin 杜欽 addressed Wang Feng 王鳳, the supreme general, in the following terms: 'At first, Yinmofu 陰末赴, king of Jibin 罽賓, had originally been established by Han 漢 but later he turned after all in rebellion. Now there is no greater [proof] of prestige than the possession of a state and treatment of its inhabitants as one's children, and there is no greater [example of] criminal behaviour than the apprehension and murder of envoys. The reason why [Jibin 罽賓] has not requited imperial grace and favour and does not fear punishment is that it knows itself to be cut off from [Han 漢] by a long distance beyond the range of [Han 漢] troops. If there is something which it requires, its language is servile; if there is nothing which it desires, its behaviour is arrogant; and in the end the state will not be fit for acceptance as our subject. All the instances in which the Middle Kingdom enters into generous relations with barbarians and gratifies their requests occur because, their territories being close, they make incursions [into the Middle Kingdom]. In the present case, the bar formed by the Suspended Crossing is such that it cannot be traversed by [the inhabitants] of Jibin 罽賓. Their show of respect is not sufficient to bring peace to the Western Regions, and

although they do not adhere to [Han 漢] they are incapable of endangering the walled cities [of the Western Regions]. Formerly [the king] personally defied the emblems [of Han 漢 authority], and his iniquity lay exposed to the Western Regions. For this reason, relations were severed and there was no communication [between Jibin 罽賓 and Han 漢]. Now they regret their earlier misdemeanours and come [with a show of submission], but there are no members of the royal family or noblemen among those who bring gifts; the latter are all merchants and men of low origins. They wish to exchange their goods and conduct trade, under the pretext of presenting gifts. Thus we have been put to the trouble of providing envoys to escort [the men of Jibin 罽賓] to the Suspended Crossing; we have forfeited any real [gains to be made from their visit] and have been subject to deceit. All cases in which we have sent envoys to escort visitors back have been due to our wish to provide them with defensive protection against the danger of robbery.... When the Sage Kings divided the world into nine provinces and made the regulations for the five zones, their efforts were directed to making the inner regions prosperous without seeking anything beyond. But now the envoys who are sent out on missions carry the commands of the Most Honourable to escort merchants of the barbarians. Large numbers of officers and soldiers are made to toil, being sent out on journeys over dangerous and arduous roads; and the resources on which we rely are dissipated and exhausted for a cause which brings no [material] advantage. This is no long-term plan. Those of our envoys who have already received their emblems of authority should be permitted to proceed as far as Pishan 皮山 and then to return'. [Wang] Feng [王]鳳 then proposed to the emperor that [Du] Qin's [杜]欽 advice should be accepted. In fact Jibin 罽賓 was seeking to profit from the imperial gifts [that were presented to the state] and from trade, and its envoys came [to Han 漢] once every several years".

From this, it can be seen that the relations between the Western Han 漢 and Jibin 罽賓, which had been cut off, were restored during the reign of Emperor Cheng 成. However, it seems to be one-way traffic: the Western Han 漢 sent envoys to Jibin 罽賓 no longer, but the envoys of Jibin 罽賓 "came [to Han 漢] once every several years".

It is notable that Du Qin's 杜欽 words and the Protector General, Guo Shun's 郭舜, comments expressed the fact that [the king of] Kangju 康居 "sent a son to attend at the Han 漢 [court]" exactly the same. Both claimed that the states that lay at a distance should not be

considered. However, from the words of Du Qin 杜欽 it can be seen clearly that the Western Han 漢 was satisfied with preserving the various states of the walled towns in the management of the Western Regions, and did not have a long-term plan after the later period of Emperor Yuan 元.

On the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, we know that the Western Han 漢 had contact with Wuyishanli 烏弋山離, a great state to the southeast of Anxi 安息, but "Han 漢 envoys reached it only rarely" because the state was "cut off and remote".⁴⁷

I

The aim of the Western Han's 漢 management of the Western Regions, which was to restrict the development of the relations between the Western Han 漢 and the Western Regions to a greater extent, will be briefly stated here.

The Western Han's 漢 management of the Western Region, that is to say, "to communicate with the Western Regions" as the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, states started from the time of Emperor Wu 武. This was an important aspect of "undertaking the task of subduing the various barbarian peoples", as noted in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, and its especial aim was "to sever the right arm of the Xiongnu 匈奴".

The prelude during which the Western Han 漢 "communicated with the Western Regions" was disclosed by Zhang Qian 張騫, who was sent on a mission to Da Yuezhi 大月氏. The aim of Zhang Qian's 張騫 diplomatic mission was to join with the Xiongnu's 匈奴 enemy states to attack the Xiongnu 匈奴 from both within and without. There was no clear and vivid formulation such as "to sever the right arm of the Xiongnu 匈奴" at that time, but what Zhang Qian 張騫 had done was carry out this stratagem.

According to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, the plan "to sever the right arm of the Xiongnu 匈奴" was brought forward to Emperor Wu 武 by Zhang Qian 張騫 before he was sent on a mission to Wusun 烏孫. According to Zhang Qian's 張騫 plan, the Western Han 漢 could sever the Xiongnu's 匈奴 connection with the Western Regions through Wusun 烏孫.⁴⁸

Along with that, the Western Han's 漢 influence filtered into the Western Regions step by step and the balance of the Han-Xiongnu's 漢-匈奴 strength changed in a direction that was beneficial to Han 漢. The Western Han 漢 realized the stratagem "to sever the right arm of the

Xiongnu 匈奴” through driving out the Xiongnu 匈奴 and replacing them in controlling the Western Regions, and it looked no longer to form alliances in the Western Regions such as Wusun 烏孫.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94B, the Yang Xiong’s 揚雄 words are recorded: “Formerly, we conspired with the Western Regions, uniformed Jushi 車師, and established a Protector General for the thirty-six states of the walled towns, and this has required sums counted by the hundred-millions [in cash] per year. Was this because Kangju 康居 and Wusun 烏孫 were able to cross the White Dragon Mounds and invade the western border? It was in order to subdue the Xiongnu 匈奴”. It is obviously inexact that the sole aim of conspiring with the Western Regions was to subdue the Xiongnu 匈奴. One should just say that “to conspire with the Western Regions” is differentiated from other aspects of “undertaking the task of subduing the various barbarian peoples” because of the need “to subdue the Xiongnu 匈奴”.

The common purpose of “undertaking the task of subduing the various barbarian peoples” must have been that “it would be possible to extend [Han 漢] territory for 10,000 *li* 里. With [the help of] a series of interpreters, those whose customs were strange could be brought to court, and imperial prestige could be exercised throughout the area within the four seas”, as described in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123.

In the preface of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, it is recorded that “From the decline of the Zhou 周, the Rong 戎 and Di 氐 peoples lived as elements of a mixed population to the north of the Jing 涇 and Wei 渭 rivers. By the time of the First Emperor of the Qin 秦 Dynasty, the Rong 戎 and Di 氐 were driven away and the long walls were built to form a boundary for the Middle Kingdom. However, in the west, these did not extend farther than Lintao 臨洮”. As result the Western Han 漢 managed the Western Regions, “In the total number of fifty states there were altogether 376 men who carried on their belts Han 漢 seals and ribbons, ranging from Interpreters-in-Chiefs, Chiefs of Towns, Masters, Inspectors, Officials, *Dalu* 大祿, Chiefs of the Hundreds, Chiefs of the Thousands, Commandants, *Qiequ* 且渠, *Danghu* 當戶, Leaders and Chancellors to Nobles and Kings”, as was said in the end of the same chapter. The purpose “to extend [Han 漢] territory for ten thousand *li* 里” would also be considered to be achieved even if “[those officials] subordinated to Kangju 康居, the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Anxi 安息, Jibin 罽賓,

and Wuyi[shanli] 烏弋[山離] are not included in this figure, as they were removed at a distance. When [those states] sent tribute or gifts, [Han 漢] reciprocated, but [Han 漢] did not exercise supervision or control”.

The *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, records that, after Li Guangli 李廣利 had attacked Da Yuan 大宛, “Han 漢 sent out missions numbered in tens to proceed to the various outer states west of [Da]yuan [大]宛 to seek rare goods; and they were also to take the opportunity to admonish [the states] and impress them with the prestige [shown by Han 漢] in conquering [Da]yuan [大]宛”. “To seek rare goods” was one of the important reasons the Han 漢 ordered that, “with [the help of] a series of interpreters, those whose customs were strange could be brought to court”. “To seek rare goods” was in order to adorn the peace and to parade the visitors from various barbarian peoples and to have them know Han’s 漢 abundance and power. In a eulogy in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, it is recorded:

In the time of Emperors Wen 文 and Jing 景, [the mood] had been one of silent contemplation [rather than of positive action]; for five reigns the people had been nurtured; the lands below the skies were prosperous and rich; there was wealth and strength in plenty, and military horses in full abundance. It was therefore possible [to accumulate manifold resources]. Having beheld rhinoceros horn, ivory, and tortoise shell, [the men of those days] founded seven prefectures, including Zhuya 珠崖; allured by betel-nuts and bamboo staves, they opened up the prefectures of Zangke 牂柯 and Yuexi 越嶲; and, learning of the horses of Heaven and of the grape, they started communicating with Dayuan 大宛 and Anxi 安息. From then on rarities such as luminous pearls, striped shells, lined rhinoceros horn, and kingfisher feathers [were seen] in plenty in the empress’ palace; the *pushao* 蒲梢, dragon-stripes, fish-eye, and blood-sweating horses filled the Yellow Gate; groups of great elephants, lions, ferocious beasts, and ostriches were reared in the outer parks; and wonderful goods of diverse climes were brought from the four quarters of the world. Thereupon [the emperor] had the Shanglin 上林 [Park] enlarged and the Kunming 昆明 Lake dug out; he laid

out the palace with its thousand gates and myriad doors, and erected the [two] eminences, [the one] where the spirits dwell and [the other] which leads to heaven; he hung aloft the curtains in their different series, fastened together with Sui 隨 pearls and He 和 jades. The Son of Heaven took his place within, with his back against a screen figured in black and white; he was decked in a coverlet of kingfisher plumes and reclined on an armrest decorated with jade. Wine was set out [sufficient to fill] a lake, and meats [in plenty like] a forest to entertain the guests of the four barbarian peoples. As spectacle for them to admire, there were exhibited [the dancers] of Bayu 巴俞, [the perch-climbers] of Dulu 都廬, the pole springing up from an [artificial] sea, with [the ballets] of the Manyan 漫衍 [monster] and of the fishes and dragons, and [the performance] of the bull game. There came the further expenses of presents sent as gifts or to accompany escorts; of the courtesies exchanged at a distance of 10,000 *li* 里; and of the armed forces, too high for calculation.

“Wonderful goods of diverse climes were brought from the four quarters of the world” is the symbol that “the imperial power and prestige could be exercised throughout the area within the four seas”.

It is suggested that “to seek rare goods” is nothing but a manifestation of the imperial luxury and extravagance.⁴⁹ In my opinion, the view is biased to some extent. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 99A, it is recorded that “First, he had hinted that [the Administrator of] Yizhou 益州 should induce the barbarians outside the barrier to present a white pheasant, and, in the first year of the *Yuanshi* 元始 (A.D. 1) reign-period, in the first month, [Wang] Mang [王莽] advised the [Grand] Empress Dowager to issue an imperial edict that the white pheasant should be offered in the [imperial] ancestral temples”. In the same chapter it is also recorded that in the fifth year of the *Yuanshi* 元始 reign-period (A.D. 5), Wang Mang 王莽 memorialized in reply, saying, “You, [Grand] Empress Dowager, have ruled for several years; your grace and bounty have inundated and overflowed, so that a filial attitude of submission [has spread over] the four quarters and not even the most distant regions with different customs have failed to turn towards correct

principles. A Yuechang 越裳 potentate, [whose speech must be] successively interpreted, presented a white pheasant; the Huangzhi 黃支 [came] from [a distance of] thirty thousand *li* 里 to offer a live rhinoceros as tribute; kings of the Eastern barbarians crossed the Great Ocean to offer the treasures of their states" and so on. From this, it is not difficult to know the use of "curiosities".

Of course, a more important function of bringing to court those whose customs were strange with [the help of] a series of interpreters was that various states in the Western Regions contributed or sent their sons to attend at the Han 漢 court. This not only promulgated the Han's 漢 power and prestige in the area within four seas, but it also polished the peace and tranquility of the Middle Kingdom. A record in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, is enough to explain the point:

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 漢. Wrestling matches [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 漢 and to overawe them with surprise.

Here Emperor Wu 武 killed two birds with one stone, not only showing off to "the visitors from the outer states" the wealth and plenty of Han 漢, but also letting the "many persons assembled to watch" know that the son of Heaven's power and prestige could be exercised throughout the area within the four seas.

In sum, the aim of the Western Han's 漢 management of the Western Regions can be epitomized as follow: to contain the Xiongnu 匈奴, utilize a series of interpreters, bring the

strange customs to court, and to exercise imperial power and prestige throughout the area within the four seas.⁵⁰

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The Western Han 漢 adopted a series of effective measures in order to realize its purpose in managing the Western Regions.

1. Forming alliance by marriage: The true alliance by marriage occurred only in relations with Wusun 烏孫. Wusun 烏孫 was a large state and held the balance of power for a time. Han 漢 married a princess to the *Kunmo* 昆莫 of Wusun 烏孫, which shows Han 漢 that took Wusun 烏孫 as its ally. Afterwards Wusun 烏孫 was reduced to being a dependency of Han 漢, and Han 漢 thereupon no longer married royalty to it. Of the small states, only the king of the state of Loulan 樓蘭 was given a lady-in-waiting to marry when his state was renamed Shanshan 鄯善. The latter was also to form an alliance, but its nature was different from the former, in that it was merely a sort of gift to the king of Shanshan 鄯善.

Also, the wife of Jiangbin 絳賓, the king of Qiuci 龜茲, was the daughter of Xieyou 解憂. She "was granted the style and title of princess" when she came to court at the beginning of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 65). Therefore, this could be called the indirectly forming an alliance by marriage.

The facts show that forming alliance by marriage was an effective means for the Western Han 漢 to change the footing on which Wusun 烏孫 stood with the Xiongnu 匈奴, and laid the foundation for controlling Wusun 烏孫.

2. Threat of force: Attacking Loulan 樓蘭, Gushi 姑師 in the third year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 108), attacking Dayuan 大宛 during the *Taichu* 太初 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (B.C. 104–101), attacking Suoju 莎車 in the first year of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 65), and killing Beiyuanzhi 卑爰氐 during the *Yuanshi* 元始 reign-period (A.D. 1–5) are all examples. The circumstances of these attacks were not completely alike, but the objects were considerably the same. All of them had killed the Han's 漢 envoys (or the officers who were established and the puppets who propped up by Han 漢). That the envoys and so on were killed obstructed directly the management of the Western Regions and impaired

national prestige. Therefore, Han 漢 must attack and put them to death. These punishments generally were just to cut off the heads of chief culprits, and not to kill or rob excessively. Han 漢 sometimes did not move forces, such as when Fu Jiezi 傅介子 killed the king of Loulan 樓蘭 or Wen Zhong 文忠 killed the king of Jibin 罽賓. Afterwards Yanqi 焉耆 killed Dan Qin 但欽, the Protector General, but Wang Mang 王莽 was not able to punish it, and the control of the Western Regions disintegrated soon afterwards. All through the reign of the Western Han 漢, the resort to arms was not frequent, but each time was a deterrent effective to some extent, and all were indispensable to maintaining or extending control of the Western Regions.

3. Setting up an agricultural colony: The Western Han's 漢 setting up an agricultural colony in the Western Regions started at the end of the *Taichu* 太初 reign-period or the beginning of *Tianhan* 天漢 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (B.C. 101 or 100). The area chosen for the first agricultural colony was Luntai 輪臺 and Quli 渠犂. During the *Zhenghe* 征和 reign-period (B.C. 92–89) Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊 suggested expanding by setting up an agricultural colony at Luntai 輪臺, and joining it together with the land of Quli 渠犂. But Emperor Wu 武 did not accept this. Emperor Zhao 昭 accepted Sang's 桑 idea and ordered Landan 賴丹 to set up an agricultural colony to the east of Luntai 輪臺. This could not be carried out because of Landan's 賴丹 death. During the reign of Emperor Xuan 宣, Zheng Ji 鄭吉 set up an agricultural colony at Quli 渠犂 and, based in Quli 渠犂, he contended for Jushi 車師 with the Xiongnu 匈奴 again and again. After Jushi 車師 had been destroyed, Han 漢 also set up an agricultural colony at Northern Xujian 胥鞬 in the state of Jushi 車師. Before that, Zheng Ji 鄭吉 sent officers and soldiers to set up an agricultural colony at the town of Jiaohe 交河 of the state of Jushi 車師 but did not succeed because the Xiongnu 匈奴 sent cavalry to fight them and they were defeated. In the time of Emperor Yuan 元, the additional post of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was established to reopen the agricultural colonies around the town of Jiaohe 交河.

During the reign of Emperor Zhao 昭, Han 漢 set up the agricultural colonies at Yixun 伊循 following the request of the king of Shanshan 鄯善. One major was first sent and at a later time the office of commandant was established to manage it. During the *Ganlu* 甘露 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (B.C. 53–50) Han 漢 also set up the agricultural colonies at the town of Chigu 赤谷, the royal court of Wusun 烏孫. And there was a plan to move the *Ji* 己 Colonel to

garrison Gumo 姑墨 in the first year of the *Heping* 河平 reign-period of Emperor Cheng 成 (B.C. 28).

To manage the Western Regions, the Western Han 漢 must garrison, sending envoys. It was absolutely necessary to set up the agricultural colonies and to store the grain crops. In an edict of Emperor Wu 武 that was recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, there is a section that states the difficulties of supplying the management of the Western Regions, which can be taken as background to setting up the agricultural colonies in the Western Regions.

Previously when the Marquis of Kailing 開陵 attacked Jushi 車師, the sons or younger brothers of [the kings of] the six states of Weixu 危須, Weili 尉犁, Loulan 樓蘭, and others who were present at the capital city all returned to their homelands before [the expedition], to arrange for supplies of food to be brought out to meet the Han 漢 forces. In addition they themselves put a force in the field which was several myriads strong, with the kings taking personal command in each case. Working together, [these forces] laid siege to Jushi 車師 and forced its king to surrender. The forces of the various states were then disbanded, and the strength [of these six states] was insufficient to reach the route again and bring up supplies for the Han 漢 armies. When the Han 漢 armies had conquered the town, the food supplies were very abundant; nevertheless the rations which the men personally carried were not sufficient to last until the end of the campaign. Those who were strong consumed the stock animals and those who were weak died on the roads to the number of several thousands of men. We had asses and camels sent out from Jiuquan 酒泉 [Prefecture] to carry supplies, and they passed out of Yumen 玉門 Barrier to meet the troops. The officers and conscripts who left from Zhangye 張掖 [Prefecture] did not march for a very long distance; none the less there were very large numbers of stragglers.

Most of the locations at which agricultural colonies were to be set up, such as Yixun 伊循, the states of Nearer and Further Jushi 車師, Luntai 輪臺, and Quli 渠犂, were located in communications hubs, which help to explain the problem. After the Protector General had been

established, a part of the food to supply the officers and soldiers in the Western Regions could be provided. Of course, setting up the agricultural colony did not resolve all supply problems for the management of the Western Regions.⁵¹ During the reign of Emperor Xuan 宣, Zheng Ji 鄭吉 sent a written message to the Emperor desiring to increase the number of those who were working the land at Jushi 車師. The senior ministers considered this proposal and concluded that the distance was long, irksome, and involved waste; and it would be right to disband the colonies at Jushi 車師. This shows that the colonies themselves had considerable consumption, especially at their initial stages.

4. Rewarding: An important reason that the Western Han's 漢 management in the Western Regions could make progress ceaselessly is that it made use of both favour and disfavour. Giving rewards was one way of bestowing favour.

As early as the reign of Emperor Wu 武 Han 漢 had confirmed its guideline "to present them with gifts and hold out advantages" with which to bring the various states in the Western Regions to court. The foundation was that "they prized Han 漢 wealth and goods". Its essence was to utilize the formidable appeal that had evolved in the more advanced economy and culture in the Central Plains than those in the Western Regions.

When Zhang Qian 張騫 was sent on a mission to Wusun 烏孫, "he took gold, valuables, and silk which was worth an enormous amount". When the nobles of Dayuan 大宛 established Chanfeng 蟬封 as king, Han 漢 also "took the occasion to send out envoys with gifts so as to pacify [the area]". And when Emperor Wu 武 made tours of inspection to the seaside, he was always accompanied by visitors from the outer states, and "he distributed wealth and silks", "granting generous bounties and providing ample supplies". Chang Hui 常惠 also presented the nobles of Wusun 烏孫 with gold and valuables, Feng Liao 馮嫪 presented gifts to the various states of the walled cities, and Zhang Zun 張遵 gave the Mad King a present of gold and coloured silks. Also, when Xijun 細君 married, "she was sent off with a very rich store of gifts"; when Weituqi 尉屠耆 returned home or Jiangbin 絳賓 came to court, they were presented with rich gifts. These are clearly recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96. There is no need to go into detail here.

To see that the various states in the Western Regions "prized Han 漢 wealth and goods", one can look at both of the records. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123, it is recorded that,

As soon as he reached Wusun 烏孫, the king of Wusun 烏孫, *Kunmo* 昆莫, received [Zhang] Qian [張]騫 with ceremonial such as that [used for receiving] a *Chanyu* 單于. Knowing the greed of these barbarians, [Zhang] Qian [張]騫 was greatly mortified and said: "The Son of Heaven has sent some gifts, and unless the king makes obeisance, I shall return with them [to Han 漢]". The *Kunmo* 昆莫 stood up and made obeisance, and the other [parts of the ceremonial were continued] as formerly.

In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Fu Jiezi 傅介子), it is recorded that:

[Fu] Jiezi [傅]介子 took gold and valuables with the soldiers, threatening to present the outer states with it, and arrived at Loulan 樓蘭. The king of Loulan 樓蘭 was not close to [Fu] Jiezi [傅]介子 in the mind. [Fu] Jiezi [傅]介子 pretended to get away, arrived in the western borderlands, and sent an interpreter to tell him that 'the Han 漢 envoy with gold and brocades and embroideries as presents made an inspection tour of various states and presented them, but if king does not come and accept, I will go to the western states', showing gold and valuables to the interpreter. The interpreter returned and reported this to the king. The king was greedy for Han 漢 goods and came to call on the envoy. [Fu] Jiezi [傅]介子 sat down and drank with him and laid out the valuables to show him. After the king and the others were tipsy, [Fu] Jiezi [傅]介子 told the king, 'the Son of the Heaven ordered me to tell the king something in secret'. The king stood up and came to the curtain along with [Fu] Jiezi [傅]介子, ordering the attendants to leave the room while they spoke. Two sturdy men stabbed him in his back. He died as soon as the knives crossed in his chest.

The charm of receiving rewards was irresistible. As a result one could submit or meet his death.

In sum, giving rewards was an effective artifice by which the Western Han 漢 achieved its various short- or long-term purposes in managing the Western Regions.

5. Accepting hostages: All the states of Loulan 樓蘭, Dayuan 大宛, Kangju 康居, Suoju 莎車, and Wusun 烏孫 and others sent their princes to be hostages or to attend at the Han 漢 court. The hostages or the princes who had served as attendants at court offered three effects:

First, they played the role of pawn. For example, when the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌, Mozhenjiang 末振將, killed the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌, Han 漢 took into custody the son of the Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌, who was in attendance at the capital city.

Second, it built up Han 漢 influence. When the king of Loulan 樓蘭 died, the Xiongnu 匈奴 sent their hostage back first to [Loulan 樓蘭] so that he could be established as king, and the king therefore was close to the Xiongnu 匈奴. This shows clearly from the other side the effect of Han's 漢 ordering the kings of various states to send their sons as hostage. Xian 延, the king of Suoju 莎車, was the best example of the kings of states in the Western Regions being close to Han 漢 because of attending at the court. On the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88,

When the *Chanyu* 單于 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 occupied the Western Regions, taking advantage of the chaos at the time of Wang Mang 王莽, only the king of Suoju 莎車, Yan 延, who was the strongest, was not willing to submit. During the reign of Emperor Yuan 元, he had served as an attendant in court. He admired and took pleasure in the Middle Kingdom because of growing up in the capital city, and he also consulted the decrees and regulations there. He constantly exhorted his sons to serve the Han 漢 House for generations and not betray it.

From this it can be seen that requiring hostages was a foresighted policy.

Third, sons of the kings of the various states in the Western Regions taken as hostage or attendant were a symbol that "those whose customs were strange could be brought to court". Kangju 康居, a distant state, sent its sons to attend at the Han 漢 court. Its purpose was nothing but the desire to trade. Han 漢 in the end maintained its ties and did not sever relations for this reason.

6. Controlling barbarians with barbarians: Most of the attacks on the Western Regions involved the troops of the various states. Examples are Han 漢 attacking Jushi 車師 in the second year of the *Tianhan* 天漢 reign-period (B.C. 99), in the fourth year of the *Zhenghe* 征和 reign-period (B.C. 91), and in the second year of the *Dijie* 地節 reign-period (B.C. 68) and, Feng Fengshi's 馮奉世 attacking Suoju 莎車 as well as Chang Hui's 常惠 attacking Qiuci 龜茲. They all called up the troops of the various states of the walled towns. This was not only to cut down the military expenditure, but also to produce the effect of executing one as a warning to others. It was favourable to the rule of Han 漢 that the various states were torn by dissension and discord that this produced.

However, the main way that the Western Han 漢 controlled barbarians with barbarians in the Western Regions was to present seals and ribbons to each one, from the king and noble of the various states to lesser [officers], and to control the Western Regions through them.

Those who were presented with seals and ribbons first were the Greater and Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 of Wusun 烏孫. This took place in the first year of the *Ganlu* 甘露 reign-period of Emperor Xuan 宣 (B.C. 53). That the Greater and Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 of Wusun 烏孫 were presented with seals and ribbons was an important symbol that Wusun 烏孫 had become a dependency of Han 漢. During the *Chuyuan* 初元 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 (B.C. 48–44) the Supreme Official, the *Dalu* 大祿, and the Supreme Inspector of Wusun 烏孫 were presented with golden seals and purple ribbons, so as to "provide honour and support" for the Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌, who was established by Han 漢. Not long after this all men, from king and noble and lesser [officers], who were subject to the Protector General started to wear Han 漢 seals and ribbons on their belt.

Various states of the Western Regions prized Han 漢 wealth and goods and also prized Han 漢 seals and ribbons. Before they had been presented with seals and ribbons, the various states frequently purloined the seals and ribbons of the Han 漢 envoys. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Fu Jiezi 傅介子), it is recorded that Angui 安歸, the king of Loulan 樓蘭, killed and robbed the Han 漢 envoys and purloined their tallies and seals. In the same chapter (Memoir on Chang Hui 常惠), it is recorded that the people of Wusun 烏孫 purloined Chang Hui's 常惠 seals, ribbons and tallies. From this, it is not difficult to infer that those who were presented with

seals and ribbons must regard it as an honour, and thus that the seals and ribbons being given or seized were an important form of reward and punishment. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, it is recorded that the *Xihou* 翮侯 of Wusun 烏孫, Nanqi 難栖, killed Mozhengjiang 末振將. Han 漢, considering that the action was tantamount to punishing a criminal, appointed Nanqi 難栖 as Commandant of Stout Defence. Meanwhile, since the *Dalu* 大祿 and others were held responsible for Cilimi's 雌栗靡 death, their golden seals and purple ribbons were removed from them and were replaced by bronze and black [ones]. These are all examples of reward and punishment. It played a positive role undoubtedly for the rule of the Western Han 漢 in the Western Regions. Of course, if kings and nobles of various states and lesser [officers] were presented with seals and ribbons, they would be under the custody of the Protector General of the Western Regions. It also conduces to stabilize the various states themselves.

It should be pointed out that while the officers of various states in the Western Regions wore Han 漢 seals and ribbons on their belts, most of the titles of officers were intrinsic.⁵² Of the titles of officers of the various states which were subject to the Protector General, noted in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, some (for example, Commandant) were the same as that of Han 漢. These titles were probably the literal transcription. Some of them, however, were probably established after they had submitted to Han 漢, such titles as Noble of Assault on the Hu 胡, the Noble of Resistance to the Hu 胡, the Commandant of Resistance to the Hu 胡, the Commandant of Assault on the Hu 胡, the Master of Assault on the Hu 胡, and others. It is undoubted that "Hu 胡" refers to the Xiongnu 匈奴. In addition, there was the title of "the Noble of Support of the State (輔國侯)" in some of the states of the Western Regions. "*Guo* 國" refers to the state in which the Marquis was, and it is impossible that it refers to Han 漢.⁵³

Of the titles of officers the most interesting are the "Commandant of Assault on Jushi 車師" and the "Master of Assault on Jushi 車師" of the state of Shanshan 鄯善, the "Commandant of Assault on Jushi 車師" of the state of Qiuci 龜茲, the "Master of Assault on Jushi 車師" of the state of Yanqi 焉耆, and the "the Master of Defence against Xiye 西夜" of the state of Suoju 莎車 and several others. Normally, since the various states all submitted to Han 漢, they should not attack each other, even if there were in fact conflicts among them, and they should not have established these special posts. For this reason, it is suggested that the "Commandant of Assault

on Jushi 車師” and “the Master of Assault on Jushi 車師” were established by Han 漢 when Zheng Ji 鄭吉 attacked Jushi 車師.⁵⁴ If thus is true, these titles should have been cancelled after Jushi 車師 submitted to Han 漢, still less been presented with seals and ribbons by Han 漢. If these titles were kept because Han 漢 wanted to praise and honor the people in Shanshan 鄯善 and others who attacked Jushi 車師 and rendered service, how do we explain the title of the “the Master of Defence against Xiye 西夜”? In view of this, I suggest that these titles were probably established by various states themselves. Because they were established before the various states had submitted to Han 漢, Han 漢 turned a blind eye and did not go into the matter seriously. This also shows that most of the posts of various states were established by themselves and Han 漢 did not intervene in them much.

There was also the title of the “the Master of Jushi 車師 who Maintains Allegiance to the Right” in the state of Yanqi 焉耆, which is also interesting. On the basis of the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 94B,

Gougu 句姑 (i.e., Gugou 姑句), king of the state of Further Jushi 車師, Tangdou 唐兜, the King of the Quhulai 去胡來, took his wife and children and their people and fled to surrender to the Xiongnu 匈奴 because they hated the Protector General, the [*Wuji* 戊己] Colonel. It has been recorded in the Memoir on the Western Regions. The *Chanyu* 單于 received them and installed them in the land of the Right Luli 谷蠡, and sent an envoy [to Han 漢] with a letter saying “Your vassal has received them faithfully”.

Thus there was an imperial edict sending the Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, Han Long 韓隆, on a mission to the Xiongnu 匈奴 telling the *Chanyu* 單于 that “The Western Regions had been subordinate [to the Middle Kingdom], therefore you shouldn’t receive them, and must send them back”. And “the four regulations were put forth: All the people of the Middle Kingdom who fled to surrender to the Xiongnu 匈奴, of Wusun 烏孫 who fled to surrender to the Xiongnu 匈奴, of various states in the Western Regions who wore the Middle Kingdom’s seals and ribbons on their belts and surrendered to the Xiongnu 匈奴, of the Wuhuan 烏桓 who surrendered to the Xiongnu 匈奴, shouldn’t be received”. Combining the fact that Li Guangli 李

廣利 upbraided Qiuci 龜茲, which had accepted hostages from Wumi 扞彌, one can see that the Western Han 漢 was always unable to tolerate that its dependencies accepted hostages and surrenders from each other. It is thus suggested that the “the Master of Jushi 車師 who Maintains Allegiance to the Right” of Yanqi 焉耆 must have been a Jushi 車師 man who surrendered to Han 漢, who was invested with the title of the “the Master of Jushi 車師 who Maintains Allegiance to the Right” and installed at Yanqi 焉耆.⁵⁵ However, there are some problems with this explanation. First, it is difficult to explain why a man of Jushi 車師 who surrendered to Han 漢 was installed at Yanqi 焉耆. Second, what is the reason the Jushi 車師 man who surrendered to Han 漢 was not an officer of Han 漢, but of Yanqi 焉耆? In fact, Yanqi 焉耆 had established the title “the Master of Assault on Jushi 車師”, which shows that Jushi 車師 had been its enemy state, and it was very usual that there were people who had surrendered from the enemy side. The so-called “the Master of Jushi 車師 who Maintains Allegiance to the Right” was established for the people who surrendered to Yanqi 焉耆 by Yanqi 焉耆 itself. The problem is why Han 漢 tolerated this title. In my opinion, the most essential reason for Han 漢 opposing its dependencies’ accepting hostages and surrenders from each other was that it was apprehensive of their colluding with each other in ways that would be disadvantageous to Han 漢. However, like the “the Master of Assault on Jushi 車師”, the “the Master of Jushi 車師 who Maintains Allegiance to the Right” had been established before Yanqi 焉耆 submitted to Han 漢, and probably became unworthy of the name after Yanqi 焉耆 had submitted to Han 漢. As the matter was a thing of the past, even if it would play a role, it was no more than being disadvantageous to the collusion of Yanqi 焉耆 and Jushi 車師. Since it was not something to worry about, there was no harm in letting matters slide.

The above emphasizes that the titles of the various states in the Western Regions were mostly intrinsic in order to explain that various states had the right to autonomy in this aspect. Of course, some of the various states’ posts were newly established after they had submitted to Han 漢, such as the above-mentioned “the Noble of Assault on the Hu 胡” and others. “The Commandant of Allegiance to Han 漢”, “the Master of Contact with Excellence”, and “the Master Directed to Excellence” in the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 also were undoubtedly products of this later establishment.

It is possible that "the state of the Commandant of Jushi 車師" in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, was under "the Commandant of Allegiance to Han 漢". As mentioned above, it is suggested that both the state of the Commandant of Jushi 車師 and the state of the Chief of the Further Town of Jushi 車師, in the same chapter, were established by the Han 漢, but this must not be correct. The chiefs of both states must have been the men of Jushi 車師. Both "Chiefs of Town" and "Commandant" were official positions of the various states of the walled towns.

In sum, because ethnic groups and languages were different, economic developments were asymmetric, ways of life and modes of production were also different, contrasts of religion and customs were considerable, and because, moreover, of varied topography and inconvenient transport in the Western Regions, it was necessary to depend on the original rulers of the various states that the Western Han 漢 wanted, to execute effective control. That is to say, "controlling barbarians with barbarians". To confer seals and ribbons on each one, from the king and nobility of the various states and lesser [officers], to make definite their relation with the administration, accorded to both the concept of the unified domain that "no land under the sky, but is all the king's land; no man in all the world, but is his subject therein", and to the total purpose of managing the Western Regions. Therefore, this became a necessary measure.

7. The establishment of the Protector General. It is self-evident that it was insufficient to completely rely on "controlling barbarians with barbarians" for gaining effective control of the Western Regions. The establishment of the Protector General of the Western Regions undoubtedly played a pivotal role in the course of managing the Western Regions.⁵⁶

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The development of the relationship between the Western Han 漢 and the Western Regions went through roughly three stages.

The first stage is from Zhang Qian's 張騫 mission to the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 to the Protector General's establishing his general headquarters and administration. During this period the understanding between the Western Han 漢 and the various states in the Western Regions became more and more emboldened and the contact become increasingly frequent. The various states in the Western Regions, especially the states to the east of the Pamirs, were increasingly

controlled by the Western Han 漢 step by step. They became a dependency of the Western Han 漢 through the influence of the Western Han's 漢 development westwards and the Xiongnu's 匈奴 ebbing power.

So far as the management of the Western Regions of the Western Han 漢 goes, this stage can be divided into two periods: the management during Emperor Wu's 武 reign and the subsequent period.

Management in the time of Emperor Wu 武 relied mainly on diplomacy at first. Zhang Qian's 張騫 missions to Da Yuezhi 大月氏 and Wusun 烏孫, his deputy envoys' missions to Shandu 身毒 and others, and the management of the southwestern barbarians for making communication with Daxia 大夏 were subject to this kind of activity. The purpose of these foreign activities was to have Daxia 大夏, Dayuan 大宛, Anxi 安息 and others, the large states whose "way of life was rather similar to that" of the Middle Kingdom come to court, besides cutting off the right arm of the Xiongnu 匈奴.

Zhang Qian's 張騫 western missions twice failed to achieve the main goal. The Han 漢 envoys who were sent on missions to various states were intercepted by the small states that were located on the route, and were robbed by the cavalry of the Xiongnu 匈奴. The so-called "large states" become arrogant and overbearing, and they treated the Han 漢 envoys harshly because they believed that they lay cut off by the long distance and that Han 漢 troops would not be able to reach them. Emperor Wu 武 therefore changed to opening up routes for his foreign affairs with armed strength.

Emperor Wu 武 chose first Loulan 樓蘭 and Gushi 姑師, and then Dayuan 大宛, as his goals when he resorted to arms in the Western Regions: this was accounted for by particular causes in each case. However, the former two states were small states that were situated on the route, the latter was a "large state" that lay cut off by the long distance to Han 漢. Thus each possessed a certain representativeness of its own. Two years after the battles of Loulan 樓蘭 and Gushi 姑師, Wusun 烏孫 sent envoys with presents of horses, in the hope of obtaining a princess in marriage. After the battles of Dayuan 大宛, not only the various states to the east of the Cong 葱 Mountains sent their envoys to offer presents, but also the Western Han 漢 became famous to the west of Dayuan 大宛.

After Loulan 樓蘭 and Gushi 姑師 had been destroyed, Han 漢 built a line of government posts and defences stretching as far as the Yumen 玉門 Barrier. After the attack on Dayuan 大宛, government posts and defences stretched further to the west of Quli 渠犂 from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier. A Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys was established to set up an agricultural colony there and to accumulate a store of field-crops. From then on there was a real foothold for the Western Han's 漢 management of the Western Regions.

After Emperor Wu 武, the Western Han's 漢 policy in the management of the Western Regions was to use both the mailed fist and the velvet glove, as before. The main point of resorting to arms was to contend for Jushi 車師 with the Xiongnu 匈奴. This was obviously in order ultimately to cut off the right arm of the Xiongnu 匈奴. In the end Han 漢 controlled the various states along both the Southern and Northern Routes simultaneously for the first time and exercised supervision by the Protector General of the Western Regions at the turning point of the Rizhu 日逐 king's surrender to Han 漢.

It should be pointed out that in the fourth year of the *Zhenghe* 征和 reign-period (B.C. 89), Emperor Wu 武 issued an "edict expressing anguish and sorrow" to overrule Sang Hongyang's 桑弘羊 suggestion that an agricultural colony be set up to the east of Luntai 輪臺 and tried to change the policy of opening up the territory and promoting what is beneficial that existed since the Yuanshou 元狩 and *Yuanding* 元鼎 reign-periods (B.C. 122–117 and 116–111). To sum up, in the reigns of Emperors Zhao 昭 and Xuan 宣, the Western Han's 漢 government executed a policy of rehabilitating [the country] together with people. However, the management of the Western Regions was not interrupted, and it took an offensive posture from beginning to end. In the fourth year of the *Yuanfeng* 元鳳 reign-period Emperor Zhao 昭 (B.C. 77) adopted the advice previously tendered by Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊, and ordered Laidan 賴丹 to work the land at Luntai 輪臺. In the same year Fu Jiezi 傅介子 was sent to kill the king of Loulan 樓蘭. After this Han 漢 changed the name of the state of Loulan 樓蘭 into "Shanshan 鄯善" and set up an agricultural colony at Yixun 伊循. As soon as Emperor Xuan 宣 ascended the throne Han 漢 called out a large force which amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand cavalry to attack the Xiongnu 匈奴 with the troops of the Wusun 烏孫. afterwards, Han 漢 contended for Jushi 車師

with the Xiongnu 匈奴 again and again. From the time Wusun 烏孫 split between the two *Kunmi* 昆彌, Han 漢 suffered sorrows and troubles and had no years of tranquility.

In sum, the first stage of the Western Han's 漢 management of the Western Regions was active, and it remained so even in the later period, when it was no under the influence of Emperor Wu's 武 "edict expressing anguish and sorrow".

The second stage extends from the Protector General's establishment of his general headquarters and administration to Emperor Ping's 平 accession. The Western Han's 漢 management of the Western Regions was then in its prime. The government orders were issued for enforcement in the various states through the Protector General. This stage also can be divided into two periods: earlier and later. The boundary is in the later reign of Emperor Yuan 元.

In the early days of the second stage, carrying out the management plan since Emperor Wu 武, all the various states in the Western Regions, making no distinctions between distant and near, were the objects of management. But in the later period the various states in the "remote, isolated region" were roughly released from the scope of management.

The third stage extends from the accession of Emperor Ping 平 to Dan Qin's 但欽 being killed. In this period the Western Han's 漢 rule in the Western Regions was gradually disintegrating. During the reign of Emperor Yuan 元 danger lurked on all sides of the Western Han's 漢 society, and down to the reign of Emperor Cheng 成, the dynasty had moved towards collapse. After Emperor Ai's 哀 accession it was further in the grip of a crisis. Once the root has been weakened the branches are of course withered. An indication of the crisis in the Western Regions is that Gugou 姑句, the king of Jushi 車師, rebelled and fled to surrender to the Xiongnu 匈奴. This and the matter of Tangdou 唐兜 that took place afterwards show that the various states in the Western Regions were no longer of one mind with Han 漢 and that the Xiongnu 匈奴 exerted new influence. Since Dan Qin 但欽, the top chief in the Western Regions, was killed and Han 漢 was unable to send forces to suppress the rebellion, it was evident that Han's 漢 rule in the Western Regions had moved towards collapse.

Notes

1. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.1).
2. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 215–217.
3. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 54 (Memoir on Su Wu 蘇武), it is recorded that “Because of killing the Han 漢 envoy, the Southern Yue 越 suffered massacres and became nine prefectures; because of killing the Han 漢 envoy, the head of the king of Dayuan 大宛 was suspended at the Northern Tower of the Han 漢 palace; because of killing the Han 漢 envoy, Chaoxian 朝鮮 immediately was destroyed”. From this, it can be seen that the king of Loulan 樓蘭 ought to be put to death if he had killed the Han 漢 envoy.
4. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.1).
5. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 79–81.
6. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.1).
7. See Wang & Luo (under the “Lingeilei 廩給類”). Also see Lin & Li, p. 56. In addition, cf. HulsewJ & Loewe, p.140, note 365.
8. Cf. Zhou, L.
9. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 210–215.
10. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.1).
11. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.1).
12. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 215–217.
13. *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu* suggests that in the third year of the *Yuanfeng* 元封 reign-period (B.C. 108) Han 漢 had destroyed Jushi 車師 but did not want to occupy its land because the communications with the Western Regions was not open at that time. Until this time Han 漢 did not fight with the Xiongnu 匈奴 for it, therefore the text says “the first to attack Jushi 車師”. In my opinion, this theory is inadequate.
14. This is the theory of Matsuda (1970), pp. 96–97.
15. Cf. Shimazaki (1977), p. 49.
16. Cf. Shimazaki (1977), pp. 15–17.
17. Cf. Shimazaki (1977), pp. 15–17.
18. Cf. Shimazaki (1977), pp. 15–17.
19. Cf. Shimazaki (1977), pp. 19–20, suggests that “two years later” refers to the period from the first year to the third year of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 65–63). It is also suggested that Chang Hui 常惠

- made a demonstration of military power and Xiangfu 相夫 was escorted to Dunhuang 敦煌 in the same year, i.e, the third year of the *Yuankang* 元康 reign-period (B.C. 63). In my opinion, both are unconvincing.
20. Cf. Shimazaki (1977), pp. 23–24.
 21. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 210–215. In the “Heshui 河水 2” chapter of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注, it is recorded that “The branched river again flows eastwards and passes by the south of the state of Suoju 莎車, which has its royal seat in the town of Suoju 莎車, and to the southwest it is a distance of seven hundred and forty *li* 里 to Puli 蒲犁. When Emperor Wu 武 of Han 漢 opened up the Western Regions an agricultural colony was set up there”. The foundation of this note may be the statement “the lands of Suoju 莎車 were allocated” in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch, 96A. Also, Ise, p. 4, suggests that the reference “the lands of Suoju 莎車 were allocated” shows that the power of Han 漢 had extended as far as Yarkand. In my opinion, this theory is inadequate.
 22. Cf. Liu, pp.78–80.
 23. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 217–219.
 24. For example: Feng (1976-2).
 25. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.3).
 26. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.3).
 27. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 131–133.
 28. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 53–56.
 29. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 218–219.
 30. *Hanshu Xiyuzhuan Buzhu* seems to suggest that the King of Puyin 蒲陰 must have been the king of Pulei 蒲類 or the king of Eastern Pulei 蒲類. In my opinion, “the King of Puyin 蒲陰” was an envoy of the Xiongnu 匈奴, and “the king of Eastern Pulei 蒲類” was called “the king of Eastern Pulei 蒲類 of the Xiongnu 匈奴”, which shows both must have been different from the kings of Nearer and Further Pulei 蒲類.
 31. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 280–282.
 32. See *Hanshu Xiyuzhua Buzhu*.
 33. Chen (1980-1).
 34. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Zheng Ji 鄭吉), it is recorded that “After Zhang Qian 張騫, as an envoy, had been sent to the Western Regions and Li Guangli 李廣利 had attacked [Dayuan 大宛], Han 漢 first established the Colonel to set up an agricultural colony at Quli 渠犁”. Only Quli 渠犁 was referred to, and Luntai 輪臺 was not mentioned. This is in order to emphasize the former and to work in concert with

the ensuing statement “In the reign of Emperor Xuan 宣, [Zheng] Ji [鄭]吉, being the Gentleman in Attendance, set up an agricultural colony at Quli 渠犂”. In addition, Sang Hongyang’s 桑弘羊 recommendation emphasized Luntai 輪臺, and Emperor Zhao 昭 also sent Laidan 賴丹 to set up an agricultural colony at Luntai 輪臺, probably because Quli 渠犂 at that time became a base from which to attack Jushi 車師.

35. Tian.
36. Cf. Chen (1980-1).
37. Zhang (1980-1).
38. Hu’s 胡 commentary on the “Hanji 漢紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒: “That is to say that the Xiongnu 匈奴 were destroyed by Wusun 烏孫 in the third year of the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period (B.C. 71)”.
39. Liu, pp. 82–83.
40. In the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Chang Hui 常惠) it is recorded that in the third year of the *Benshi* 本始 reign-period (B.C. 73) when he attacked Qiuci 龜茲, Chang Hui 常惠 called out “twenty thousand men from the state to the east of Qiuci 龜茲”. Among them there should be the men from the three states of Yanqi 焉耆 and others.
41. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), p. 292, which suggests it was “at the beginning of the *Tianfeng* 天鳳 reign-period (ca. A.D. 14)”, which is not precise.
42. See Wu, pp. 339–344.
43. Cf. the above-quoted related records in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 70 (Memoir on Chang Hui 常惠).
44. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.5).
45. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 144–167.
46. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 144–167.
47. On the state of Wuyishanli, cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 168–174.
48. We of course cannot know whether Zhang Qian 張騫 also wanted to induce the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 to move east and live in their former lands when he was sent on a mission to the Western Regions for the first time, but this possibility cannot be ruled out. After his escape from the Xiongnu 匈奴 he, knowing clearly that the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 had moved to a remote area and was unable to attack the Xiongnu 匈奴 from both sides, was still not afraid of the hard work of going to the valley of the Amu Darya. This was probably for no other reason than to induce them to move east.
49. See Ise, pp. 81–83.

50. As for the development of trade between the East and West, this seems to be the result of the management of the Western Regions, and it was not the purpose of the Western Han 漢 government. This was, however, the main reason that the various states in the Western Regions were in contact with the Western Han 漢.
51. Cf. Liu, pp.155–161.
52. Cf. Zhang (1980-1).
53. Ise, pp.74–80, suggests that the titles of officers all were awarded by the Western Han 漢, and “the state” in the title of the “Marquis of Fuguo 輔國 (support of the state)” refers to the Western Han 漢 Dynasty. In my opinion, his view is not inadequate.
54. *Hanshu Xuiyuzhua Buzhu.*
55. *Hanshu Xuiyuzhua Buzhu.*
56. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.4), and Yu, T. (1995-2.4).

Chapter 3

The Eastern Han Dynasty and the Western Regions

A

When the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty was first established, Emperor Guangwu 光武 had no time to attend to the Western Regions because the Central Plains had just been pacified. As a result the various states in the Western Regions were subject to the Xiongnu 匈奴. In the twenty-fourth year of the *Jianwu* 建武 reign-period (A.D. 48), the Xiongnu 匈奴 divided into the two tribes of Southern and Northern Xiongnu 匈奴. Before long, the southern tribe submitted to Han 漢, and the northern tribe continued to control the Western Regions. As in the earlier case of Emperor Wu 武, Emperor Ming 明 again moved to manage the Western Regions in order to beat the Xiongnu 匈奴. The target of the first attack was the region of Yiwu 伊吾 and Pulei 蒲類.

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 23, it is recorded that in the sixteenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 73), Han 漢 ordered Dou Gu 竇固 and Geng Zhong 耿忠 to come out from the Barrier of Jiuquan 酒泉 and attack the Xiongnu 匈奴. "[Dou] Gu [竇]固 and [Geng] Zhong [耿]忠 arrived at the Tian 天 Mountains, attacked the King of Huyan 呼延, and cut off more than a thousand heads. the King of Huyan 呼延 ran away. [Dou Gu 竇固 and Geng Zhong 耿忠] traced him and reached the Sea of Pulei 蒲類. They left officers and soldiers to set up an agricultural colony at the town of Yiwulu 伊吾廬". This was the first advance of the Eastern Han 漢 towards the Western Regions. The battle of the Tian 天 Mountains led by Dou Gu 竇固 and Geng Zhong 耿忠 and the battle of the Qilian 祁連 Mountains led by Huo Qubing 霍去病 in the second year of the *Yuanshou* 元狩 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 (B.C. 121) in the Western Han 漢 were alike in effect. The Qilian 祁連 Mountains attacked by Huo Qubing 霍去病 must have been the Tian 天 Mountains attacked by Dou Gu 竇固 and Geng Zhong 耿忠.¹

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), it is recorded that "in the sixteenth year (A.D. 73), the Commandant-in-chief of Chariots, Dou Gu 竇固, launched an attack on the Xiongnu 匈奴. [Dou Gu 竇固] made [Ban] Chao [班]超 the Acting Major and ordered him to lead the forces to attack Yiwu 伊吾 separately. Having cut off many heads and

taken many prisoners, [Ban] Chao [班]超 battled on to the Pulei 蒲類 Sea and returned". From this, it can be seen that the attack on and rout of Yiwu 伊吾 should be attributed to Ban Chao 班超. That Dou Gu 竇固 ordered Ban Chao 班超 to attack Yiwu 伊吾 was mainly because the area had already been a hub of East-West communications at that time. That is to say, one could go northwest from the Yumen Barrier 玉門, reach Yiwu 伊吾, then go west from there. In the same book, ch. 88, it is recorded that "in the sixteenth year (A.D. 74), Emperor Ming 明 ordered generals to go north on a campaign against the Xiongnu 匈奴, and thus took the lands of Yiwulu 伊吾廬 and established the Chief Commandant of Yihe 宜禾 (Suitable Grain) to set up an agricultural colony. Thereupon, communications with the Western Regions started". Han 漢 established the commandant to set up an agricultural colony in the lands of Yiwulu 伊吾廬, i.e., Yiwu 伊吾, attacking Yiwu 伊吾 was not completely motivated by fighting the Xiongnu 匈奴, but in order to further control the Western Regions. The fact that states such as Yutian 于闐 soon after that sent their princes to attend at court shows that this battle had produced a great influence on the Western Regions.

The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 2, records that in the seventeenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 74), "in the winter, in the eleventh month, [the Emperor] sent Commandant-in-chief of Chariots, Dou Gu 竇固, the Commandant-escort, Geng Bing 耿秉, and the Commandant of Cavalry, Liu Zhang 劉張 who emerged from the Kunlun 崑崙 Barrier of Dunhuang 敦煌, attacked and routed the savages of the White Mountain on the Pulei 蒲類 Sea, and then entered Jushi 車師. For the first time there were established the Protector General of the Western Regions and the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel".² The "White Mountain" here refers to the eastern end of the Tian 天 Mountains. After the Han 漢 forces set up an agricultural colony at Yiwu 伊吾, the next goal was, of course, Jushi 車師. That Han 漢 "attacked and routed the savages of the White Mountain on the Pulei 蒲類 Sea", and not only got rid of the threat of the Xiongnu 匈奴 to Yiwu 伊吾 from the north, but also opened up the route to Jushi 車師.

After this, to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, "When Emperor Ming 明 died (A.D. 75), Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲 attacked and killed the Protector General, Chen Mu 陳睦, and all his troops. The Xiongnu 匈奴 and Jushi 車師 besieged the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel". In the first year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 76), the Administrator of Jiuquan 酒泉, Duan Peng 段彭,

attacked and routed Jushi 車師, but "Emperor Zhang 章 did not wish to exhaust the Middle Kingdom to undertake the task of subduing barbarians, so he welcomed back the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel and no longer sent the Protector General. In the second year, Han 漢 gave up the agricultural colony at Yiwu 伊吾, and the Xiongnu 匈奴 consequently sent the troops to guard the lands of Yiwu 伊吾".³ From then on Yiwu 伊吾 belonged to the Xiongnu 匈奴 again.

On the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, we know that in the first year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 (A.D. 89), "the Supreme General, Dou Xian 竇憲, severely routed the Xiongnu 匈奴. In the second year, [Dou] Xian [竇]憲 sent the Deputy Colonel, Yan Pan 閻槃, to lead over two thousand cavalymen in launching a surprise attack on Yiwu 伊吾 and in routing it".⁴ Yiwu 伊吾 then belonged to Han 漢 once more. Han 漢 set up the agricultural colony at Yiwu 伊吾 as before. And from the same book, ch. 89, we learn that "In the third year [of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period] (A.D. 91), Northern *Chanyu* 單于 again was destroyed by Geng Kui 耿夔, the Right Colonel. He escaped and no one knew where he was. His younger brother, the Right Luli 谷蠡 King, Yuchujian 於除鞬, established himself as the *Chanyu* 單于" and "stayed on the Sea Pulei 蒲類 and sent his envoy to arrive at the barrier". The Supreme General, Dou Xian 竇憲, thereupon sent a written message to the Emperor, requesting him "to establish Yuchujian 於除鞬 as the Northern *Chanyu* 單于. The imperial court agreed. In the fourth year, [Han 漢] commissioned Geng Kui 耿夔 to transmit his *Chanyu*'s 單于 seal and ribbons, and gave him a present of four jade swords and feather covering for one quadriga of horses. And the Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace, Ren Shang 任尚, was sent with emblems of authority to act as his protector to set up the agricultural colony at Yiwu 伊吾, as in the former case in the time of the Southern *Chanyu* 單于. Just when he was about to be assisted to return to the Northern Court, Dou Xian 竇憲 was killed. In the fifth year, Yuchujian 於除鞬 himself revolted and returned to the north. The Emperor sent Wang Fu 王輔, the Chief Official of Leading Troops, and Ren Shang 任尚, to lead over one thousand cavalymen in going after him and entrapping him, after which they brought him back and beheaded him; his forces were destroyed". This battle meant that the area from the Pulei 蒲類 Sea to Yiwu 伊吾 was stabilized for a short period.⁵

On the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, we know that in the first year of the *Yongchu* 永初 reign-period of Emperor An 安 (A.D. 107), the Western Regions betrayed, and "incessantly attacked and besieged Ren Shang 任尚, the Protector General, and Duan Xi 段禧 and others. The imperial court thought that the Western Regions were dangerous and distant and difficult to reinforce, so an imperial edict abolished the post of Protector General". At the same time, the same book, ch. 47 (Memoir on Liang Jin 梁懂), shows that Han 漢 also ordered the officials and soldiers who set up the agricultural colony at Yiwulu 伊吾廬 and Liuzhong 柳中 to return". The Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 thus controlled anew the Western Regions.⁶ In the sixth year of the *Yuanchu* 元初 reign-period (A.D. 119), according to the same book, ch. 88, the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Cao Zong 曹宗, was apprehensive for the Northern Xiongnu's 匈奴 invading the borders in successive years, and "sent a written message to the emperor asking permission to dispatch Suo Ban 索班, who was concurrently performing the duty of the Chief Official, to station one thousand men at Yiwu 伊吾 to pacify it. Thereupon the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 and the king of Shanshan 鄯善 came over and surrendered". However, after several months, in the third month of the seventh year of the *Yuanchu* 元初 reign-period (B.C. 120), the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 "led the king of the tribe of Further Jushi 車師 to attack and kill Suo Ban 索班 and others".⁷ Yiwu 伊吾 was also occupied by the Xiongnu 匈奴.⁸

The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, also records that in the sixth year of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period of Emperor Shun 順 (A.D. 131), "[Han 漢] also ordered to set up an agricultural colony as had been done in the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period (A.D. 89–105) and to establish a Major of Yiwu 伊吾, because Yiwu 伊吾, being fertile land that adjoined the Western Regions, was often robbed and harried by the Xiongnu 匈奴 who treated it as a resource". From then on Yiwu 伊吾 belonged to Han 漢. In the spring of the fourth year of the *Yangjia* 陽嘉 reign-period (A.D. 135), the King of Huyan 呼延 of the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 led troops to invade the tribe of Further Jushi 車師. Emperor Shun 順 "ordered the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 to call out the troops of the various states, under the captains from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier and the majors from Yiwu 伊吾, altogether 6,300 persons, to rescue it". Han's 漢 army lost the battle. In the autumn, the King of Huyan 呼延 destroyed the tribe of Further Jushi 車師.

After this, in the "Tablet of Pei Cen 裴岑", which was originally built up in the mountain of Songshutang 松樹塘 to the east of Barkul, it is recorded:

In the eighth month of the second year of the *Yonghe* 永和 reign-period of Han 漢 (A.D. 137), the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 [Prefecture], Pei Cen 裴岑, who was from Yunzhong 雲中, led three thousand troops of the prefecture and killed the King of Huyan 呼衍 and others, killed the foes and cut off their ears, overcame the whole army of the enemy, got rid of the disaster of the Western Regions, and removed the calamity of the four prefectures. The borders therefore stabilized, and they made a show of Han's 漢 strength here. The great memorial temple was built to cite his deeds for all ages.

It shows that Pei Cen 裴岑 had defeated utterly the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 to the north of Yiwu 伊吾, killed the King of Huyan 呼衍 himself, and secured the stability of the region of Yiwu 伊吾.⁹ [知裴岑曾大敗北匈奴於伊吾北，殺死了呼衍王本人，保持了伊吾地區的安定。]

In the first year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓 (A.D. 151), the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, says that another King of Huyan 呼衍 also "led over 3,000 cavalymen to invade Yiwu 伊吾. The Major of Yiwu 伊吾, Mao Kai 毛愷, sent 500 officers and soldiers to fight with the king of Huyan 呼衍 to the east of the Pulei 蒲類 Sea, but all were destroyed. Thereupon the king of Huyan 呼衍 attacked the town of Yiwu 伊吾, which the troops of the agricultural garrison defended. In summer, [Han 漢] sent the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Sima Da 司馬達 to lead over 4,000 officers and soldiers from the dependencies of Dunhuang 敦煌, Jiuquan 酒泉, and Zhangye 張掖 to rescue it. When Han 漢 troops came out from the barrier and reached the Pulei 蒲類 Sea, the king of Huyan 呼衍 heard of it and retired. The Han 漢 troops returned without exploit". This is the last fight for the regions of Yiwu 伊吾 and Pulei 蒲類 between the Eastern Han 漢 and the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 that can be seen in the historical records.

B

The Eastern Han 漢 also sent its influence deep into the region of Jushi 車師 at the same time it fought for the regions of Yiwu 伊吾 and Pulei 蒲類 with the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴. This is because, only if it controlled Jushi 車師 and its vicinity, could the Eastern Han 漢 further control the Northern Route.

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 1, it is recorded that in the twenty-first year of the *Jianwu* 建武 reign-period (A.D. 45), "in the winter, the sixteen states, consisting of the king of Shanshan 鄯善, the king of Jushi 車師, and others, all sent their sons to attend at the court and presented tribute, and asked for a Protector General. The Emperor considered that the Middle Kingdom, having just been newly stabilized, had no leisure to devote to external affairs. Therefore, He returned their sons who had been sent to attend at court and gave them a high reward". A similar record also occurs in chapter 88 of the same book. But in the latter, "the king of Jushi 車師" and "sixteen states" are respectively noted as "the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師" and "eighteen states". The state of Jushi 車師 was divided into the state of Nearer and the state of Further Jushi 車師 in Western Han 漢 times, and it was the same case in Eastern Han 漢 times. Only the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 is referred to in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, and not the king of Further Jushi 車師. It is possible that there was no king of the state of Further Jushi 車師 among the "sixteen states" or "eighteen states". If the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師 come to present tribute at that time, the text should refer to "the kings of the states of Nearer and Further Jushi 車師", as we can see in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 4 (under the second year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 [A.D. 90]).

That the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 and others sent their sons to attend at the court was because Suoju 莎車 was powerful and wanted to annex the various states. Since the Protector General was not sent out, the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 had to attach himself to the Xiongnu 匈奴. The fact that the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師 was not among the states that came to court in the winter of the twenty-first year of the *Jianwu* 建武 reign-period (A.D. 45) shows that the king belonged to the Xiongnu 匈奴 at that time.

The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 19 (Memoir on Geng Bing 耿秉), states that, in the seventeenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明 (A.D. 74), "in the

summer, an imperial edict [ordered] [Geng] Bing [耿]秉, united with [Dou] Gu's [竇]固 troops, altogether fourteen thousand cavalry, to come out again from the White Mountains to attack Jushi 車師. In the state of Jushi 車師 there were a king of Nearer and a king of Further, and the former was the son of the latter. There was a distance of more than five hundred *li* 里 between their courts. Thinking that the court of the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師 was at a remote distance, and that there were deep valleys on the way, and the soldiers would be in a cold and bitter circumstance, [Dou] Gu [竇]固 considered that they should first attack the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師. But Geng Bing 耿秉 suggested that they first must go to the court of the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師 and join forces to attack the root, and the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 naturally would surrender". Thereupon they led the forces northwards. The king of the state of Further Jushi 車師, "Ande 安得, terrified, rushed out of the town gate, and, taking off his hat and clasping the horse's feet [of Geng Bing 耿秉], surrendered. [Geng] Bing [耿]秉 brought him to [Dou] Gu [竇]固. The king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 also surrendered. They thereupon put down the state of Jushi 車師 and returned".

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 19 (Memoir on Geng Gong 耿恭), it is also recorded that "in the seventeenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 74), in the winter, the Commandant of Cavalry, Liu Zhang 劉張, who, begging [the throne] to appoint [Geng] Gong [耿]恭 as Major, launched an attack on Jushi 車師. He, together with the Commandant-in-chief of Chariots, Dou Gu 竇固, and the Commandant-escort, Geng Bing 耿秉, destroyed and took it. The Protector General of the Western Regions and the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonels first were established then. [Geng] Gong [耿]恭 was appointed as *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel and stationed at the town of Jinpu 金蒲 in the tribe of the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師.¹⁰ The Internuncio, Guan Chong 關寵, was appointed as *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel and stationed at the town of Liuzhong 柳中 in the tribe of the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師. In each station several hundred persons were stationed".

In my opinion, since Jushi 車師 had been attacked and surrendered in the summer of the seventeenth year (A.D. 74), it would not be attacked in the winter of the same year once again. Therefore "the summer [of the seventeenth year]" in the "Memoir on Geng Bing 耿秉" must have been the time when the imperial edict was issued. The time that Liu Zhang 劉張, Geng

Gong 耿恭, Dou Gu 竇固 and Geng Bing 耿秉 attacked Jushi 車師 in fact was the winter of this year. The "Memoir on Geng Bing 耿秉" states, the Han 漢 troops wanted to attack the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師, and the soldiers "would be in a cold and bitter circumstance". This shows that the war took place in winter. In the statement in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 2, cited by the previous section, the war is recorded under the seventeenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 74), "in the winter, the eleventh month", which is consonant with the record in the "Memoir on Geng Bing 耿秉".

Also, the "Memoir on Geng Gong 耿恭" states that the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 was the son of the king of the tribe of Further Jushi 車師. This seems to show that the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 had been annexed by the tribe of Further Jushi 車師 at that time. If it is true, the matter would have taken place after the twenty-first year of the *Jianwu* 建武 reign-period (A.D. 45). The reason the tribe of Further Jushi 車師 was able to annex the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師 was that the former had gained the support of the Xiongnu 匈奴.

75), "in the third month, the *Chanyu* 單于 of the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 sent the King of Luli 谷蠡 of the Left to lead twenty thousand cavalry to attack Jushi 車師. [Geng] Gong [耿]恭 sent a Major to lead three hundred soldiers to rescue it. The Han 漢 army met many cavalry of the Xiongnu 匈奴 on the way, and were overwhelmed by them. The Xiongnu 匈奴 thus destroyed the state of Further Jushi 車師 and killed its king, Ande 安得, and attacked the town of Jinpu 金蒲". "[Geng] Gong [耿]恭 considered that the town of Shule 疏勒, by which there was a ravine, was able to stand fast, and thus led the forces to occupy it in the fifth month. In the seventh month, the Xiongnu 匈奴 came and attacked [Geng] Gong [耿]恭 once again. [Geng] Gong [耿]恭 conscripted several thousand persons as pioneers, who galloped right to the Xiongnu 匈奴. The barbarian cavalries all scattered and ran. The Xiongnu 匈奴 thus obstructed the water of the gully below the town walls". At the same time, "the northern savages (i.e., the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴) also besieged Guan Chong 關寵 at Liuzhong 柳中". Because of its happening to be right at the moment Emperor Ming 明 died, "the reinforcements did not come. And the state of Jushi 車師 revolted and attacked [Geng] Gong [耿]恭, together with the Xiongnu 匈奴. [Geng] Gong [耿]恭 encouraged the soldiers to beat back them". This is the

statement "the Xiongnu 匈奴 sent forces to attack it (the state of Jushi 車師), and it again surrendered to the northern savages", in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88.

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 78 (Memoir on Zheng Zhong 鄭衆), it is recorded that Emperor Ming 明 "summoned [Zheng] Zhong [鄭]衆 and appointed him as Army Major and had him attack Jushi 車師, together with Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace as Rapid as Tigers, Ma Liao 馬廖. Zheng Zhong 鄭衆 was appointed as Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace and was to protect the Western Regions when he arrived at Dunhuang 敦煌. At that time the Xiongnu 匈奴 intimidated Jushi 車師 and besieged the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, and [Zheng] Zhong [鄭]衆 dispatched troops to rescue it". This shows that Han 漢 sent out a force to rescue them when Geng Gong 耿恭 and others were besieged. It is very possible that [Zheng] Zhong's [鄭]衆 troops withdrew midway when he heard of Emperor Ming's 明 death, thus the "Memoir on Geng Gong 耿恭" states "the reinforcements did not come". According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 24 (Memoir on Ma Liao 馬廖), [Ma] Liao [馬]廖 "received a testamentary edict to be in charge of the entrance guard" after Emperor Ming 明 had died. Therefore, the possibility can not be ruled out that Ma Liao 馬廖 hurriedly returned to the capital after the Emperor died. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 2, "The Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 and the king of state of Further Jushi 車師 besieged the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, Geng Gong 耿恭" in the sixth month in the eighteenth year, and the date Emperor Ming 明 died is in the eighth month of the same year.

According to the "Memoir on the Geng Gong 耿恭" of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, after he had ascended the throne, Emperor Zhang 章 "sent the General Conquering the West, Geng Bing 耿秉, who was stationed at Jiuquan 酒泉 and performed the duties of the Administrator. The Emperor also sent Qin Peng 秦彭, with the Internuncios Wang Meng 王蒙 and Huangfu Yuan 皇甫援, to call out troops from three prefectures of Zhangye 張掖, Jiuquan 酒泉 and Dunhuang 敦煌 and the state of Shanshan 鄯善, altogether more than seven thousand persons. In the first year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 76), in the first month, they met at Liuzhong 柳中, beat Jushi 車師, and attacked the town of Jiaohe 交河. They cut off three thousand and eight hundred heads and captured over three thousand caitiff alive, in addition to camels, asses, horse, cattle, and sheep resulting in thirty-seven thousand heads. The northern savages were frightened and ran away. The state of Jushi 車師 again surrendered to [Han 漢]". The *Dongguanji* 東觀記, cited by

Li Xian’s 李賢 commentary, states, “the heir apparent of the state of Jushi 車師, Bichizi 比持訾, surrendered”. It seems that the man who subdued the Xiongnu 匈奴 and besieged Geng Gong 耿恭, together with the Xiongnu 匈奴, after Ande 安得 had died, was Ande’s 安得 son.

The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 3, records that, in the eighteenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 75), in the eleventh month, “an imperial edict ordered the General Conquering the West, Geng Bing 耿秉, to station himself at Jiuquan 酒泉, and sent the Administrator of Jiuquan 酒泉 Prefecture, Duan Peng 段彭, to rescue the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, Geng Gong 耿恭”. It also records that in the first year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 76), in the spring, in the first month, “the Administrator of Jiuquan 酒泉 Prefecture, Duan Peng 段彭, executed and attacked Jushi 車師 and routed it severely. The post of *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was abolished”. In the same book, ch. 88, it is recorded that “In the first year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 76), in the spring, the Administrator of Jiuquan 酒泉 Prefecture, Duan Peng 段彭, severely routed Jushi 車師 at the town of Jiaohe 交河”. This shows that the man who destroyed Jushi 車師 in the first year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 76) was the Administrator of Jiuquan 酒泉 Prefecture, Duan Peng 段彭. Since the “Memoir on Geng Gong 耿恭” in the same book states that Emperor Zhang 章 accepted the suggestion of the Minister of Education, Bao Yu 鮑昱, to send Geng Bing 耿秉 to Jiuquan 酒泉, perform the duties of the administrator, and ordered administrators of prefectures of Dunhuang 敦煌 and Jiuquan 酒泉 to go to attack Jushi 車師, “Qin Peng 秦彭” in the “Memoir on Geng Gong 耿恭” must have been a error for “Duan Peng 段彭”. The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 76 (Memoir on Qin Peng 秦彭) states that “[Qin Peng 秦彭] was promoted to be the Administrator of Shanyang 山陽 Prefecture in the first year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 76)”, and does not record his attack upon Jushi 車師. Of course, the possibility that Qin Peng 秦彭 was promoted to be the Administrator of Shanyang 山陽 Prefecture after he had been appointed as the Administrator of Jiuquan 酒泉 Prefecture and destroyed Jushi 車師 cannot be ruled out. In other words, there is no harm in considering that there was no Duan Peng 段彭, and the “Duan Peng 段彭” who occurs in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 3 and 88, is in fact a error for “Qin Peng 秦彭”.

Duan Peng 段彭, or Qin Peng 秦彭, routed Jushi 車師 severely at the town of Jiaohe 交河, but Jushi 車師 again submitted to the Xiongnu 匈奴 because "the post of *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was abolished" by Emperor Zhang 章.

After this, down to the second year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 (A.D. 90), according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, "The Supreme General, Dou Xian 竇憲, crushed the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴. Jushi 車師 was terrified, and the kings of Nearer and Further Jushi 車師 each sent a son, presenting tribute, to attend at the court. The emperor granted seals and ribbons, and gifts of gold and silk stuffs respectively". On the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 4, we know that the date the kings of the states of Nearer and Further Jushi 車師 sent their sons to attend at court was in the fifth month of the second year.

In the third year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period (A.D. 91), according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, Han 漢 "appointed [Ban] Chao [班]超 as Protector General. He had his residence at Qiuci 龜茲. The *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was again appointed, and the latter led 500 soldiers to be stationed at the fortress of Gaochang 高昌 which belonged to the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師. The Captain of the *Wu* 戊 Division also was established, stationed at the town of the Captain in the Tribe of Further Jushi 車師. There was a distance of 500 *li* 里 between the two places". The same chapter states "from the fortress of Gaochang 高昌 north 500 *li* 里 to the town of Jinman 金滿 in the tribe of Further Jushi 車師".¹¹ This shows that "the town of Captain in tribe of Further Jushi 車師" was not distant from the town of Jinpu 金蒲 and that it itself probably was the town of Jinpu 金蒲.¹² Since the fortress of Gaochang 高昌 was located to the northwest of Liuzhong 柳中, the establishments in the third year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period (A.D. 91) were very similar to that in the seventeenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 74).

The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, also records that "In the eighth year [of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period] (A.D. 65) the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, Suo Yun 索頽, wanted to dismiss the king of tribe of Further Jushi 車師, Zhuoti 涿鞮, and establish the Noble of Polu 破虜 (Routing the Savages), Xizhi 細致, as king. Zhuoti 涿鞮 become indignant because Weibeida 尉卑大, the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師, had betrayed him, and therefore counterattacked Weibeida 尉卑大, capturing his wife and son(s). The next year, Han 漢 sent the Chief Official Leading

Troops, Wang Lin 王林, to call out the troops of six prefectures in Liang 涼 Province, together with more than 20,000 people of the Qiang 羌 and Hu 胡, and attacked Zhuoti 涿鞮, cutting off heads, taking prisoners, and causing altogether more than a thousand casualties. Zhuoti 涿鞮 entered the territory of the Xiongnu 匈奴. The Han 漢 army pursued, attacked, and beheaded him, then established the younger brother of Zhuoti 涿鞮, Nongqi 農奇, as king". According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 5, the king of state of Further Jushi 車師 attacked the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 in the fifth month of the eighth year, Wang Lin 王林 beheaded the king of state of Further Jushi 車師 in the third month of the next year. Also, it is possible that the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 was antagonistic to the king of state of Further Jushi 車師 as a result of Han's 漢 policy of dividing and ruling.

The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, states that Emperor An 安 abolished the post of Protector General in the first year of the *Yongchu* 永初 reign-period (A.D. 107), thus Jushi 車師 again surrendered to the Xiongnu 匈奴. In the sixth year of the *Yuanchu* 永初 reign-period (A.D. 112) Suo Ban 索班, stationed at Yiwu 伊吾, arranged to have the various states in the Western Regions submit to Han 漢. "Thereupon the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 and the king of Shanshan 鄯善 came over and surrendered". The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47, states that, after Emperor An 安 had abandoned the Western Regions, "[the Xiongnu 匈奴] then imposed tribute on the various states, took precautions to prevent any evasion of its exactions, raised their value, and were strict in regard to prompt payment. Shanshan 鄯善 and Jushi 車師 are [now] both filled with anger and want to serve Han 漢, but they are helpless". Therefore, once summoned by Suo Ban 索班, they came to surrender one by one. Also, the chapter states just that the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 surrendered to Suo Ban 索班, and it does not refer to the Further king. And then the chapter states that "several months later, the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 also led the king of the tribe of Further Jushi 車師 to attack and kill Suo Ban 索班 and others, thus driving the king of the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師 away". This seems to show that the king of state of Further Jushi 車師 not only did not surrender, but also followed the Xiongnu 匈奴 and opposed Han 漢. However, the same chapter states on another occasion:

In the first year of the *Yongning* 永寧 reign-period (A.D. 120), the king of Further Jushi 車師, Junjiu 軍就, and his mother, Shama 沙麻, revolted and killed the Major of the tribe of Further Jushi 車師 and the Executive Official of Dunhuang 敦煌 [Prefecture].

According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 5, the title of the reign-period was changed in the seventh year of the *Yuanchu* 元初 reign-period (A.D. 120), in the fourth month, and the king of state of Further Jushi 車師 rebelled in the third month, or "several months" after the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 surrendered to Suo Ban 索班. The "Executive Official of Dunhuang 敦煌" who was killed, according to Li's 李 commentary, must have been Suo Ban 索班. This shows that Junjiu's 軍就 revolt and move to "to attack and kill Suo Ban 索班 and others" are part of the same event. Since Junjiu 軍就 was known as a rebel, the state of Further Jushi 車師 was subject to Han 漢 before this. In other words, after Suo Ban 索班 had been stationed at Yiwu 伊吾, those who came over to surrender were not only the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師, but also included the king of state of Further Jushi 車師. After the king of state of Further Jushi 車師 surrendered, Han 漢, according to the institution of Emperor He 和, set up a Major to pacify it. The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, only refers to the king of the state of Nearer Jushi's 車師 surrender, probably because the king of state of Further Jushi 車師 soon revolted.

After this, according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Yong 班勇), the Xiongnu 匈奴, together with Jushi 車師, frequently invaded and robbed, and the Hexi 河西 region (Gansu 甘肅 Corridor) suffered severe injury". Up to the "summer of the second year of the *Yanguang* 延光 reign-period (A.D. 123)", Han 漢 "made [Ban] Yong [班]勇 the Chief Official of the Western Regions, and he, leading five hundred men, set up an agricultural colony at Liuzhong 柳中". In the next year, Ban Yong 班勇 called out the troops of the states of Qiuci 龜茲 and others, altogether more than ten thousand infantry and cavalry, and reached the royal court of the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師. The King of Yili 伊蠡 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 was driven out of the valley of Yihe 伊和. Ban Yong 班勇 arrested five thousand men from the state of Nearer Jushi 車師. Thereupon communications with the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師 opened up again".

In the fourth year of the *Yanguang* 延光 reign-period (A.D. 125), "in the autumn, [Ban] Yong [班]勇 called out six thousand cavalry from Dunhuang 敦煌, Zhangye 張掖 and Jiuquan 酒泉, and the troops of Shanshan 鄯善, Shule 疏勒 and the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師 to attack the king of the tribe of Further Jushi 車師, Junjiu 軍就, and routed him. [The Han 漢 Army] cut off heads and took prisoners, altogether more than eight thousand persons, in addition to more than fifty thousand heads of horse and other animals. Junjiu 軍就 and a Xiongnu 匈奴 envoy with emblems of authority were arrested and brought to the location where Suo Ban 索班 had been killed, and were beheaded in order to wipe out the disgrace, and their heads were taken to the capital". According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 5, Junjiu 軍就 was beheaded in the third month of this year.

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is recorded that "In the first year of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period of Emperor Shun 順 (A.D. 126), [Ban] Yong [班]勇, leading Jiatenu 加特奴, Bahua 八滑, and other sons of the king of Further Jushi 車師, Nongqi 農奇, called out picked troops to attack the king of *Huyan* 呼延 of the northern savages and routed him. [Ban] Yong [班]勇 sent a written message to the emperor asking permission to establish Jiatenu 加特奴 as king of the Tribe of Further Jushi 車師 and Bahua 八滑 as noble of Qinhan 親漢 (Enjoy Friendly Relations with Han 漢)". In the same book, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Yong 班勇) Nongqi 農奇 was described as "the former king of tribe of Further Jushi 車師". Since the king was established by Han 漢, it is possible that Junjiu 軍就 was established by the Xiongnu 匈奴 after Emperor An 安 had abolished the post of Protector General. This shows the reason Junjiu 軍就 revolted soon after he surrendered to Suo Ban 索班. In chapter 47 (Memoir on Ban Yong 班勇) it is also recorded that "[Ban] Yong [班]勇 also sent a detached colonel to behead the king of the state of Eastern Qiemi 且彌, and established a man from their race as king. Thereupon the six states of the Jushi 車師 all were pacified". This shows that the king of the state of Eastern Qiemi 且彌, who was killed by Ban Yong 班勇, had also been established by the Xiongnu 匈奴, and that the man was not of the Jushi 車師 race. And on the basis of the chapter 88 of the same book we know, "the tribes of Nearer and Farther [Jushi 車師], the Eastern Qiemi 且彌, Beilu 卑陸, Pulei 蒲類, and Yizhi 移支 are the six states of Jushi 車師". The six states must have been formed in the course of dividing or combining the eight states of Jushi 車師 in Western Han 漢 times.

Since the tribes of Nearer and Further Jushi 車師 had surrendered, the other four states must have submitted to Han 漢 following them.¹³

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Yong 班勇), it is also recorded that in the first year of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period (A.D. 126), "in the winter, [Ban] Yong [班]勇 called up the troops of the various states to attack the King of Huyan 呼延 of the Xiongnu 匈奴. The King of Huyan 呼延 fled, and his mass of twenty thousand men all surrendered. The cousin of the *Chanyu* 單于 was arrested, [Ban] Yong [班]勇 ordered Jiatenu 加特奴 beheaded him with his own hands, so as to have Jushi 車師 and the Xiongnu 匈奴 feud with each other. The *Chanyu* 單于 of the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 personally led more than ten thousand cavalry to invade the tribe of Further Jushi 車師 and arrived in the Jinjie 金且 Valley. [Ban] Yong [班]勇 ordered the Acting Major, Cao Jun 曹俊, to rescue it on horseback. The *Chanyu* 單于 led away [his troops], Cao Jun 曹俊 went after him and beheaded his noblemen, the Noble of *Gudu* 骨都. Thereupon the King of Huyan 呼延 moved to on the Kuwu 枯梧 River. After that there was no trace of the savages in the state of Jushi 車師, and all the walled towns were safe". In my opinion, the Xiongnu 匈奴 lost Jushi 車師 under such circumstances that they must fight to regain it. Ban Yong 班勇 thus advanced and attacked the King of Huyan 呼延 in the flush of victory, in order to ensure the safety of Jushi 車師.

As to the Jinjie 金且 Valley, it must have been "the Huanjie 桓且 Valley" that was noted in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B.¹⁴ Ban Yong 班勇 ordered Cao Jun 曹俊 to rescue it on horseback, which was similar to the situation in which the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel "sent his aide Chen Liang 陳良 to encamp in the Huanjie 桓且 valley", as a precautionary measure against Xiongnu 匈奴 raids in Western Han 漢 times. The valley should therefore be located on the route by which the Xiongnu 匈奴 went to the tribe of Further Jushi 車師.

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch.88, it is recorded that "In the third year of the *Yangjia* 陽嘉 reign-period (A.D. 134), in the summer, the Major of the Tribe of Further Jushi 車師 led Jiatenu 加特奴 and others, altogether 1,500 men, to make a sneak attack on the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 in the Changwulu 閻吾陸 Valley. The Han 漢 troops destroyed the tents, cut off several hundred heads, and captured the mother and a wife of the younger brother of the *Chanyu's* 單于 father and several hundred other women, in addition to taking one hundred

thousand head of cattle and sheep, more than 1,000 carts, and very large numbers of weapons and sundries. In the fourth year, in the spring, the king of Huyan 呼延 of the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 led troops to invade the tribe of Further [Jushi 車師]. Thinking that the six states of Jushi 車師 were near to the northern savages and thus provided a defence for the Western Regions, the emperor ordered the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 to call out the troops of the various states, under the captains from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier and the majors from Yiwu 伊吾, altogether 6,300 persons, to rescue it. The Han 漢 forces made a sneak attack on the northern savages at Mount Le 勒, but were unsuccessful. In the autumn, the king of Huyan 呼延 again led two thousand men to attack the tribe of Further [Jushi 車師] and routed it". According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 6, the date that the majors from the tribe of Further Jushi 車師 and others led a sneak attack on the Xiongnu 匈奴 was in the third year of the *Yangjia* 陽嘉 reign-period (A.D. 134) "in the summer, in the fourth month". The King of Huyan's 呼延 rout of Jushi 車師 in the autumn of the fourth year meant that the Xiongnu 匈奴 occupied Jushi 車師 at the last instance. In the second year of the *Yonghe* 永和 reign-period (A.D. 137), the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 killed the King of Huyan 呼延, and Jushi 車師 again was turned over to Han 漢.

The reason that the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 sent out a force to rescue the tribe of Further Jushi 車師 was that there was no Protector General in the Western Regions at that time. This is the beginning of the Administrator of Dunhuang's 敦煌 jurisdiction over affairs in the Western Regions.

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is also recorded that " In the first year of the *Yongxing* 永興 reign-period [of Emperor Huan 桓] (A.D. 153), the king of the tribe of Further Jushi 車師, Aluoduo 阿羅多, who did not get along well with the Captain of the *Wu* 戊 Division, Yan Hao 嚴皓, revolted angrily and besieged the town of Qiegu 且固, where Han 漢 soldiers were stationed to set up an agricultural colony, killing and wounding officials and soldiers. [However], a captain of the tribe of Further Jushi 車師, named Tanzhe 炭遮 led the other men left behind in rebellion against Aluoduo 阿羅多 and came to the Han 漢 officials to surrender. Being pressed, leading his mother, wives and sons, Aluoduo 阿羅多, with over 100 cavalry, escaped to the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴, while the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Song Liang 宋良 sent a written message to the emperor asking permission to establish Beijun 卑君, the son

of the former king of the Tribe of Further Jushi 車師, Junjiu 軍就, who had been a hostage as king of the Tribe of Further [Jushi 車師]. Later Aluoduo 阿羅多 came back from among the Xiongnu 匈奴 and contended for the state with Beijun 卑君, recruiting a considerable number of countrymen to his side. Worried that he would attract the northern savages and disturb the Western Regions, the *Wu* 戊 Colonel Yan Xiang 閻詳 openheartedly gave him explicit instructions and promise to make him king again. Aluoduo 阿羅多 then came over to submit to [Yan] Xiang [閻]詳. Thereupon Han 漢 recaptured Beijun's 卑君 seal and ribbons, and reestablished Aluoduo 阿羅多 as king, and Beijun 卑君 was brought back to Dunhuang 敦煌, 300 tents of the Tribe of Further Jushi 車師 being designated to serve him separately. That is, he lived on taxes collected from them". And the preface of the same chapter states:

After the *Yangjia* 陽嘉 reign-period (A.D. 132–135), the prestige of the imperial court diminished somewhat: the various states became arrogant and unrestrained, and made war upon one another. In the second year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 152), the Chief Official, Wang Jing 王敬, was killed by Yutian 于寘. In the first year of the *Yongxing* 永興 reign-period (A.D. 126), the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師 again revolted and attacked the camp that was to set up an agricultural colony. Although there were some who surrendered, nobody learned from past mistakes and mended their ways. From then on [the various states in the Western Regions] drifted apart and slighted [Han 漢] bit by bit.

Aluoduo 阿羅多 attacked the camp that was setting up an agricultural colony, i.e., the town of Qiegu 且固, and escaped to the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴. Han 漢 was unable to punish him; on the contrary, he was established as the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師. Han's 漢 authority was diminished. The Aluoduo 阿羅多 event is one of the signs that the Han's 漢 management in the Western Regions was moving towards collapse.

The town of Qiegu 且固 that was attacked by Aluoduo 阿羅多 must have been the Northern Xujian 胥鞬 noted in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A, where an agricultural colony had existed since the Western Han 漢 Dynasty.¹⁵

The town in which the Captain of the *Wu* 戊 Division dwelt is the town of the Captain in the tribe of Further Jushi 車師. This must have been the town in which the Captain of the tribe of Further Jushi 車師, Tanzhe 炭遮, dwelt. As mentioned above, it was probably the town of Jinpu 金蒲. Aluoduo 阿羅多 attacked the town of Qiegu 且固 because he did not get along well with the Captain of the *Wu* 戊 Division. This shows that Yan Hao 嚴皓 was in the town of Qiegu 且固. However, this does not mean that the town of Qiegu 且固 is the town of Captain or Jinpu 金蒲. Yan Hao 嚴皓, as the Captain of the *Wu* 戊 Division may not have been stationed in one place all the time. It is possible that the town of Jinpu 金蒲 was also called the town of Captain of the Tribe of Further Jushi 車師 because the Captain of the Tribe of Further Jushi 車師 dwelt there, but it does not seem likely that it should be known as the town of Qiegu 且固.

As mentioned above, Junjiu 軍就 was probably a puppet propped up by the Xiongnu 匈奴. The latest time at which he could have acceded is the first year of the *Yongchu* 永初 reign-period (A.D. 107). During the reign of Junjiu 軍就, the tribe of Further Jushi 車師 was undoubtedly allied with the Xiongnu 匈奴. Nevertheless, Junjiu 軍就 also sent his son to be a hostage at Han 漢 court. This shows he was also unwilling to alienate either party. The time when the kings of the tribes of Nearer and Further Jushi 車師 sent their sons to attend or to be hostage at court, so far as the historical records are concerned, is as early as the second year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 (A.D. 90). It possibly started, however, during the reign of Emperor Ming 明. And the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 27, refers to the fact that "the son of Jushi's 車師 king who was attending at court was loved by Dong Zhuo 董卓". This shows that Jushi's 車師 sending their sons to attend at the court still took place as late as the end of the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty.

After the affair of Aluoduo 阿羅多, Jushi 車師 submitted to Han 漢. On the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, we know that in the third year of the *Jianning* 建寧 reign-period of Emperor Ling 靈 (A.D. 170), when the Governor of Liang 涼 Province, Meng Tuo 孟佗, sent the Attendant Official, Ren She 任涉, to attack Shule 疏勒, the troops of the tribes of Nearer and Further Jushi 車師 were called out.

According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, in the twenty-first year of the *Jianwu* 建武 reign-period of Emperor Guangwu 光武 (A.D. 45), in the winter, the eighteen states, consisting of "Yanqi 焉耆 and others all sent their sons to attend at the court". At the end these states submitted to the Xiongnu 匈奴 because the Protector General was not sent out.¹⁶ In the fourth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明 (A.D. 61), the Xiongnu 匈奴 had called out the forces of the states of Yanqi 焉耆, Weili 尉犁 and others to attack the state of Yutian 于闐.¹⁷

Also on the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, we know that, in the eighteenth year of *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 75) "Yanqi 焉耆, together with Qiuci 龜茲, attacked and killed the Protector General, Chen Mu 陳睦, the Deputy Colonel, Guo Xun 郭恂, and 2,000 officers and soldiers". According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 2, Yanqi 焉耆 and others attacked and killed the Protector General in the sixth month of the eighteenth year. And in an edict of Emperor He 和 in the seventh year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period (A.D. 95) as noted in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), it is said that "The king of Yanqi 焉耆, Shun 舜, the son of Shun 舜, Zhong 忠, alone plotted to revolt, depending on the defiles, and overwhelmed the Protector General together with the officers and soldiers" and so on. This shows that those who killed the Protector General were Shun 舜 and his son. In the same chapter it is also recorded that "Yanqi 焉耆, Weixu 危須 and Weili 尉犁 were duplicitous because of killing the Protector General on earlier occasions". This shows that Weixu 危須 and Weili 尉犁 also had a hand in the matter. Chapter 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超) also says, "In the eighteenth year, the Emperor died. Yanqi 焉耆 thereupon attacked and killed the Protector General, Chen Mu 陳睦, because there was a great funeral in the Middle Kingdom". However, chapter 19 (Memoir on Geng Gong 耿恭) says, "the northern savages (i.e., the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴) also besieged Guan Chong 關寵 at Liuzhong 柳中" when Yanqi 焉耆 and others attacked and killed Chu Mu 陳睦. This proves that Yanqi 焉耆 and others did this in order to work in concert with the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴, and that it had nothing to do with the great funeral arrangements in the Middle Kingdom. We know this because Emperor Ming 明 died in the eighth month of the eighteenth year, when Chu Mu 陳睦 had already been killed. During the reign of the Western Han 漢 Dynasty the three states of Yanqi 焉耆, Weixu 危須 and Weili 尉犁,

were severely controlled by the Xiongnu 匈奴 because they had a direct bearing on the Xiongnu's 匈奴 advantages in the Western Region. Presumably it also controlled them during the Eastern Han 漢.

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), it is recorded that in the third year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period of Emperor Zhang 章 (A.D. 78), Ban Chao 班超 set up a petition to the forces, saying, "Now in the various states in the Western Regions, all the people as far as to where the sun sets, have come and pledged allegiance. Large or small, [all states], being in high spirit, have kept paying tribute. Only Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲 have not yet obeyed". In my opinion, if only Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲 had not come over and pledged allegiance, that is mainly because they were supported or controlled by the Xiongnu 匈奴. At that time, the various states in the Western Regions, especially on the Northern Route, all submitted to the Xiongnu 匈奴 because Emperor Zhang 章 abolished the post of Protector General, and the statement that all the people have "come over and pledged allegiance" and so on is an inflated description.

After this, according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, "In the sixth year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period (A.D. 94), the Protector General, Ban Chao 班超, led soldiers from the various states to chastise Yanqi 焉耆, Weixu 危須, Weili 尉黎, and the state of Shan 山, and the heads of the kings of Yanqi 焉耆 and Weili 尉黎 were cut off and transported to the capital and hung in the Barbarians' Residence. [Ban] Chao [班]超 then enthroned Yuanmeng 元孟, the Left Captain of Yanqi 焉耆, as king. The kings of Weili 尉黎, Weixu 危須, and the state of Shan 山 were reestablished". On the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 4, we know that the event was in the seventh month of the sixth year. From then on Yanqi 焉耆 and the other states submitted to the Eastern Han 漢.

The circumstances under which Ban Chao 班超 attacked the states of Yanqi 焉耆 and others are minutely recorded in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超). According to it, "[Ban Chao 班超] called out the forces of the Qiuci 龜茲, Shanshan 鄯善 and others, altogether seventy thousand men, with one thousand and two hundred officers, soldiers, and merchants, to attack Yanqi 焉耆". When the army reached the boundary of Weili 尉黎, "the king of Yanqi 焉耆, Guang 廣, sent his Left General, Beizhijian 北鞬支, who brought ox and

wine to meet [Ban] Chao [班]超. [Ban] Chao [班]超 questioned [Bei]jianzhi [北]鞬支 closely, and said, 'You, as the king's son, had been attending at the Xiongnu's 匈奴 court, but now you wield state power. When the Protector General arrived in person, your king did not meet him in time. This is all your evil mischief'". From this it can be seen that the states of Yanqi 焉耆 and others were assuredly controlled by the Xiongnu 匈奴. Ban Chao 班超 beheading of Guang 廣 and others is nothing but an imitation of Fu Jiezi's 傅介子 old scheme: to tempt them with benefit. He "offered to give a great reward". "The king of Yanqi 焉耆, Guang 廣, the king of Weili 尉犁, Fan 汎, and Bei Jianzhi 北鞬支 and others, altogether more than thirty men, came over to [Ban] Chao [班]超 one by one". Thereupon, [Ban] Chao [班]超 "shouted to his officers and soldiers to arrest Guang 廣, Fan 汎 and the others and to behead them at the town where Chen Mu 陳睦 formerly had dwelt". As for Yuanmeng 元孟, who was established by Ban Chao 班超, "he, as a hostage, had been at the capital [of Han 漢]". When Ban Chao 班超 advanced, he sent an envoy in secret to tell Ban Chao 班超 the activities of Guang 廣. In a word, he was a person who appeared to enjoy friendly relations with Han 漢. From this there is no harm in considering that the kings of the states of Weili 尉犁, Weixu 危須 and Shan 山 all established by Ban Chao 班超, also were characters similar to Yuanmeng 元孟. And those former kings who were replaced all enjoyed friendly relations with the Xiongnu 匈奴.

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is recorded that "Up to the time of Emperor An 安, the Western Regions betrayed Han 漢. During the *Yanguang* 延光 reign-period (A.D. 122–125) the son of [Ban] Chao [班]超, Yong 勇, was appointed as the Chief Official of the Western Regions, who again went on a punitive expedition to the various states to put them down. Only Yuanmeng 元孟, and [the kings of] Weili 尉犁 and Weixu 危須, did not surrender. In the second year of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period (A.D. 127), [Ban] Yong [班]勇 and the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 [Prefecture], Zhang Lang 張朗 attacked and routed them. Yuanmeng 元孟 thus sent his son to the [palace] portal to present tribute". According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 6, in the second year of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period, in the sixth month, "the Chief Official of the Western Regions, Ban Yong 班勇 and the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Zhang Lang 張朗, went on a punitive expedition to the three states of Yanqi 焉耆, Weili 尉犁 and Weixu 危須 and routed them, and they all sent their sons to offer tribute". This shows that the states which

offered tribute were not only the state of Yanqi 焉耆. On this battle the most detailed record is in the same book, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Yong 班勇):

In the second year [of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period (A.D. 127)], [Ban] Yong [班]勇 asked to attack Yuanmeng 元孟. Thereupon [Han 漢] sent the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Zhang Lang 張朗, to lead the troops of the four prefectures in the Hexi 河西 region, altogether three thousand persons, and to cooperate with [Ban] Yong [班]勇. Thus they called out the troops of the various states, altogether more than forty thousand persons, dividing cavalry two ways, to attack it. [Ban] Yong [班]勇 went by the Southern Route and [Zhang] Lang [張]朗, the Northern Route. Both, fixing a date, intended to reach Yanqi 焉耆 at the same time. [Zhang] Lang [張]朗, who had committed crimes before this, wanted to ransom himself by making contributions, and thus reached the Jueli 爵離 Barrier in advance. He sent a major to lead the troops to fight, and they cut off heads and took prisoners, altogether more than two thousand persons. Yuanmeng 元孟 feared being beheaded and sent an envoy beforehand to beg to surrender. Zhang Lang 張朗 simply entered Yanqi 焉耆 to accept his surrender and returned. Yuanmeng 元孟 was unexpectedly unwilling to surrender with his hands tied behind his back at the end, and simply sent his son to the [palace] portal to offer tribute”.

It has been suggested that Emperor An 安 abolished the post of Protector General as soon as he ascended the throne, this position ceased to exist from then on. Because of this, matters in the Western Regions usually were in the charge of the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌. And the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel and the Chief Officials, stationed in the Western Regions, all complied with the direction of the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌.¹⁸ However, the above-cited reference says clearly that Zhang Lang 張朗 led the troops from the four prefectures in the Hexi 河西 region “to cooperate with [Ban] Yong [班]勇”. This seems to show that Ban Yong 班勇 as the Chief Official of the Western Regions was not yet controlled by the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌. That Zhang Lang 張朗 fought with Ban Yong 班勇 also can prove this.

It is notable that the three states of Yanqi 焉耆, Weixu 危須 and Weili 尉犁 all were conquered at last when Ban Chao 班超 or his son managed the Western Regions. What a striking likeness between this case and the Western Han 漢!

After Yanqi 焉耆 submitted to Han 漢, the Governor of Liang 涼 Province, Meng Tuo 孟佗, called out the forces of the state of Yanqi 焉耆, sending a general to punish Shule 疏勒. In the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 2, it is recorded that in the first year of the *Yankang* 延康 reign-period of Emperor Xian 獻 (A.D. 220), in the third month, on the day of *jimao* 己卯, the state of Yanqi 焉耆 "sent an envoy to pay tribute".

D

In this section we will state the relationships between the Eastern Han 漢 and Qiuci 龜茲, Gumo 姑墨, Wensu 溫宿, Weitou 尉頭, Shule 疏勒.

At the beginning of the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty, Qiuci 龜茲 was annexed by Suoju 莎車 for a time. Several years later, the people of Qiuci 龜茲 killed the king who was established by Suoju 莎車, and sent an envoy to the Xiongnu 匈奴 to beg to reestablish its own king. From then on Qiuci 龜茲 submitted to the Xiongnu 匈奴. The Xiongnu 匈奴 controlled the various states on the Northern Route to the west of Qiuci 龜茲 by means of controlling Qiuci 龜茲, and their forces entered the various states on the Southern Route from the Northern Route. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, since Qiuci 龜茲 had submitted to the Xiongnu 匈奴, the Xiongnu 匈奴 "attacked Suoju 莎車 together with Qiuci 龜茲 and other states", but "was unable to capture it". The state of Yutian 于闐 annexed the state of Suoju 莎車, taking advantage of the Suoju 莎車 decline. The Xiongnu 匈奴 again called out the troops of Qiuci 龜茲 and other states to besiege Yutian 于闐, and Yutian 于闐 begged to surrender. After this, according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), Jian 建, the king of Qiuci 龜茲 who was established by the Xiongnu 匈奴 controlled the Northern Route, depending on the support of the Xiongnu 匈奴. He breached Shule 疏勒, killed its king, and "established Douti 兜題, of the people of Qiuci 龜茲, as the king of Shule 疏勒".

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on the Ban Chao 班超) it is recorded that in the sixteenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明 (A.D. 73), Dou Gu 竇

固 sent Ban Chao 班超 as an envoy to the Western Regions. In the next year, "in the spring, Ban Chao 班超 reached Shule 疏勒 by a desolate and out-of-the-way path. When he was a distance of ninety *li* 里 from the town of Pantuo 盤橐, in which Douti 兜題 dwelt, he sent an officer, Tian Lh 田慮, ahead to subdue him. He told [Tian] Lü [田]慮 that Douti 兜題 was originally not of the race of Shule 疏勒. The countrymen [of Shule 疏勒] would not enthusiastically serve him regardless of the consequences, so, if he was not willing to surrender at once, he could easily be caught. When [Tian] Lü 田慮 reached him, Douti 兜題 saw that [Tian] Lü 田慮 was reckless and weak, and did not want to surrender at all. [Tian] Lü 田慮, seizing the chance when he was unprepared, advanced and kidnapped Douti 兜題. Because it was unexpected, those around him were alarmed and ran away. [Tian] Lü [田]慮 reported the event to [Ban] Chao [班]超 on horseback. [Ban] Chao [班]超 immediately went there, called together all the generals and officers of Shule 疏勒, and told about them the unprincipled state of Qiuci 龜茲, then established the son of the elder brother of the former king, Zhong 忠, as king [of Shule 疏勒].¹⁹ The countrymen of Shule 疏勒 were exultant. Zhong 忠 and his officers all begged to kill Douti 兜題. [Ban] Chao [班]超 did not allow then to, but set him free to show the [Han's 漢] prestige. From then on Shule 疏勒 was an enemy of Qiuci 龜茲".

In my opinion, Qiuci 龜茲 had been a large state among the oasis states since the Western Han 漢 Dynasty. Its households, individuals and persons able to bear arms were far more numerous than those of the other states. Therefore, it had power to invade the neighbouring countries. Since it was supported by the Xiongnu 匈奴, it acted even more wilfully. To establish Douti 兜題 as the king of Shule 疏勒 was equal to taking Shule 疏勒 as its dependency. From the viewpoint of Ban Chao 班超, the various states in the Western Regions all were subject to Han 漢, thus the behavior of Qiuci 龜茲 was intolerable. However Ban Chao's 班超 power was too weak to punish Qiuci 龜茲 at that time, so he ordered Tian Lü 田慮 to kidnap Douti 兜題. What he relied on was merely that Douti 兜題 was not the race of the Shule 疏勒, and the countrymen of Shule 疏勒 would not defend him, regardless of the consequences.

In the eighteenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 75), Qiuci 龜茲, Yanqi 焉耆 and others, coordinating with the Northern Xiongnu's 匈奴 invasion of Jushi 車師, attacked and killed the Protector General, Chen Mu 陳睦. On the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47

(Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), we know, at Shule 疏勒, Ban Chao 班超 was “isolated and cut off from help. Qiuci 龜茲 and Gumo 姑墨 sent out forces to attack Shule 疏勒 frequently. [Ban] Chao [班]超 defended the town of Pantuo 盤橐, and he and Zhong 忠 supported each other. His soldiers and officers were few, but they resisted for a year and more”. After he had been enthroned, “[Emperor Zhang 章] issued an edict to invite [Ban] Chao [班]超 to come to court. [Ban] Chao [班]超 set out to return, and the whole state of Shule 疏勒 worried and feared [for his return]”. When Ban Chao 班超 was to return to Yutian 于闐, “because [Yutian 于闐] would not allow him to return eastwards and he also wanted to satisfy his original plan, again he went back to Shule 疏勒. After [Ban] Chao [班]超 had left, two towns of Shule 疏勒 surrendered to Qiuci 龜茲 and united with the troops of Weitou 尉頭. [Ban] Chao [班]超 captured and beheaded the rebels, destroyed Weitou 尉頭, and killed six hundred persons and more. Shule 疏勒 again became stable”.

In my opinion, as Weili 尉犁, Weixu 危須 and others followed Yanqi 焉耆 to oppose Han 漢, Gumo 姑墨, Wensu 溫宿, Weitou 尉頭 and others followed Qiuci 龜茲. This is because the larger oasis states possessed a sphere of influence when they did not submit to Han 漢. However, on the basis of Ban Chao’s 班超 petition, recorded in the same chapter, we know that “Both the king of Gumo 姑墨 and the king of Wensu 溫宿 had merely been established by Qiuci 龜茲. They were not only not of the race of Shule 疏勒, but also detested each other. The situation must cause surrender and mutiny”. This shows that Gumo 姑墨 and others were accomplices only under duress.

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), it is also recorded that in the third year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 78), “[Ban] Chao [班]超 led the troops of Shule 疏勒, Kangju 康居, Yutian 于寘 and Jumi 拘彌, altogether ten thousand persons, to attack the Stone Town of Gumo 姑墨, and routed it, cutting off seven hundred heads. Because of this, [Ban] Chao [班]超 consequently wanted to put down the various states, and then sent up a petition to ask for the forces”. In the fifth year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 80), Emperor Zhang 章 “made [Xu] Gan [徐]幹, Acting Major, and ordered him to lead one thousand men who were exempted from punishment [on condition that they served in the army] and volunteered to go to [Ban] Chao [班]超”. Also, the same chapter states, “Previous to this, Suoju

莎車 had considered that the Han 漢 would not dispatch troops and thus surrendered to Qiuci 龜茲. The Commandant of Shule 疏勒, Fanchen 番辰, also rebelled. It happened that Xu Gan 徐幹 reached him, and [Ban] Chao [班]超 thereupon attacked Fanchen 番辰 with [Xu] Gan [徐]幹 and routed him. He cut off more than one thousand heads and captured many caitiff alive”.

Ban Chao 班超 sent up a petition, saying that “Now Jumi 拘彌, Suoju 莎車, Shule 疏勒, Yuezhi 月氏, Wusun 烏孫 and Kangju 康居 again are willing to return to allegiance. I wish to unite their forces and together with them defeat and destroy Qiuci 龜茲 and open up the routes between Han 漢 and the Western Regions”. From this, it can be seen that Ban Chao 班超 was confident that he would obtain the support of the various states to the west of the Cong 葱 Mountains and on the Southern Route. However, the actual truth was far more complex than he assumed. Both Suoju’s 莎車 surrender to Qiuci 龜茲 and Fanchen’s 番辰 mutiny show that the various states harboured apprehensions regarding Han 漢, and they did not have much faith in the Han’s 漢 power. Fanchen’s 番辰 mutiny soon was put down, but the problem of Suoju 莎車 could not be resolved for a long time. Ban Chao 班超 alleged that “Since Your vassal has alone guarded at Shule 疏勒 for five years down to the present, he thus has considerable knowledge of the barbarians’ circumstances”. Specifically, “I was told that the walled towns, small or large, all said they depend on Han 漢 the same as Heaven. As a result we should open communications with the Cong 葱 Mountains. Once the communications started with the Cong 葱 Mountains, we would be able to attack Qiuci 龜茲”. Thus he suggested that “Now we should make Bai Ba 白霸, the son of Qiuci’s 龜茲 king, who has been attending its king at court, and send several hundred infantry and cavalry to escort him back [to Qiuci 龜茲]. If we united with the troops of the various states, after a short time Qiuci 龜茲 would be destroyed”. This was nothing more than militarily propping up a puppet so that it would enjoy friendly relations with Han 漢. That is the so-called “fight barbarians with barbarians” strategy. The estimate Ban Chao 班超 made of the situation was a bit too optimistic, and in fact Qiuci 龜茲 did not surrender to Han 漢 until the beginning of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和.

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), it is also recorded that “Since [Ban] Chao [班]超 destroyed Fanchen 番辰 he wanted to attack Qiuci 龜茲. Because the troops of the Wusun 烏孫 were powerful, “he requested the Emperor send envoys to give the

Greater and Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 brocaded silk. However, there is no record in the historical books that Ban Chao 班超 got the help of the Wusun 烏孫 when he put down Qiuci 龜茲.

In the same chapter it is also recorded that in the first year of the *Yuanhe* 元和 reign-period (A.D. 84), Ban Chao 班超 "called out the troops of Shule 疏勒 and Yutian 于寘 to attack Suoju 莎車". But "Suoju 莎車 by stealth sent an envoy to the king of Shule 疏勒, Zhong 忠, and lured him by the promise of gain. Zhong 忠 therefore rebelled and, following him, went west to guard the town of *Wuji* 烏卽. [Ban] Chao 班超 thus established his Assistant, Chengda 成大, as the king of Shule 疏勒, and called out all those who did not rebel to attack Zhong 忠". Kangju 康居 dispatched picked troops to rescue him. [Ban] Chao 班超 sent an envoy to give the king of Yuezhi 月氏 presents and "ordered him explicitly to notify the king of Kangju 康居. The king of Kangju 康居 disbanded his troops, and, capturing Zhong 忠, returned to his country. The town of *Wuji* 烏卽 thus surrendered to [Ban] Chao 班超". In the third year of the *Yuanhe* 元和 reign-period (A.D. 86), "Zhong 忠 advised the king of Kangju 康居 to lend him troops, then returned and occupied Sunzhong 損中. He plotted with Qiuci 龜茲 in secret to send an envoy to pretend to surrender to [Ban] Chao 班超. [Ban] Chao 班超 knew his evil plan but pretended to agree. Zhong 忠 was delighted, and, being followed by light cavalry, went to [Ban] Chao 班超. [Ban] Chao 班超 took command of his troops to await him in secret. [When Zhong 忠 reached him, Ban Chao 班超] gave a banquet and arranged a band for him. When wine was poured, [Ban Chao 班超] shouted to his officers to bind Zhong 忠 and behead him. [Ban Chao 班超] thus attacked and routed the rest, killing seven hundred persons and more. The communications with the Southern Route thereupon was set up".

According to the petition Ban Chao 班超 sent up in the third year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 78), Kangju 康居 belonged to the various states he said were "willing to return to allegiance". However, it supported Shule 疏勒 against Han 漢. The king, Zhong 忠, even though he was established by Ban Chao 班超, went so far as to oppose Han 漢 out of greed for gain. These examples show that Ban Chao's 班超 petition was deliberately exaggerated, which possibly was in order to firm up the determination of the imperial court in the management of the Western Regions.

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), it is also recorded that in the first year of the *Zhanghe* 章和 reign-period (A.D. 87), "[Ban] Chao [班]超 called out the troops of the state of Yutian 于寘 and others, altogether twenty-five thousand persons, to attack Suoju 莎車 again. And the king of Qiuci 龜茲 sent his Left General to call out the troops of Wensu 烏孫, Gumo 姑墨 and Weitou 尉頭, altogether fifty thousand persons, to rescue it". After [Ban] Chao had faced down Suoju 莎車 by maneuver, "Qiuci 龜茲 and others moved back and accordingly dispersed". And then, in the second year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period (A.D. 59), Ban Chao 班超 also beat back the viceroy of Yuezhi 月氏 to invade, eventually creating a situation such that with "communications started with the Cong 葱 Mountains we would be able to attack Qiuci 龜茲". In the third year of *Yongyuan* 永元 (A.D. 60), according to the same chapter,

Qiuci 龜茲, Gumo 姑墨 and Wensu 溫宿 all surrendered. Han 漢 thereupon made [Ban] Chao [班]超 the Protector General, and Xu Gan 徐幹, the Chief Official, and appointed Bai Ba 白霸 as the king of Qiuci 龜茲, and sent the Major, Yao Guang 姚光, to escort him back [to Qiuci 龜茲]. [Ban] Chao [班]超 forced the people of Qiuci 龜茲 to dethrone their king, Youlido 尤利多, and establish Bai Ba 白霸 as king, together with [Yao] Guang [姚]光, and sent [Yao] Guang [姚]光 to go with Youlido 尤利多 to return to the capital. [Ban] Chao [班]超 dwelt at the town of Taqian 它乾 in Qiuci 龜茲, and Xu Gan 徐幹 was stationed in Shule 疏勒.

Youlido 尤利多 must have been the descendant of the king of Qiuci 龜茲, Jian 建, who was established by the Xiongnu 匈奴 and dethroned because he was all along opposed to Han 漢. Ban Chao 班超, as the Protector General, was stationed at the town of Taqian 它乾 in the state of Qiuci 龜茲. This was a measure the Eastern Han 漢 adopted in order to easily pacify and control the state. The Eastern Han 漢 understood that the support or opposition of Qiuci 龜茲 was important for the management of the Western Regions. In Western Han 漢 times, the Protector General could have his seat in the town of Wulei 烏壘, whose location was at the centre of the Western Regions. This had much to do with Qiuci's 龜茲 enjoying friendly relations with Han 漢.

The predecessor of Ban Chao 班超, Chu Mu 陳睦, was killed by Qiuci 龜茲 and Yanqi 焉耆. It is quite possible that their seat of government was in the town of Wulei 烏壘.

After Qiuci 龜茲 had surrendered, the greatest barrier that the Eastern Han 漢 had in managing the Western Region was eliminated. In the autumn of the sixth year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period (A.D. 63), on the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), we know that Ban Chao 班超 called out the troops of the state of Qiuci 龜茲 and others to attack Yanqi 焉耆, and Yanqi 焉耆 surrendered. Thereupon the various states in the Western Regions all sent hostages to submit to Han 漢.

After this, according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Liang Jin 梁懂), "In the first year of the *Yanping* 延平 reign-period [of Emperor Shang 殤] (A.D. 106), [Liang Jin 梁懂] was made the Deputy Colonel of the Western Regions. As soon as [Liang] Jin [梁]懂 arrived in the Hexi 河西 region, the various states in the Western Regions revolted and attacked Ren Shang 任尚 in Shule 疏勒. [Ren] Shang [任]尚 sent a written message to the emperor to ask for help. An imperial edict ordered [Liang] Jin [梁]懂 to lead the Qiang 羌 and Hu 胡 from the four prefectures in the Hexi 河西 region, altogether five thousand cavalry, and to go him speedily. [Ren] Shang [任]尚 had extricated himself [from the predicament] before [Liang] Jin [梁]懂 arrived. Just when [Ren] Shang [任]尚 was invited to return to court, the Commandant of Cavalry, Duan Xi 段禧, was appointed as Protector General, the Chief Official of the Western Regions, and Zhao Bo 趙博, was appointed as Commandant of Cavalry.²⁰ [Duan] Xi [段]禧 and [Zhao] Bo [趙]博 guarded the town of Taqian 它乾. [Liang] Jin [梁]懂 considered that the town of Taqian 它乾 was so small that it could not be defended successfully, and he fraudulently advised the king of Qiuci 龜茲, Bai Ba 白霸, saying he wanted to enter and defend the town together with him. Bai Ba 白霸 allowed him. The officers [of Bai Ba 白霸] firmly warned him, but Bai Ba 白霸 would not listen. After [Liang] Jin [梁] had entered, he speedily sent a general to meet [Duan] Xi [段]禧 and [Zhao] Bo [趙]博 and joined their forces, altogether eight or nine thousand persons. The officers all rebelled against their king and, with several ten thousand troops of Wensu 溫宿 and Gumo 姑墨, joined forces to besiege the town. [Liang] Jin [梁]懂 and others went into battle and routed them. After continued hostilities for several months, the barbarians were defeated and fled. The Han 漢 troops followed up victory with hot pursuit. They

cut off more than ten thousand heads altogether and captured several thousand captives alive, in addition to camels and other domestic animals numbering several tens of thousands. Qiuci 龜茲 thereupon was put down”.

In my opinion, for the revolt of the Western Regions in the first year of the *Yanping* 延平 reign-period (A.D. 106), Ren Shang 任尚 should bear the responsibility, namely that he “managed them improperly” as noted in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Yong 班勇). The various states attacked Ren Shang 任尚 at Shule 疏勒 because of hating him. This shows that Ren Shang 任尚 was in Shule 疏勒 together with the Chief Official while the various states rose in rebellion. Qiuci 龜茲 had no hand in the matter of the states’ attack on [Ren] Shang [任]尚. This is evidently because its king, Bai Ba 白霸, enjoyed friendly relations with Han 漢 and there were defending Han 漢 troops in the town of Taqian 它乾. However, it does not mean that the men of Qiuci 龜茲 did not hate Han 漢. It can be taken as evidence that the officers in the state of Qiuci 龜茲 set themselves against the Han 漢 troops who entered their capital, but Bai Ba 白霸 would not listen, so they “all rebelled against their king”. Ren Shang 任尚 “managed [them] improperly”, and the people of Qiuci 龜茲 were possibly the first to be affected. Therefore, Qiuci 龜茲 and others were put down by Liang Jin 梁愷 and others, but Han’s 漢 base for control of the Western Regions was shaken severely after all. One of the important reasons why Emperor An 安 abolished the Protector General, according to the “Memoir on Liang Jin 梁愷”, was that “there were several revolts” in the Western Regions. Qiuci 龜茲 and Wensu 溫宿, Gumo 姑墨 and others of course again submitted to the Xiongnu 匈奴 because Liang Jin 梁愷, Duan Xi 段禧, and Zhao Bo 趙博 were ordered to return.

On the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Yong 班勇), in the third year of the *Yanguang* 延光 reign-period (A.D. 123), we know that Ban Yong 班勇, the Chief Official, arrived at Loulan 樓蘭, and the king of Shanshan 鄯善 submitted to Han 漢. “But the king of Qiuci 龜茲, Bai Ying 白英, still was without confidence in himself and thus did not surrender. [Ban] Yong [班]勇 helped him to see the Han’s 漢 benevolence and faith. Bai Ying 白英 thereupon, leading the kings of Wensu 溫宿 and Gumo 姑墨 and tying themselves, went to [Ban] Yong [班]勇 to surrender”. [Ban] Yong [班]勇 “called up his troops, infantry and cavalry, altogether more than ten thousand men”, to attack the Xiongnu 匈奴. In the autumn of the fourth

year Ban Yong 班勇 also called out the forces of Shule 疏勒 and others to attack the tribe of Further Jushi 車師, which proves that Shule 疏勒 had submitted to Han 漢 at that time.

According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, in the second year of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period of Emperor Shun 順 (A.D. 127), Ban Yong 班勇 attacked and conquered Yanqi 焉耆, and the seventeen states of Qiuci 龜茲, Shule 疏勒 and others all "all came and expressed their subordination". In the same chapter it is also recorded that in this year the king of Shule 疏勒, "Chenpan 臣磐 sent an envoy to present tribute. The emperor made Chenpan 臣磐 the Han 漢 Chief Commandant, and the son of his elder brother, Chenxun 臣勳, the Major of Shouguo 守國 (Guard of the State)".²¹ In the fifth year, Chenpan 臣磐 sent his son, who had served as an attendant in court, "to go to the [palace] portal to present tribute". In the first year of the *Yangjia* 陽嘉 reign-period (A.D. 132), because the Yutian 于闐 killed the king of Jumi 拘彌, Xing 興, and established his son as the king of Jumi 拘彌 on his own, the Administrator of the Dunhuang 敦煌 "sent the king of Shule 疏勒, Chenpan 臣磐, to call up a force of 20,000 persons to attack Yutian 于闐 and routed it, cutting off several hundred heads. He let his troops wantonly rob, and he reestablished a man of Xing's 興 clan, Chengguo 成國, as king of Jumi 拘彌, then returned". Also, on the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 6, it appears that in the second year of the *Yangjia* 陽嘉 reign-period (A.D. 133), in the sixth month, on the day of *xinwei* 辛未, "the state of Shule 疏勒 offered a lion and a humped cattle".

In my opinion, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shun 順, the Eastern Han 漢 managed the Western Regions with concentrated attention, but the Chief Official, Ban Yong 班勇, who was stationed in Liuzhong 柳中, sensed that the western end of the Southern and Northern Routes was beyond the reach of his power after all. Therefore, the Eastern Han 漢 made Chenpan 臣磐 "the Han 漢 Chief Commandant" to try to keep order through Shule 疏勒.

Also, according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, "Up to the first year of the *Jianning* 建寧 reign-period of Emperor Ling 靈 (A.D. 168), the king of Shule 疏勒, the Han 漢 Chief Commandant, was struck and killed by the youngest brother of his father, Hede 和得, when he went hunting. Hede 和得 established himself as king. In the third year (A.D. 170), the Governor of Liang 涼 Province, Meng Tuo 孟佗, sent the Attendant Official, Ren She 任涉, to lead a force of 500 men from Dunhuang 敦煌 and the troops of Yanqi 焉耆, Qiuci 龜茲, the Nearer and

Further tribes of Jushi 車師, altogether more than 30,000 men, with the *Wu* 戊 Major, Cao Kuan 曹寬, and the Chief Official of the Western Regions, Zhang Yan 張晏, to chastise Shule 疏勒 and attack the town of Zhenzhong 楨中, but they were unable to capture it for more than 40 days, and led away [their troops]". The event as seen in the Cao Quan's 曹全 inscription had some differences: "the *Wu* 戊 Major, Cao Kuan 曹寬" is noted as "the Major of the *Wu* 戊 Division" in the inscription. Chenpan 臣磐 was killed by the youngest brother of his father, Hede 和得, in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, but the inscription says that "Hede 和德 murdered his father and usurped the throne". The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, says that the Han 漢 forces could not take the town and returned with nothing. The inscription says that "Hede 和德 surrendered with his hands tied behind his back and accepted capital punishment". It is suggested that we should follow the inscription.²² However, in any case the loss in death of Chenpan 臣磐 was past help. The same chapter also says that "after that the kings of Shule 疏勒 were killed one after another, and the imperial court was unable to stop it".

In addition, in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 67 (Memoir on Li Ying 李膺) it is recorded that "In the second year of the *Yongshou* 永壽 reign-period (A.D. 156), the Xianbei 鮮卑 invaded Yunzhong 雲中. The Emperor heard [Li] Ying [李]膺 was capable, so he again appointed him to be the General Crossing the Liao 遼 [River]. Previous to this time, the Qiang 羌 savages and Shule 疏勒, Qiuci 龜茲, frequently came out to attack and rob the prefectures of Zhangye 張掖, Jiuquan 酒泉, Yunzhong 雲中 and others. The common people suffered their abuse repeatedly. When Ying [李]膺 arrived at the border, [the Qiang 羌 savages and others] all feared him and yielded in submission at the mere sight of him. The men and women who had been robbed in times past all were taken back to the foot of the barrier. From then on his prestige was known by the distant regions. In the second year of the *Yanxi* 延熹 reign-period (A.D. 159) he was invited to the court and was once again promoted to be Governor of Henan 河南". This is to say, before the second year of the *Yongshou* 永壽 reign-period (A.D. 156), Shule 疏勒 and Qiuci 龜茲 had frequently attacked and robbed the prefectures of Zhangye 張掖 and others, and they feared and yielded in submission after Li Ying 李膺 was appointed as the General Crossing the Liao 遼 [River].

Similar matters were noted in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 56 (Memoir on Chong Gao 種暠): “Emperor Huan 桓 promoted [Chong] Gao [種]暠 to the General Crossing the Liao 遼 [River]. [Chong] Gao [種]暠 arrived at the barracks, first showed benevolence and faith to lure the various barbarians into surrender and then, if any refused to obey, sent armed forces to suppress them. ... From this time on, the Qiang 羌 barbarians, Qiuci 龜茲, Suoju 莎車 and Wusun 烏孫 all came over to be subject [to Han 漢]”.

After the *Yangjia* 陽嘉 reign-period (A.D. 132–135), the Eastern Han’s 漢 management of the Western Regions relaxed steadily. Therefore it is possible that the above-mentioned states went a long way to attack and rob the prefectures of Zhangye 張掖, Jiuquan 酒泉, Yunzhong 雲中 and others. Of course, the men who surrendered to the General Crossing the Liao 遼 [River] were only those who came east to attack and rob.

E

On the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 1, we know, in the fourteenth year of the *Jianwu* 建武 reign-period (A.D. 38), the state of Shanshan 鄯善 “sent envoys to offer tribute”. It was one of these states that paid earliest tribute to the Eastern Han 漢. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, at that time, the king of Shanshan 鄯善, An 安, was on the throne.

Also, according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, in the winter of the twenty-first year of the *Jianwu* 建武 reign-period (A.D. 45) more than ten states of Shanshan 鄯善 and the Nearer Jushi 車師 and others “all sent their sons to attend at the court and offered their treasure. They all bent their heads to the ground with tears falling, wishing that a Protector General would be sent. The Son of Heaven had all of their sons return and bestowed on them high reward because the Middle Kingdom had just been stabilized, and the northern borders did not yet submit to Han 漢”. At that time, the Suoju 莎車, whose forces were strong, wanted to annex the Western Regions. The king of Suoju 莎車, Xian 賢, “knew the Protector General would not come there, and sent a letter to the king of Shanshan 鄯善, An 安, ordering him to cut off the route to Han 漢. An 安 did not accept the order and killed his envoy. Xian 賢 was enraged and sent out a force to attack Shanshan 鄯善. An 安 met the enemy head-on but his forces were defeated, he escaped into the mountains. In that winter, Xian 賢 also attacked and killed the king of Qiuci 龜茲 and then

annexed his state". The king of Shanshan 鄯善 also sent a written message to the emperor, "requesting to send his son to attend at court, and once more asking for the [appointment of a] Protector General. This was because they would be pressured by the Xiongnu 匈奴 if the Protector General were not sent out. The Son of Heaven replied: 'The envoy and the main forces cannot be sent out now. The various states will be unconstrained in all directions if their ability falls short of their desire to meet their wishes'. Thereupon Shanshan 鄯善 and Jushi 車師 again submitted to the Xiongnu 匈奴, and Xian 賢 was much more arrogant". From this, it can be seen that Shanshan 鄯善 submitted to the Xiongnu 匈奴 because it could not bear the invasion and oppression of Suoju 莎車.

In the sixteenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明 (A.D. 73), Han 漢 sent Ban Chao 班超 on a mission to the Western Regions. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), "After [Ban] Chao [班]超 arrived at Shanshan 鄯善, the king of Shanshan 鄯善, Guang 廣, waited upon [Ban] Chao [班]超 with perfect ceremony, but he felt even more slighted afterwards". Ban Chao 班超 believed that this must be because the Xiongnu's 匈奴 envoy came there and the king of Shanshan 鄯善 "doubted and did not know what course to follow". Thereupon Ban Chao 班超 "called up his thirty-six officers and soldiers", and killed the Xiongnu's 匈奴 "envoy and his followers" under cover of night. "[Ban] Chao [班]超 then called up the king of Shanshan 鄯善, Guang 廣, and showed him the head of the savages' envoy, and the whole state [of Shanshan 鄯善] trembled with fear. [Ban] Chao [班]超 explicitly notified and comforted him, and [the king of Shanshan 鄯善] sent his son to be hostage".

Shanshan 鄯善 had been completely cut off from Han 漢 for nearly thirty years, from the twenty-first year of the *Jianwu* 建武 reign-period of Emperor Guangwu 光武 (A.D. 45), when it had presented tribute. Thus, when the Han 漢 envoy suddenly arrived, it was naturally suspicious. It was in order to strengthen Shanshan's 鄯善 determination to submit to Han 漢 that Ban Chao 班超 beheaded the Xiongnu's 匈奴 envoy.

After this, the Eastern Han 漢 set up the agricultural colonies in the town of Loulan 樓蘭 of the state of Shanshan 鄯善. The evidence is Yang Zhong's 楊終 memorial to the Emperor in the first year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.C. 76), which is recorded in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 48 (Memoir on Yang Zhong 楊終):

Since the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 58–75)... to the north we went on a campaign against the Xiongnu 匈奴, to the west we opened up the route to the thirty-six states. Enlisting men in the army for many years, transporting them repeatedly which is troublesome and expensive, setting up the agricultural colonies in Yiwu 伊吾 and Loulan 樓蘭 at a great distance and establishing the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel in Jushi 車師, made people homesick when they met with enmity at the border towns.

From this, it can be seen that the Eastern Han 漢 set up an agricultural colony at Loulan 樓蘭 after the sixteenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 73).

On the colonies at Loulan 樓蘭, there is a record in the "Heshui 河水 2" chapter of the *Shuijingzhu* 水經注:

Suo Mai 索勸, who came from Dunhuang 敦煌 and styled himself Yanyi 彥義, had ability and strategy. The Provincial Governor, Mao Yi 毛奕, sent a written message to the emperor, who ordered Suo Mai 索勸 to perform the duties of the Ershi 貳師 General, and lead a force of thousand men from Jiuquan 酒泉 and Dunhuang 敦煌, and arrive at Loulan 樓蘭 to set up an agricultural colony. Suo Mai 索勸 established white houses (wood without colour) and called up the troops of the three states of Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲, each state providing a thousand men, to cut off the Zhubin 注濱 River. On the day the river was cut off, the current ran strong and the water invaded and covered the banks. [Suo] Mai [索]勸 said in a stern voice, 'When Wang Zun 王尊 held the credentials, the river did not spill over its banks. Wang Ba 王霸 had good faith, and the Hutuo 呼沱 River did not overflow. The virtue of water and its deities have been the same from the past to the present'. [Suo] Mai [索]勸 personally prayed and offered sacrifices, but the flow of water did not decrease, so he arrayed troops with weapons who beat drums and shouted, shooting and stabbing [at the river]. After they fought a great battle for three days, the water circled round and decreased, and flowed into and moistened the rich fields. The

barbarians believed this to be supernatural. The men cultivated it hard for three years and stored up a million [piculs] of grain. The high prestige this bestowed convinced the outer states.

Regarding Wang Ba 王霸, referred to above, a chief source is his memoir in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 20. This shows that the colonies could not be earlier than Eastern Han 漢 times.²³ But it must not refer to the colonies during the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 58–75) because neither Yanqi 焉耆 nor Qiuci 龜茲 had submitted to Han 漢, thus Suo Mai 索勒 could not call them up to serve. Therefore, it is possible that the above-mentioned record states the situation in the time of Emperor He 和. Although a record of the colonies at Loulan 樓蘭 during the reign of Emperor He 和 has not been discovered in the other historical books, one should not assume that it did not take place.

After Shanshan 鄯善 had submitted to Han 漢, according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 19 (Memoir on Geng Gong 耿恭), in the first month of the first year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.C. 76) Han 漢 called up the troops of the state of Shanshan 鄯善 to attack Jushi 車師. Soon after Emperor Zhang 章 had ascended the throne, Han 漢 abandoned the Western Regions, but Shanshan 鄯善 did not submit to the Xiongnu 匈奴. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), in the sixth year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 (A.D. 94), Ban Chao 班超 called up the troops of the state of Shanshan 鄯善 to attack Yanqi 焉耆。

On the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, we know that Emperor An 安 abolished the post of Protector General in the first year of the *Yongchu* 永初 reign-period (A.D. 107), and the various states in the Western Regions again submitted to the Xiongnu 匈奴. The state of Shanshan 鄯善 should be included in them. This is when Shanshan 鄯善 submitted to the Xiongnu 匈奴 for the last time.

According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, in the sixth year of the *Yuanchu* 元初 reign-period (A.D. 119), Suo Ban 索班 was stationed at Yiwu 伊吾 and summoned the various states to surrender. Thereupon "the king of Shanshan 鄯善 came over and surrendered". After several months, the *Chanyu* 單于 of the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 attacked and killed Suo Ban 索

班, robbed and occupied the Northern Route, and intimidated Shanshan 鄯善. “Shanshan 鄯善 was in imminent danger and asked for help from [the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌] Cao Zong 曹宗. [Cao] Zong [曹]宗 thus begged to dispatch troops to attack the Xiongnu 匈奴 and avenge the insult to Suo Ban 索班, and wanted to advance and control the Western Regions”. Because the Empress Dowager Deng 鄧 would not allow it, the troops were not sent. However, Shanshan 鄯善 probably did not surrender to the Xiongnu 匈奴. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Yong 班勇), in the first month of the third year of the *Yanguang* 延光 reign-period (A.D. 124), Ban Yong 班勇, being the Chief Official of the Western Regions, arrived at Loulan 樓蘭, “bestowed on [the king of] Shanshan 鄯善 the three ribbons (三綬) because he submitted [to Han 漢]”. 三綬 may be a textual error for 王綬 (royal ribbon). The reference “submitted [to Han 漢]” must refer to his surrender to Suo Ban 索班 in the sixth year of the *Yuanchu* 元初 reign-period (A.D. 119). On the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, in the second year of the *Yanguang* 延光 reign-period (A.D. 123) the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Zhang Dang 張璠, sent a written message to the emperor, stating three plans: “... call up the five thousand troops from Shanshan 鄯善 to intimidate the tribe of Further Jushi 車師, which is the best plan. ... To abandon the town of Jiaohe 交河 and collect the people of the states of Shanshan 鄯善 and others, and have them all enter inside the frontier barrier, is the worst plan”. From this, it can be seen that Shanshan 鄯善 had been subject to Han 漢 before Ban Yong 班勇 arrived at Loulan 樓蘭.

We know, on the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Yong 班勇), that the king of Shanshan 鄯善 who was on the throne during the *Yanguang* 延光 reign-period (A.D. 122–125) was named Youhai 尤還, and Ban Yong 班勇 called him “the (maternal) grandson of Han 漢 people”. Since there are no records on the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty’s forming an alliance by marriage with Shanshan 鄯善, Youhai 尤還 was probably a descendant of Weituoqi 尉屠耆 in Western Han 漢 times. Weituoqi 尉屠耆 had married a lady-in-waiting of Han 漢, and Ban Yong 班勇 therefore called his descendant “the (maternal) grandson of Han 漢 people”. In the same chapter it is also recorded that in the autumn of the fourth year of the *Yanguang* 延光 reign-period (A.D. 125) Ban Yong 班勇 called out the troops of the state of Shanshan 鄯善 to the king of state of Further Jushi 車師.

Finally, according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 6, “In the second year [of the *Han’an* 漢安 reign-period] (A.D. 143), in the spring, in the second month, on the day of *bingchen* 丙辰, the state of Shanshan 鄯善 sent an envoy to offer tribute”.

F

According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, at the end of the *Jianwu* 建武 reign-period, the king of Suoju 莎車, Xian 賢, annexed Yutian 于闐. At the middle of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明, a general of Yutian 于闐, Xiumoba 休莫霸, rebelled against Suoju 莎車 and established himself as the king of Yutian 于闐. When he was enthroned, the son of the elder brother of Xiumoba 休莫霸, Guangde 廣德, destroyed Suoju 莎車. The Xiongnu 匈奴 heard that Guangde 廣德 destroyed Suoju 莎車 and sent out forces to besiege Yutian 于闐. Guangde 廣德 begged to surrender and sent his crown-prince as a hostage to the Xiongnu 匈奴. The Xiongnu 匈奴 thus established the hostage of Xian 賢, Bujuzheng 不居徵, as the king of Suoju 莎車. Guangde 廣德 then killed Bujuzheng 不居徵 and reestablished his younger brother as the king of Suoju 莎車.

According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, in the sixteenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明 (B.C. 73), the Eastern Han 漢 first opened up the management of the Western Regions. “States such as Yutian 于闐 all sent their princes to attend [at the Han 漢 court]”. On the basis of the same book, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), we know, in this year, Dou Xian 竇憲 sent Ban Chao 班超 on a mission to the Western Regions. After he had subdued Shanshan 鄯善, he went west and arrived at Yutian 于闐. At that time, “the king of Yutian 于闐, Guangde 廣德, had just attacked and destroyed Suoju 莎車, and thus held sway over the Southern Route. The Xiongnu 匈奴 sent envoys to guard the state”. While [Ban] Chao [班]超 was there “the etiquette with which Guangde’s 廣德 court entertained him was very rough. In addition, there was the custom of believing shamans. The shaman said, ‘The God was angry and asked why you wanted to submit to Han 漢? The Han 漢 envoy has a light black horse, ask for it and take it to sacrifice to me quickly’! Guangde 廣德 thereupon sent an envoy to go to [Ban] Chao [班]超 and ask for the horse. [Ban] Chao [班]超 had known all this in secret and replied that he consented to do so, and he ordered the shaman to come and take the horse in

person. After some moments, the shaman arrived, and [Ban] Chao [班]超 at once beheaded him and sent the head to Guangde 廣德 and thus called him to account for this. Guangde 廣德 heard that [Ban] Chao [班]超 had killed the savages' envoy and was mortally afraid. He immediately attacked and killed the Xiongnu's 匈奴 envoys and surrendered to [Ban] Chao [班]超. [Ban] Chao [班]超 gave the king and those lower a high reward, and thus pacified and comforted the state". Thereupon the king of Yutian 于闐 sent his son to attend at Han 漢 court.

And according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, after having destroyed Suoju 莎車 the power of Yutian 于闐 flourished, and "all the thirteen states from northwest of Jingjue 精絕 to Shule 疏勒 submitted to it". Since Yutian 于闐 had submitted to Han 漢, the states which were originally subject to Yutian 于闐 must also submit to Han 漢.

According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, Emperor Zhang 章 ordered the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel to return and to give up the agricultural colony at Yiwu 伊吾 after he had ascended the throne. At that time, Ban Chao 班超 "stayed at Yutian 于闐 to pacify and unite the various states". According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), Emperor Zhang 章 issued an edict to invite [Ban] Chao [班]超 to come to court because Ban Chao 班超 was isolated and cut off from help. From Shule 疏勒 [Ban] Chao [班]超 "returned to Yutian 于闐. The king, nobles and those lower wailed and said, they depended on the Han 漢 envoy as their father and mother, and that the Han 漢 envoy should not leave. They clasped the feet of the horse of [Ban] Chao [班]超 by turns, so [Ban Chao 班超] was unable to go". Ban Chao 班超 wanted to satisfy his original intention, so he again went back to Shule 疏勒. In the third year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 78), Ban Chao 班超 called up the forces of Yutian 于闐 and Jumi 拘彌 to attack Gumo 姑墨. In the first year of the *Yuanhe* 元和 reign-period (A.D. 84) and the first year of the *Zhanghe* 章和 reign-period (A.D. 87) Ban Chao 班超 also called up the forces of the state of Yutian 于闐 to attack Suoju 莎車.

According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, in the second year of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period of Emperor Shun 順 (A.D. 127), Ban Yong 班勇 attacked and conquered Yanqi 焉耆, thus the seventeen states of Yutian 于闐 and others "all came and expressed their subordination". And "in the fourth year of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period of Emperor Shun 順 (A.D. 129), the king of Yutian 于闐, Fangqian 放前, killed the king of Jumi 拘彌, Xing 興,

established his own son as king of Jumi 拘彌, and sent an envoy to present tribute to Han 漢. The Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Xu You 徐由, sent a written message to the emperor asking permission to punish him. The Emperor pardoned Yutian 于窋 and ordered it to give the state back to Jumi 拘彌. Fangqian 放前 was not willing to do so". In the first year of the *Yangjia* 陽嘉 reign-period (A.D. 132), Xu You 徐由 sent the king of Shule 疏勒, Chenpan 臣磐, to attack and destroy Yutian 于闐. [Chenpan 臣磐] "reestablished a man of Xing's 興 clan, Chengguo 成國, as king of Jumi 拘彌, then returned". In my opinion, Yutian 于闐 killed the king of Jumi 拘彌 and destroyed the state, and knew this offended Han 漢. The contribution in the fourth year of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period (A.D. 129) was only a excuse; the true purpose was to offer an apology. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 6, in the same year, "the state of Jumi 拘彌 sent an envoy to present tribute". The envoy who came to present tribute must have been sent by the son of Fangqian 放前, the purpose and was to please Han 漢. In the same chapter it is also recorded that in the sixth year of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period (A.D. 131), both in the ninth month, on the day of *dingyou* 丁酉, and in the twelfth month, on the day of *renshen* 壬申, the king of Yutian 于闐 sent his son, who had been attending at court, to present tribute. It is possible that Fangqian 放前 stated that the reason why he was not willing to give the state back to Jumi 拘彌. In the end, however, the attack of Chenpan 臣磐 was unavoidable.

After this, according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, "in the first year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period [of Emperor Huan 桓] (A.D. 151), the Chief Official, Zhao Ping 趙評, died at Yutian 于闐 because of being ill with a carbuncle. The son of [Zhao] Ping [趙]評 came to join in mourning, passing by Jumi 拘彌. Because there had been a disagreement between the king of Jumi 拘彌, Chengguo 成國, and the king of Yutian 于闐, Jian 建, the former told the son of [Zhao] Ping [趙]評 the king of Yutian 于窋 had ordered a barbarian doctor to put poison in [Zhao] Ping's [趙]評 cut, and that this was the cause of his death. The son of [Zhao] Ping [趙]評 believed him, and told this to the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Ma Da 馬達, when he returned and entered the barrier. In the next year, Han 漢 appointed Wang Jing 王敬 as Chief Official to replace Zhao Ping 趙評. [Ma] Da [馬]達 ordered him to verify the allegation covertly. [Wang] Jing [王]敬 first went to Jumi 拘彌, and Chengguo 成國 again advised him and said, 'the people of Yutian 于窋 want to establish me as the king, and now you can kill Jian 建 on this

charge, so that Yutian 于窋 will surely obey’. [Wang] Jing [王]敬 was eager to achieve distinction, so he accepted Chengguo’s 成國 advice. He arrived at Yutian 于窋 and set out food and drink, invited Jian 建, and plotted to kill him in secret”. After Jian 建 had been killed, “the generals and nobles of Yutian 于窋, such as Shubo 輸夔 and others, thereupon called up their forces to attack [Wang] Jing [王]敬”. After [Wang] Jing [王]敬 had been beheaded, “Shubo 輸夔 wanted to establish himself as the king of Yutian 于窋. The countrymen [of Yutian 于窋] killed him and established the son of Jian 建, Anguo 安國, as king. After he had heard this, Ma Da 馬達 wanted to muster the forces from the various prefectures and come out from the barrier to attack Yutian 于窋. Emperor Huan 桓 did not agree with him and summoned [Ma] Da [馬]達 to return to court, and made Song Liang 宋亮 Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 in his place. After having arrived at Yutian 于窋, Song Liang 宋亮 publicly recruited [the people of] Yutian 于闐 and ordered them to behead Shubo 輸夔 on their own. As it happened, Shubo 輸夔 had already died a month earlier. Yutian 于闐 cut off the head of the corpse and sent it to Dunhuang 敦煌, not giving the facts. [Song] Liang [宋]亮 afterwards learned about the ruse but was unable to dispatch troops. Yutian 于闐 therefore became arrogant”.

In my opinion, since the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓 (A.D. 151–153) the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty was steadily on the wane. The fact that Song Liang 宋亮 did not punish Yutian 于闐 can be regarded as an instance of his ability falling short of his wishes.

“Ma Da 馬達” is noted as “Sima Da 司馬達” in the same chapter (under the section on Jushi 車師). We do not know which one is right. The fact that Ma Da 馬達 or Sima Da 司馬達 ordered Wang Jing 王敬”to verify the allegation covertly” and so on shows that the Chief Official of the Western Regions was controlled by the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌. The place where the Chief Official of the Western Regions was stationed in Eastern Han 漢 times was different, because the situations were different. The specific reason that Zhao 趙 and Wang 王 were stationed at Yutian 于闐 is unknown, and may be just chance.

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is also recorded that “In the fourth year of the *Xiping* 熹平 reign-period of Emperor Ling 靈 (A.D. 175), the king of Yutian 于窋, Anguo 安國, attacked Jumi 拘彌 and routed it severely. The king of Jumi 拘彌 was killed and the dead were very numerous. The *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel and the Chief Official of the Western Regions sent out

their forces to assist in the establishment of the Jumi 拘彌 king's son Dingxing 定興, who had been attending at court, as king. At that time there were only a thousand people surviving in the state". In my opinion, this move of Anguo 安國 was in order to avenge his father, and it depended on Song Liang's 宋亮 being unable to send out the forces. Although Han 漢 sent out forces to establish the king of Jumi 拘彌, Anguo 安國 did not get what he deserved after all.

At last, in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 9, in the seventh year of the *Jian'an* 建安 reign-period (A.D. 202), "The state of Yutian 于寘 presented a tamed elephant".

G

According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, at the end of the Western Han 漢 Dynasty, the Xiongnu 匈奴 controlled the Western Regions, and "only the king of Suoju 莎車, Yan 延, who was the strongest, was not willing to submit. During the reign of Emperor Yuan 元, he had served as an attendant in court. He admired and took pleasure in the Middle Kingdom because of growing up in the capital city, and he also consulted the decrees and regulations there. He constantly exhorted his sons to serve the Han 漢 House for generations and not betray it. In the fifth year of the Tianfeng 天鳳 reign-period (A.D. 18), Yan 延 died and was given the posthumous title of "King of Zhongwu 忠武 (faithful and vigorous)". His son, Kang 康, was enthroned in his place. At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Guangwu 光武, Kang 康 led the neighbouring states to resist the Xiongnu 匈奴, and he safeguarded the officers and soldiers and the wives and sons of the former Protector General, altogether several thousand people. He sent a call-to-arms to the Hexi 河西 region to ask about the activity of the Middle Kingdom and expressed his own longing for the Han 漢 Dynasty. In the fifth year of the Jianwu 建武 reign-period (A.D. 29), the Supreme General in the Hexi 河西 region, Dou Rong 竇融, with an imperial decree, established Kang 康 as the King of Jiangong Huaide 建功懷德 (Founding Merit and Thinking of Virtue) of Suoju 莎車 of Han 漢 and the Chief Commandant of the Western Regions; fifty-five states were under him". The Xiongnu 匈奴 was unable to control the Western Regions because the power of Suoju 莎車 that was close to Han 漢 existed. This was a difference from the situation at the beginning of the Western Han 漢 Dynasty. From the fact that Emperor Guangwu 光武 established Kang 康 as "the King of Jiangong Huaide 建功懷德

(Founding Merit and Thinking of Virtue) of Suoju 莎車 of Han 漢 and the Chief Commandant of the Western Regions" it can be known that the emperor attempted to control the Western Regions through Suoju 莎車.

In the same chapter, it is also recorded that "In the ninth year (A.D. 33), Kang 康 died, and was given the posthumous title of King of Xuancheng 宣成. His younger brother Xian 賢 succeeded to the throne. Xian 賢 attacked and crushed the states of Jumi 拘彌 and Xiye 西夜, killing both their kings and enthroning the two sons of his elder brother Kang 康 as kings of Jumi 拘彌 and Xiye 西夜. In the fourteenth year, both Xian 賢 and the king of Shanshan 鄯善, An 安, sent envoys to go to the [palace] portal to offer tribute, whereupon the Western Regions began [once again] to communicate [with the Middle Kingdom]. East of the Cong 葱 Mountains, all the various states were subject to Xian 賢". In my opinion, when Xian 賢 killed both the kings of Jumi 拘彌 and Xiye 西夜, his purpose was nothing but enthroning the two sons of his elder brother. However, his action in fact constituted the beginning of Suoju's 莎車 disruption of the Western Regions. When he came to court in the fourteenth year (A.D. 38), Han 漢 praised his opening up communications with the Western Regions, disregarded his blame for killing the two kings, and gave tacit consent to his establishing as himself as the successor to Kang 康. Thereupon Xian 賢 behaved like a suzerainty of the states to the east of Cong 葱 Mountains.

In the same chapter it is also recorded that "in the seventeenth year (A.D. 41), Xian 賢 again sent an envoy to present tribute and to ask for the Protector General to be sent. The Son of Heaven asked the Grand Minister of Works, Dou Rong 竇融, about it. [Dou Rong 竇融] thought "the father and sons, elder and younger brothers of Xian 賢 have made pledges to each other to serve Han 漢 and also reached the height of sincerity. We should bestow titles and positions to pacify and comfort them". The emperor thus granted Xian 賢 the seal and ribbons for the Protector General of the Western Regions and sent carriages, flags, real gold, silk, and flowered silk through his envoy. The Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Pei Zun 裴遵, sent a memorial to the throne, saying "the barbarians should not be given full rights, because the other states would despair". An imperial edict was issued taking back the seal and ribbons of the Protector General and bestowing instead on Xian 賢 the seal and ribbons of the Supreme General of Han 漢. The envoy was not willing to make the exchange. Pei Zun 裴遵 took it by force. Xian 賢 thereupon

began to hate Han 漢, arrogated the title of the Grand Protector General, and sent a letter to the various states. The states all submitted to him and called Xian 賢 *Chanyu* 單于. Xian 賢 was generally arrogant and imperious, asked for heavy taxes, and frequently attacked Qiuci 龜茲 and other states. The various states were anxious and fearful”.

In my opinion, Suoju 莎車 was the earliest state of the Western Regions “to ask for the Protector General to be sent”. From the acts of Suoju 莎車 before and after this mission to Han 漢, it is possible “to ask for the Protector General to be sent” was just a trial balloon sent up by Xian 賢. That Emperor Guangwu 光武 gave Xian 賢 the seal and ribbons of the Protector General of the Western Regions and then soon after that revoked them played a role in catalyzing his wild ambition.

In addition to other reasons why the king of Suoju 莎車, Xian 賢, was able to run amuck in the Western Regions, an important reason is that the Xiongnu 匈奴 fell into a decline, and the Eastern Han 漢 ignored the Western Regions. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 89, around A.D. 49 (the twenty-second year of the *Jianwu* 建武 reign-period), the Xiongnu 匈奴 met even more “withering drought and locusts in successive years that seared vast expanses of farmland. All grass and trees were dried up, and the greater part of the people and livestock died because of starvation and epidemic disease”. In the end, they divided into the two tribes of the South and North. This was of course an opportune moment for Suoju 莎車 to expand its influence.

Xian’s 賢 sending his son, Bujuzheng 不居徵, to the Xiongnu 匈奴 to be a hostage, as noted in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, must have taken place at the end of the *Jianwu* 建武 reign-period, namely at the time when the countrymen of Qiuci 龜茲 killed the king of Qiuci 龜茲 who had been established by Suoju 莎車 and submitted to the Xiongnu 匈奴, and then the Xiongnu 匈奴, with Qiuci 龜茲, attacked Suoju 莎車.²⁴ At this time Xian 賢 became a spent force, and soon was killed by the king of Yutian 于闐, Guangde 廣德, and his state was annexed.

In sum, from the time when Xian 賢 was established as the king to the fifth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 62) when he died, Xian 賢 had disturbed the Western Regions for about thirty years. Although he “arrogated the title of the Grand Protector General” and the

various states would merely be beclouded for a moment, "the seal and ribbons of the Supreme General of Han 漢" undoubtedly whetted the arrogance of Xian 賢.

After Xian 賢 died, according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, the Xiongnu 匈奴 sent forces to establish Bujuzheng 不居徵 as the king of Suoju 莎車, but the king of Yutian 于闐, Guangde 廣德, attacked and killed him and "reestablished his younger brother, Qili 齊黎, as king of Suoju 莎車". Down to the third year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 78), according to ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), Suoju 莎車 was included in the states in the Western Regions which were "willing to return to allegiance" in the above-cited Ban Chao's 班超 petition. Afterwards Suoju 莎車 assumed that the Han 漢 troops would not be sent out and surrendered to Qiuci 龜茲. In the first year of the *Yuanhe* 元和 reign-period (A.D. 84), Ban Chao 班超 called out the forces of the states of Shule 疏勒 and others to attack Suoju 莎車. However, he was unable to subdue Suoju 莎車 because the king of the Shule 疏勒, Zhong 忠, revolted. In the first year of the *Zhanghe* 章和 reign-period (A.D. 87), Ban Chao 班超 also called out the forces of Yutian 于闐 and other states to attack Suoju 莎車, and "Suoju 莎車 thus surrendered".

After he had ascended the throne, Emperor An 安 abolished the post of Protector General. At that point the Eastern Han 漢 abandoned the Western Regions for ten years and more. During this period Suoju 莎車 probably submitted to the Xiongnu 匈奴 once again. Down to the second year of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period (A.D. 127), according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Yong 班勇), after Ban Yong 班勇 attacked and conquered Yanqi 焉耆, the seventeen states of Suoju 莎車 and others "all came over to obey". According to the same book, ch. 6, in the first month of the fifth year of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period (A.D. 130) the state of Suoju 莎車 "sent an envoy to present tribute".

H

In Eastern Han 漢 times, Wusun 烏孫 seemed to be ruled by the Greater and Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 respectively, the same as in Western Han 漢 times. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 19 (Memoir on Geng Gong 耿恭), Emperor Ming 明 first established the Protector General and the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel. Geng Gong 耿恭 was appointed as *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, and was stationed in the town of Jinpu 金蒲 of the state of Further Jushi 車師. "After he had arrived in the tribe of

Jushi 車師, [Geng] Gong [耿]恭 sent a call-to-arms to Wusun 烏孫 to show Han's 漢 power and prestige. The Greater *Kunmi* 昆彌 and those lower in status all rejoiced, and sent envoys to present famous horses and to produce the gambling and chess games which had been presented to the princess by Emperor Xuan 宣, and represented that they were willing to send his son to attend at court. [Geng] Gong [耿]恭 sent envoys, bringing gold and silk, to meet the son who was attending at court". This is the beginning of communication between Wusun 烏孫 and Eastern Han 漢. If the time when [Geng] Gong [耿]恭 arrived in the state of Further Jushi 車師 was in the winter of the seventeenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 74), the time when Wusun 烏孫 sent its prince to attend at the court would be in the eighteenth year.

After this, on the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (M memoir on Ban Chao 班超), we know that in the third year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 78), when Ban Chao 班超 sent up a petition to ask for forces and say that Wusun 烏孫 was "willing to return to allegiance". This seems to show that Wusun 烏孫 submitted to the Xiongnu 匈奴 after Emperor Zhang 章 had abandoned the Western Regions.

In the fifth year of the reign-period *Jianchu* 建初 (A.D. 80), after destroying Fanchen 番辰, Ban Chao 班超 wanted to attack Qiuci 龜茲, and "thought Wusun's 烏孫 forces were powerful and its power should be used. He sent a memorial to the throne, saying that Wusun 烏孫 is a large state, and there are one hundred thousand trained bowmen in it. Therefore Emperor Wu 武 gave it a princess in marriage. Finally, in the time of Emperor Xiaoxuan 孝宣 it was put to use. Now we should send an envoy to pacify it and unite its forces. The Emperor accepted [Ban Chao's 班超] suggestion".

In the eighth year (A.D. 83), Han 漢 "sent the Guards' Captain, Li Yi 李邑, to escort Wusun's 烏孫 envoy, and it granted the Greater and Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 and those their lower silks". The *Kunmi* 昆彌 of Wusun 烏孫 sent his son to attend at court, and "[Ban] Chao [班]超 sent [Li] Yi [李]邑 to lead the son of the king of Wusun 烏孫, who would attend court, to return to the capital city". It is possible that Wusun 烏孫 sent his son to attend at the Eastern Han 漢 court for the second time.

Since Ban Chao 班超 called Wusun "a large state", the state must still have had a certain strength. However, those trained bowmen, only one hundred thousand men, were far less than the number recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B.

Wusun 烏孫 was granted silks also and sent its prince to attend at the court, but no one records that it sent out forces to help Ban Chao 班超 in attacking Qiuci 龜茲, and the Eastern Han 漢 never did seem to think of allying itself with Wusun 烏孫 to resist the Xiongnu 匈奴.

On the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, we know that after Ban Yong 班勇 had attacked and defeated Yanqi 焉耆 in the second year of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period (A.D. 127), the various states all came over to submit to Han 漢, but "contacts with west of the Cong 葱 Mountains (the Pamirs) were broken off". Therefore, the Eastern Han's 漢 communication with Wusun 烏孫 must have been cut off at the time when Emperor An 安 ascended the throne. However, in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 56, during the reign of Emperor Huan 桓, when Chong Hao 种暠 appointed the General Crossing the Liao 遼 [River], Wusun 烏孫 expressed itself "to be subject" to Han 漢.

I

Dayuan 大宛 was subject to Suoju 莎車 for a time at the beginning of the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty. The only record of its communications with Eastern Han 漢 is in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 6.

In the fifth year [of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period (A.D. 130)], ... the kings of Dayuan 大宛 and Suoju 莎車 sent envoys to offer tribute.

However, its special local product, blood-sweating horses, were frequently mentioned.²⁵ In the above-quoted *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is recorded that as soon as Emperor An 安 abolished the post of Protector General the communications between the Eastern Han 漢 and the various states to the west of the Cong 葱 Mountains were cut off. This perhaps indicated the general trend, and was not absolute.

Kangju 康居: According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), in the third year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 78), Ban Chao 班超 led its troops to attack Gumo 姑墨. In the same year, when Ban Chao 班超 sent up a petition to ask for forces, he

referred to Kangju 康居 as "willing to return to allegiance". In the eighth year (A.D. 83), according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 40B (Memoir on Ban Gu 班固), Ban Gu 班固 gave advice to the Emperor, saying, "Kangju 康居 and Yuezhi 月氏 came over from a distance". This seems to refer to the Kangju 康居 willingness to give allegiance in the third year. However, according to chapter 47 (the Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), when he attacked Shule 疏勒 in the first year of the *Yuanhe* 元和 reign-period (A.D. 84), "Kangju 康居 dispatched the picked troops to rescue it, and [Ban] Chao [班]超 was unable to capture it. At that time the king of Yuezhi 月氏 had recently intermarried with the king of Kangju 康居 and they had close ties to each other. [Ban] Chao [班]超 thereupon sent an envoy to give the king of Yuezhi 月氏 many brocades and to order him to caution the king of Kangju 康居 explicitly. The king of Kangju 康居 thus disbanded his troops". In the third year of the *Yuanhe* 元和 reign-period (A.D. 86), the former king of Shule 疏勒, Zhong 忠, again "advised the king of Kangju 康居 to lend him troops", and he confronted Ban Chao 班超. This seems to show that all the separations and reunions of Kangju 康居 and Eastern Han 漢 were dependent on temporary advantages and disadvantages.²⁶

J

The following are the records on the relationships between the Yuezhi 月氏 (i.e., the Kushan empire) and the Eastern Han 漢:

1. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), in the third year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 78), when Ban Chao 班超 sent up a petition to ask for the forces, he referred to Yuezhi 月氏 as "willing to return to allegiance". In the first year of the *Yuanhe* 元和 reign-period (A.D. 84), when Ban Chao 班超 attacked Shule 疏勒, Kangju 康居 dispatched picked troops to rescue it. Ban Chao 班超 gave the king of Yuezhi 月氏 many brocades, and the king of Yuezhi 月氏 then advised the king of Kangju 康居 to disband his troops.

2. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 3, it is recorded that in the first year of the *Zhanghe* 章和 reign-period (A.D. 87), "the state of Yuezhi 月氏 sent its envoy to present *fuba* 符拔 (antelopes) and lions". According to chapter 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超) of the same book, "Previously, Yuezhi 月氏 had helped Han 漢 to attack Jushi 車師 and had earned merit. In this

year it offered as tribute precious stones, *fuba* 扶拔 (antelopes) and lions, and they used this occasion to ask for a Han 漢 princess. [Ban] Chao [班]超 stopped their envoy and sent him back, and from that moment they bore a grudge [against the Han 漢]". From this, it can be seen that besides presented tribute, Yuezhi 月氏 also had made an offer of marriage. The reference "[Ban] Chao [班]超 stopped their envoy and sent him back" seems to show that the envoy of Yuezhi 月氏 did not arrive at the court. Also, if Yuezhi 月氏 had really "helped Han 漢 to attack Jushi 車師", it must have been in the first year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 76).²⁷

3. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), it is recorded that "In the second year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period (A.D. 90), the Yuezhi 月氏 sent their viceroy Xie 謝 with seventy thousand soldiers to attack [Ban] Chao [班]超. [Ban] Chao's [班]超 troops were few in number, and they were all much afraid. [Ban] Chao [班]超 gave the soldiers explicit instructions and said, 'the troops of Yuezhi 月氏 are many, but they are nothing to be worried about because they came here crossing the Cong 葱 Mountains and travelled several thousand *li* 里, and there was no conveyance. As long as we hide provisions and strengthen the defence works, they will surrender because they are hungry and have no way out. The outcome will be known just dozens of days later'. Xie 謝 thereupon advanced and attacked [Ban] Chao [班]超, but he could not defeat him. Moreover, he [let his armies] plunder and pillage, but they did not get anything. [Ban] Chao [班]超 considered that [Xie]'s 謝 provisions were almost exhausted and that he certainly would ask help from Qiuci 龜茲, and he sent several hundred soldiers to the eastern border in order to meet them [i.e., Xie's 謝 envoys to Qiuci 龜茲]. Xie 謝 indeed sent horsemen carrying gold, silver, pearls and jade as presents for [the king of] Qiuci 龜茲. But [Ban] Chao's [班]超 laid an ambush to intercept and attack them, and killed them all, and they took the heads of the envoys and showed them to Xie 謝. Xie 謝 was greatly alarmed. He immediately sent an envoy [to Ban Chao 班超] to confess his crime and [say that] he wished to be permitted to return alive. [Ban] Chao [班]超 let him go and sent him away. From that moment Yuezhi 月氏 was deeply impressed [by the power of Han 漢] and payed tribute every year".

In my opinion, the king of Yuezhi 月氏 who was on the throne at that time must have been Yangaozheng 閻膏珍 as seen in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88.²⁸ Here it is recorded that

the Yuezhi 月氏 "payed tribute every year" after their viceroy Xie 謝 escaped and returned, but it is not recorded in the related primary chronicles of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 and others.

K

The following records are on the relations between Anxi 安息 (i.e., the Parthian Persian) and the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty:

1. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 4, it is recorded that in the tenth month, 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* 符拔 (antelopes)". A parallel record is in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, which says that "In the first year of the *Zhanghe* 章和 reign-period (A.D. 87), [Anxi 安息] sent an envoy who presented gifts of lions and *fuba* 符拔 (antelopes). The *fuba*'s 符拔 shape resembles a *lin* 麟 (unicorn), but it has no horns". In my opinion, this is different from the record in the 4th chapter. However, the record in the 88th chapter may be incorrect. This is because in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 3, it is recorded that in the first year of the *Zhanghe* 章和 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 take the related records in the "Memoir on Ban Chao 班超" as evidence. From this, it can be seen that those who came to present lions and *fuba* 符拔 in the first year were the Yuezhi 月氏, and not the Anxi 安息.

2. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 4, it is recorded that in the thirteenth year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period (A.D. 70) "in the winter, in the eleventh month, the state of Anxi 安息 sent an envoy to present lions and large birds from Tianshi 條支". In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is recorded that "In the 13th year, the king of Anxi 安息 Manqu 滿屈, again offered a gift of lions and of ostriches from Tiaozhi 條支, [which people] at the time called Anxi 安息 fowls". In my opinion, Manqu 滿屈 must have been the king of Parthian Persia, Pacorus II (A.C. 78–115/116). Tiaozhi 條支, i.e., the Syrian region, was called "the western border of Anxi 安息", therefore "large birds from Tiaozhi 條支" would be called "Anxi 安息 birds".²⁹

3. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, in the sixth year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period (A.D. 63), after Ban Chao 班超 attacked and destroyed Yanqi 焉耆, "Thereupon, more than 50 states all offered hostages and entered [the Han 漢 Empire] as subjects. As for states such as

Tiaozhi 條支 and Anxi 安息, and right up to the edge of the sea, more than 40,000 *li* 里 distant all presented tribute *via* multiple interpreters. In the ninth year, Ban Chao 班超 despatched his adjutant Gan Ying 甘英 all the way to the coast of the Western Sea and back. Former generations has never reached any of these places, nor has the *Classic of the Mountains* 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. Thereupon the distant states Mengqi 蒙奇 and Doule 兜勒 both came to make their submission, sending envoys to present tribute". In my opinion, "Western Sea" must have been the Mediterranean, thus the edge of the sea refers to the regions around the Mediterranean.³⁰ The so-called "forty thousand *li* 里" refers to the distance from Luoyang 洛陽 to coastal areas of the Mediterranean. And those who "[sent envoys] through several stages of translation and offered tribute" must have been the Roman Empire and its dependencies. However, the so-called "distant states", Mengqi 蒙奇 and Doule 兜勒 were not in the regions around the Mediterranean and beyond. This is because, in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 4, it is recorded that:

[In the twelfth year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period (A.D. 100)], in the winter, in the eleventh month, two states of the Western Regions, Mengqi 蒙奇 and Doule 兜勒, sent their envoys to pay allegiance to the court. Han 漢 gave their kings the golden seals and purple ribbons.

It is very difficult to imagine that the states "as far away as the seashore forty thousand *li* 里 distant", the regions around the Mediterranean, would sent envoys and requested permission "to pay allegiance to the court", and that the Western and Eastern Han 漢 really gave "golden seals and purple ribbons" to the kings of the states in the Western Regions which submitted to Han 漢. Obviously, Mengqi 蒙奇 and Doule 兜勒 were called "distant states" because of comparison with other states which submitted to Han 漢. Therefore, it is comparatively desirable to identify Mengqi 蒙奇 with Margiana, and Doule 兜勒 with Tukhāra. Mengqi 蒙奇 was located on the eastern border of Anxi 安息. Doule 兜勒 was located to the east of Mengqi 蒙奇. Doule 兜勒 was subject to Yuezhi 月氏 at that time.³¹

L

Tianzhu 天竺 (i.e., Shendu 身毒), according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, “during the reign of Emperor He 和 (A.D. 89–105) sent envoys to present tribute time and again. This way 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 (A.D. 159 and 161), they repeatedly came with tribute from beyond the frontier of Rinan 日南”. Since Shendu 身毒 cut off communications with the Eastern Han 漢 because “the Western Regions rebelled”, we know that the communications between Shendu 身毒 and the Eastern Han 漢 must have gone by the Southern and Northern Routes in the Western Regions. As for the contacts after Emperor Huan 桓 they must have gone by the Southern Sea, not by the “Shu-Shendu 蜀-身毒 Route”.³²

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is also recorded that “It is handed down through generations that Emperor Ming 明 dreamed of a golden person, who was of tall and sturdy stature. There was a halo on top of his head. The emperor asked the crowd of officers, and someone said, ‘there is a god in the west, whose name is *fo* 佛 (Buddha). He is one *zhang* 丈 and six *chi* 尺 tall, and his colour is golden’. The Emperor thereupon sent envoys to Tianzhu 天竺 to seek the Buddha *dharma*, thus Buddha’s image was pictured in the Middle Kingdom”. In my opinion, this is the story of Emperor Ming’s 明 seeking Buddhism as a reaction to a dream. Though the story was “handed down through generations”, and thus the description is not certain, it would be difficult to conclude that it was completely fabricated. From this, it can be shown that both ruler and subjects of the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty understood Buddhism to some extent at least by the time of Emperor Ming 明.³³

In the “Nanzhongzhi 南中志” chapter of the *Huayang Guozhi* 華陽國志 (under Yongchang 永昌 Prefecture), it is recorded that “Emperor Ming 明 established the prefecture and appointed Zheng Chun 鄭純, who came from Shu 蜀 Prefecture, as administrator. There are eight counties and sixty thousand households in it. It is a distance of six thousand and nine hundred *li* 里 from Luoyang 洛陽, and it is located in the extreme southwest of Ning 寧 Province. There lived the people of Min Pu 閩濮, Jiuliao 鳩獠, Piao Yue 僂越, Luo Pu 裸濮 and Shendu 身毒”. In the section about Ning 寧 Province in the same book, it is recorded that “the state of Shendu 身毒 is located to the west of Shu 蜀. It is the present Yongchang 永昌 Prefecture”. This shows

that not only were the people of Shendu 身毒 in Yongchang 永昌 Prefecture, newly established by Emperor Ming 明, but it also was called "Shendu 身毒". The reason, according to Huilin's 慧琳 *Yiqiejing Yinyi* 一切經音義, vol. 81, is that "the towns of Yongchang 永昌 and others were called the Yu 玉 of Ailao 哀牢 in ancient times. Up to Han 漢 times it first admired and then came over and pledged allegiance. Afterwards it was renamed the state of Shendu 身毒, following the title of its king". This shows that the place had been subject to the state of Shendu 身毒 for a time.³⁴ This also is one of the relations between the Eastern Han 漢 and Shendu 身毒.

M

In Eastern Han 漢 times, both Tiaozhi 條支 (i.e., the Syrian kingdom under the Seleucidae) and Lixuan 黎軒 (i.e., Egyptian kingdom under the Ptolemaic dynasty) had been destroyed by the Roman Empire. Therefore the so-called "Tiaozhi 條支" seen in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, must have been the Syrian region which was controlled by the Roman Empire, and "Likun 犁鞞" had become a synonym of "Da Qin 大秦", namely the Roman Empire. This is because Lixuan 黎軒 (i.e., Egyptian kingdom under the Ptolemaic dynasty) was distant from China and there was no time to be understood by the Han 漢 people up to the time that it was destroyed by the Roman Empire. And the state of Lixuan 黎軒 no longer existed by the time the Han 漢 people further understood the western world. In contrast to this, the name of Da Qin 大秦 had resounded in its ears. It is very natural that Da Qin 大秦 and Lixuan 黎軒, two names that indicate the different concepts, were merged into one.³⁵

The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, describes in minute detail the great prosperity of Da Qin 大秦, namely the Roman Empire. And then it is said that "The king of this state always wanted to enter into diplomatic relations with the Han 漢. But the Anxi 安息 wanted to trade with them in Han 漢 silk and so put obstacles in their way, so that they could never have direct relations [with Han 漢]. 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 大秦, sent an envoy from beyond the frontier of Rinan 日南 ("South of the Sea") 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

those who have written about it (Da Qin 大秦) have erred". From this record, one can know that the Han 漢 people of the time deeply looked toward Da Qin 大秦. The so-called "king of Da Qin 大秦", Andun 安敦 has generally been taken as Marcus Aurelius Antonius (A.D. 161–180), the fifth Antonine emperor of the Roman Empire. "As seen from the development of history, the most important thing to note in this account is not that it relates the earliest diplomatic mission between emperors of east and west, nor is it whether or not the embassy consisted of merchants or officials. Rather, the most noteworthy aspect of the account is that it demonstrates that, already at this time there was a sea route linking east and west that passed from the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea, and the Bay of Bengal to the South China Sea".³⁶

In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is also recorded that "In the ninth year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 (A.D. 97), the Protector General, Ban Chao 班超, sent Gan Ying 甘英 as an envoy to Da Qin 大秦. He arrived at Tiaozhi 條枝, overlooking the great sea. When about to take his passage across the sea, the sailors of the western frontier of Anxi 安息 told [Gan] Ying [甘]英: 'The sea is vast. With favourable winds it is still only possible for travellers to cross in three months. But if one meets with unfavourable 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 [甘]英 gave up". In my opinion, Da Qin 大秦 was a place that the people of the Eastern Han 漢 deeply desired, but Gan Ying 甘英 who "was sent as an envoy to Da Qin 大秦" 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 漢 management of the Western Regions was not much more active than the Western Han 漢.³⁷

N

The Eastern Han's 漢 management of the Western Regions was inactive and passive. The main purpose was to subdue the Xiongnu 匈奴 and preserve the Hexi 河西 region. A statement in a petition sent up by the Imperial Secretary, Chen Zhong 陳忠, in the second year of the *Yanguang* 延光 reign-period is the best to explain this point:

... The Western Regions have submitted to Han 漢 for a long time. [The states] are small and look to the east, and those who come knocking at the barriers are numerous. This [is the result of] their unhappiness with the Xiongnu 匈奴 and their admiration for the Han 漢. Now the northern savages, having already crushed Jushi 車師, will certainly come south to attack Shanshan 鄯善; if we do not come to its rescue, then all the other states will follow. If such should be the case, then the savages' wealth would increase, their daring and strength would grow, and their power would extend as far as the southern Qiang 羌 with whom they would join together. In this way the four prefectures of Hexi 河西 region would be endangered. If the Hexi 河西 region were endangered, we would have no choice but to rescue them, and then we would have to fight a hundred times more battles and incur immeasurable expenses. Those who object that the Western Regions are extremely distant and that to succour them is expensive fail to see the purpose for which our ancestors worked so hard and with such dedication.

During its whole reign the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty would abandon the Western Regions whenever it suffered a setback. There was no long-range plan regarding the Western Regions even in the period that it managed the Western Regions. This was due to the basically negative purpose of their policy. The above-quoted petition of Chen Zhong 陳忠 was directed against the three plans for the management of the Western Regions stated by Zhang Dang 張璠, the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌. Zhang Dang 張璠 sent a written message to the emperor that said "Now the King of Huyan 呼延 of the northern savages frequently passes through many places between Pulei 蒲類 and the Qin 秦 Sea. He controls the Western Regions, and, together with Jushi 車師, invades and robs". However, the best plan he could offer was just that "two thousand and more officers and soldiers from the dependencies of Jiuquan 酒泉 should be gathered at the barrier of Kunlun 崑崙. First attack the King of Huyan 呼延 to eliminate his foundation, then call up the five thousand troops from Shanshan 鄯善 to intimidate the tribe of Further Jushi 車師". At worst, a plan was offered "to abandon the town of Jiaohe 交河 and

collect the people of the states of Shanshan 鄯善 and others, and have them all enter inside the frontier barrier" was even offered. Emperor An 安 accepted Chen Zhong's 陳忠 suggestion and "appointed Ban Yong 班勇 as Chief Official of the Western Regions, who led the five hundred men who were exempted from punishment [on condition that they served in the army] to go west and set up an agricultural colony at Liuzhong 柳中". This is to say that he accepted the medium plan, namely that "if we are unable to dispatch troops, we can still establish the Army Major, who will lead five hundred soldiers; farm cattle and grain and food will be offered by the four prefectures, and they will come out to guard Liuzhong 柳中". This also can explain the same problem.

The management of the Western Regions led by Ban Chao 班超 is a little different. According to the petition sent up by Ban Chao 班超 in the third year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 78), as noted in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Chao 班超), we know that Ban Chao's 班超 management of the Western Regions, besides the goal of "cutting off the right arm of the Xiongnu 匈奴" had in mind the aim that, "in the various states of the Western Regions, all the people as far as to where the sun sets, shall come and pledge allegiance. Large or small, [all states], being in high spirit, have kept paying tribute". In fact, having "crossed the Cong 葱 Mountains and reached the Suspended Crossing", Ban Chao 班超 was in the Western Regions for thirty-one years in all. In the end more than fifty states including such distant states as Mengqi 蒙奇 and Doule 兜勒 all sent hostages to submit to Han 漢, and the influence of the Western Han 漢 was felt widely. Ban Chao 班超 sent Gan Ying 甘英 as an envoy to Da Qin 大秦 in the ninth year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period (A.D. 97). This also shows that he was farsighted. It is a pity that he was unable to change the general mental state. In the end, Gan Ying 甘英 gave up halfway.

Ban Yong 班勇, the son of Ban Chao 班超, according to the historical records, had very much his father's style. However, if we carefully read his petition sent up in the sixth year of the *Yuanchu* 元初 reign-period (A.D. 120), where he describes the purpose for which Emperor Wu 武 "opened up the communications with the Western Regions", we see that he says only "to capture the Xiongnu's 匈奴 treasure house and cut off their right arm". According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Yong 班勇), he stressed only the following:

If we develop the Western Regions, the savages' position will certainly be weak. When the savages' position is weak, then the harm they do will be slight. How can we [even consider] giving them back their treasure house and re-attaching their broken arm? A colonel should be deployed to guard and pacify the Western Regions, and a Chief Official established to enlist the loyalty of the various states. If we abandon [the Western Regions] and do not establish [these officials], then the Western Regions will give up all hope. After giving up all hope, they will subordinate themselves to the northern savages, the prefectures on the frontier are going to suffer, and I fear the cities of Hexi 河西 will again find themselves in that state of alarm where they must keep their gates closed in the daytime. [If] today the imperial court does not broaden its virtue, [if] it is stinting of funds to establish army camps and to guard the frontier, and if the northern savages then spread like wildfire, then how can we say we have a long-range policy for pacifying the frontier?

The main point was just "to stabilize frontiers". He referred to "heralding [our] authority and virtue" but his purpose was nothing but "to incline the various states towards Han 漢 and sow doubt in the covetous hearts of the Xiongnu 匈奴, [and we will do this] without the worry that the concomitant expenses will exhaust the country". Of course, this and the Emperor Wu's 武 intention "to extend [Han 漢] territory for ten thousand *li* 里" and to have "imperial power and prestige exercised throughout the area within the four seas" cannot be mentioned in the same breath. If Ban Yong 班勇 was like this, one cannot even begin to talk about others.

O

The Eastern Han 漢 was roughly similar to the Western Han 漢 in its concrete measures for the management of the Western Regions.

1. Forming alliance by marriage: Forming alliances with the various states of the Western Regions by marriage did not occur in Eastern Han 漢 times. At the beginning of the Eastern Han 漢 the Xiongnu 匈奴 were divided into the Southern and Northern tribes, but before long the

Southern tribe was attached to Han 漢. The Northern tribes opposed the Eastern Han 漢 for a long time but their power reached as far as the Hexi 河西 region at most. There was no need for the Eastern Han 漢 to imitate the Western Han 漢 in forming alliances with the various states such as Wusun 烏孫 by marriage.

At the end of the reign of Emperor Zhang 章, the Yuezhi 月氏, that is, the Kushan empire, sent an envoy to propose courtship, and this were refused by Ban Chao 班超. It is probably because the Yuezhi 月氏 was powerful but were a barbarian tribe in the Eastern Han 漢 people's eyes. How could they aspire to have their ruler marry a Han 漢 princess?

Ban Yong 班勇 called the king of Shanshan 鄯善, Youhai 尤還, "the (maternal) grandson of Han 漢 people". This shows that the mother of Youhai 尤還 was a Han 漢 princess. It therefore is suggested that the Eastern Han 漢 had formed an alliance with Shanshan 鄯善 by marriage.³⁸ In my opinion, this view is inadequate. If a princess of the Eastern Han 漢 married the king of Shanshan 鄯善 (the father of Youhai 尤還) there should be records in the historical books. Shanshan 鄯善 was a small state whose people were regarded as birds or beasts by Ban Yong 班勇. It is impossible that the Eastern Han 漢 formed an alliance with it by marriage.

2. Threat of force: In the sixteenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明 (A.D. 73), Ban Chao 班超 killed the Xiongnu's 匈奴 envoys at Shanshan 鄯善, and killed the shaman at Yutian 于闐. In the seventeenth year (A.D. 74), Ban Chao 班超 kidnapped Douti 兜題, the king of Shule 疏勒 who had been established by Qiuci 龜茲 at Shule 疏勒. In the same year, Dou Gu 竇固 and others attacked and conquered the kings of Further and Nearer Jushi 車師. In the first year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period of Emperor Zhang 章 (A.D. 76), Duan Peng 段彭 and others destroyed Jushi 車師. In the same year, Ban Chao 班超 killed the rebels in Shule 疏勒. In the third year of the *Yuanhe* 元和 reign-period (A.D. 86), Ban Chao 班超 killed the king of Shule 疏勒, Zhong 忠. In the sixth year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period (A.D. 94), Ban Chao 班超 attacked Yanqi 焉耆, Weixu 危須, Weili 尉犁 and the state of Shan 山. In the ninth year (A.D. 97), Wang Lin 王林 killed the king of Jushi 車師, Zhuoti 涿鞮. In the sixth year of the *Yuanchu* 元初 reign-period of Emperor An 安 (A.D. 119), Suo Ban 索班 set up an agricultural colony at Yiwu 伊吾 and summoned the kings of Shanshan 鄯善 and the Nearer state Jushi 車師 to surrender. In the fourth year of the *Yanguang* 延光 reign-period (A.D. 125),

Ban Yong 班勇 killed the king of the tribe of Further Jushi 車師, Junjiu 軍就. In the first year of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period of Emperor Shun 順 (A.D. 126), Ban Yong 班勇 killed the king of Eastern Qiemi 且彌. In the second year (A.D. 127), Zhang Lang 張朗 attacked and conquered Yanqi 焉耆. In the fourth year of the *Xiping* 熹平 reign-period of Emperor Ling 靈 (A.D. 175), the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel and the Chief Official of the Western Regions sent out forces to assist to establish the Jumi 拘彌 king. All of these are examples of the successful use of the threat of force. Wang Jing 王敬 killed the king of Yutian 于闐, Jian 建 in the first year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓 (A.D. 151), which was an unsuccessful example of the threat of force. As the Western Han 漢 did, in order to drive out of the Xiongnu 匈奴, to clean out the forces that were close to the Xiongnu 匈奴 or opposed to Han 漢, and prop up the political power that was close to Han 漢, the Eastern Han 漢 often used force or intervened with armed backing.

3. Setting up agricultural colonies: The Eastern Han 漢 began to set up the agricultural colonies in the Western Regions in the sixteenth year of the reign-period *Yongping* 永平 of the reign of Emperor Ming 明 (A.D. 73). In this year, Han 漢 forces captured the land of Yiwulu 伊吾廬 and established "the Chief Commandant of Yihe 宜禾 (Suitable Grain)" to set up an agricultural colony. In the next year, the Eastern Han 漢 attacked and destroyed Jushi 車師 and established the *Wu* 戊 Colonel and the *Ji* 己 Colonel respectively at the town of Jinpu 金蒲 of the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師 and at the town of Liuzhong 柳中 of the tribe of Further Jushi 車師 to manage the colonies in both places. At the same time, an agricultural colony was set up at Loulan 樓蘭.

In the final year of the reign of Emperor Ming 明 (A.D. 75), the Western Regions revolted and killed the Protector General, Chu Mu 陳睦. After having ascended the throne, Emperor Zhang 章 stopped setting up the agricultural colony at Yiwu 伊吾 in the second year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 77). The Xiongnu 匈奴 had besieged the towns of Jinpu 金蒲 and Liuzhong 柳中, Jushi 車師 had again rebelled before, and the colonies in both places were intended to be abolished.

In the third year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 (A.D. 91), the Eastern Han 漢 again established the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel and recovered the colonies in the states

of Nearer and Further Jushi 車師. Probably in the next year, Ren Shang 任尚 was sent with emblems of authority to act as protector of the Northern *Chanyu* 單于 to station himself at Yiwu 伊吾, and the agricultural colony at Yiwu 伊吾 was recovered.

In the first year of the *Yongchu* 永初 reign-period of Emperor An 安 (A.D. 107), the Eastern Han 漢 again abandoned the Western Regions, and caused the officials and soldiers who set up the agricultural colony at Yiwu 伊吾 and Liuzhong 柳中 to return. In the first year of the *Yuanchu* 元初 reign-period (A.D. 114), the Eastern Han 漢 again sent the Chief Official, Suo Ban 索班, to set up the agricultural colony at Yiwu 伊吾, but soon the colony was abandoned because Suo Ban 索班 was killed by the Xiongnu 匈奴. In the second year of the *Yanguang* 延光 reign-period (A.D. 123), the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture, Zhang Dang 張璠, sent a written message to the Emperor, stating the three plans for the management of the Western Regions. His, the medium plan, was to set up an agricultural colony at Liuzhong 柳中. Emperor An 安 accepted the medium plan and ordered Ban Yong 班勇 to set up an agricultural colony at Liuzhong 柳中 in the next year. It was possibly in the fourth year of the *Yanguang* 延光 reign-period (A.D. 125), soon after killing the king of the tribe of Further Jushi 車師, Junjiu 軍就, that Ban Yong 班勇 began to set up the agricultural colony at the town of Qiegu 且固.

In the sixth year of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period of Emperor Shun 順 (A.D. 131), the Eastern Han 漢 also set up the agricultural colony at Yiwu 伊吾 and established a Major of Yiwu 伊吾.

In sum, as the Western Han 漢 did, the Eastern Han 漢 set up the agricultural colonies in the Western Regions mainly in order to impress the Xiongnu 匈奴 and the various states in the Western Regions with its determination to manage the Western Regions. The intention in setting up the agricultural colonies was mainly to deter by force, and their economic effectiveness was not considered. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on the Liang Jin 梁懂), it is recorded that in the first year of the *Yanping* 延平 reign-period of Emperor Shang 殤 (A.D. 106), "The ministers and consultants considered that the ways to the Western Regions were dangerous and distant and that [the various states of the Western Regions] revolted frequently. The expenses of the officials and soldiers setting up agricultural colonies had no limits". Therefore after his accession Emperor An 安 made the officials and soldiers who set up the agricultural colony

return. From this, it can be seen that the colony sometimes was less than self-sufficient and that it produced surplus only with difficulty.

4. Rewarding: As the Western Han 漢, rewarding was also an important means by which the Eastern Han 漢 bestowed favours on the various states in the Western Regions and bought their support. When Ban Chao 班超 killed the king of Yanqi 焉耆, Guang 廣, and the king of Weili 尉犁, Fan 汎, the bait was simply reward. It is another example of rewarding to sent the Guards' Captain, Li Yi 李邑, to grant the Greater and Lesser *Kunmi* 昆彌 and those lower than they silks in order to attack Qiuci 龜茲 with the support of Wusun 烏孫.

5. Accepting the hostage: The various states in the Western Regions such as Shanshan 鄯善, Jumi 拘彌, Yutian 于闐, the states of Nearer and Further Jushi 車師, Qiuci 龜茲, Shule 疏勒, Wusun 烏孫 and others all had sent hostages or their princes to attend at court. It is said these had come from more than fifty states at the height. There is no difference between the Western Han 漢 and Eastern Han 漢 in the effects of the hostages or the princes who were attending at court. For example, Bai Ba 白霸, the son of the king of Qiuci 龜茲 who was attending at court, Yuanmeng 元孟, the hostage of the state of Yanqi 焉耆, and Beijun 卑君, the hostage of the tribe of Further Jushi 車師, all were established as kings afterwards. And in the twenty-first year of the *Jianwu* 建武 reign-period of Emperor Guangwu 光武 (A.D. 45), the various states in the Western Regions sent their princes to attend at court and hoped the Protector General would be sent. This clearly shows that when they accepted the hostages or the princes to attend at court, the Eastern Han 漢 had a duty to protect their states from invasion.

6. Controlling barbarians with barbarians: As the Western Han 漢 did, the Eastern Han 漢 adopted a series of measures to control barbarians with barbarians in the management of the Western Regions. For example, the Eastern Han frequently had to call up the forces of the various states in the Western Regions when it went on a punitive expedition, or even to rely on the various states in the Western Regions to do so. Moreover, to establish the princes who had attended at court or hostages as kings, to prop up the political powers which were close to Han 漢. Of course, the most important measure was to use the kings and nobles and lower courtiers to control the Western Regions.

As the Western Han 漢 did, the Eastern Han 漢 also granted the kings of the various states and those lower who were submitted to Han 漢 seals and ribbons. For example, in the second year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 (A.D. 90), the kings of the Nearer and Further Jushi 車師 were granted seals and ribbons when they respectively sent their sons to attend at the court and to present tribute. During the *Yongxing* 永興 reign-period of Emperor Huan 桓 (A.D. 153–154), Beijun's 卑君 seals and ribbons were recaptured and were granted to Aluoduo 阿羅多. The difference from the Western Han 漢 is that the Eastern Han 漢 had granted the kings of the various states in the Western Regions the title of Han 漢 government official. For example, in the fifth year of the *Jianwu* 建武 reign-period (A.D. 29), the king of Suoju 莎車, Kang, was named "King *Jiangong Huaide* 建功懷德 of Suoju 莎車 of Han 漢 and the Chief Commandant of the Western Regions". In the seventeenth year of the *Jianwu* 建武 reign-period (A.D. 41), the king of Suoju 莎車, Xian 賢, was named "the Supreme General of Han 漢". In the second year of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period (A.D. 127), the king of Shule 疏勒, Chenpan 臣磐, was named "the Han 漢 Chief Commandant" and other titles. Both "King *Jiangong Huaide* 建功懷德 of Suoju 莎車 of Han 漢" and "the Marquis of Qinhan 親漢 (enjoy friendly relations with Han 漢) in the state of Further Jushi 車師", which was granted to the prince of the tribe of Further Jushi 車師, Bahua 八滑, were ad hoc official positions for the kings of states in the Western Regions.

7. The establishment of the Protector General of the Western Regions, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, and the Chief Official of the Western Regions. In this aspect the main difference between the Eastern Han 漢 and Western Han 漢 is that the Protector General was no longer established, and the Chief Official assumed the duty of the Protector General since the *Yongchu* 永初 reign-period of Emperor An 安. After Ban Yong 班勇, the Chief Official took orders from the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture and even the Governor of the Liang 涼 Province.³⁹

P

The *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88 (Memoir on the Western Regions), summarizes the Eastern Han's 漢 management of the Western Regions and says that "From the *Jianwu* 建武 (A.D. 25–

56) reign-period to the *Yanguang* 延光 reign period (A.D. 122–125), the Western Regions' contacts [with Han 漢] were cut off three times and were opened up three times". This roughly corresponds with the physical truth. Therefore the relations between the Eastern Han 漢 and the Western Regions can be divided into six stages.

The first stage is from the fifth year of the *Jinwu* 建武 reign-period of Emperor Guangwu 光武 (A.D. 25) to the fifteenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明 (A.D. 72). At first the Eastern Han 漢 attempted to control the Western Regions and to confront the Xiongnu 匈奴 through Suoju 莎車. After having ascended the throne, the king of Suoju 莎車, Xian 賢, invaded and enslaved the various states. These states sent their envoys to ask the Eastern Han 漢 to send out the Protector General. Emperor Guangwu 光武 did not comply with this request because the Central Plains had just been pacified. The various states thus all submitted to the Xiongnu 匈奴. Since the eighth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明 (A.D. 65) the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 intimidated the various states into submission, and together they raided the prefectures and counties in Hexi 河西 region, so that the towns had to keep their gates closed in daytime. In the fifteenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 73), Emperor Ming 明 ordered Dou Gu 竇固 and Geng Bing 耿秉 to go out to the station at Liang 涼 Province and to prepare for a northern expedition.

The second stage is from the sixteenth to the eighteenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明 (A.D. 73–75). The Eastern Han 漢 attacked the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴, and thus opened up the management of the Western Regions. The purpose was to cut off the right arm of the Xiongnu 匈奴.

The third stage is from the first year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period of Emperor Zhang 章 (A.D. 76) to the first year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period of Emperor He 和 (A.D. 89). In the first year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 76), the Eastern Han 漢 abolished the post of Protector General. After this the Eastern Han 漢 abandoned the Western Regions for more than ten years. The reason was that at the end of the reign of Emperor Ming 明 the various states in the Western Regions betrayed Han 漢 and worked in concert with the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴. "Grain rose in price because of serious drought" at the beginning of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-

period (the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 48 [Memoir on Yang Zhong 楊終]), which also caused the Eastern Han 漢 to be unable to continue to manage the Western Regions.

However, during this stage Ban Chao's 班超 activities in the Western Regions achieved considerable success. In the general climate in which the Eastern Han 漢 abandoned the Western Regions, the reason Ban Chao 班超 achieved success is mainly, as Hu's 胡 commentary on the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒 says, that "the Xiongnu 匈奴 declined and tired and its strength could not reach the Western Regions", besides his personal capacity. That the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 always very heavily exploited the various states in the Western Regions made them prefer to serve Han 漢.

The fourth stage is from the second year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period (A.D. 90) to the first year of the *Yanping* 延平 reign-period of Emperor Shang 殤 (A.D. 106). During this stage the Eastern Han 漢 reopened the management of the Western Regions. The Eastern Han's 漢 management then was the most flourishing because of the utter defeat of the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴, and Ban Chao's 班超 success in the preceding stage. The communications between the East and the West also were frequent and prosperous.

The fifth stage is from the first year of the *Yongchu* 永初 reign-period of Emperor An 安 (A.D. 107) to the first year of the *Yanguang* 延光 reign-period (A.D. 122). The reason the Eastern Han's 漢 communications with the Western Regions were cut off is mainly that the Protector General Ren Shang 任尚, who was appointed after Ban Chao 班超, was so unpopular that the various states revolted. Another reason is that the Eastern Han 漢 called up the Qiang 羌 people for the western expedition. The Qiang 羌 people did not obey and escaped on the way, and this led to disaster. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 87, the Qiang 羌 people were called up in the first year of the *Yongchu* 永初 reign-period (A.D. 107), in the summer, and Emperor An 安 abolished the post of Protector General in the sixth month of this year. After the Eastern Han 漢 had abandoned the Western Regions, the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 resumed their sovereignty over the various states in the Western Regions, and together they harassed the border for ten years and more.

During this stage, the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture, Cao Zong 曹宗, sent a written message to the Emperor, who dispatched Suo Ban 索班, who was performing the duty of

the Chief Official concurrently, to station himself at Yiwu 伊吾 to summon and comfort the various states and attempt to relieve the assaults of the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴. But after several months Suo Ban 索班 was attacked and killed by the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴. Cao Zong 曹宗 begged for troops to be dispatched to attack the Xiongnu 匈奴. The Empress Dowager Deng 鄧 did not allow this, probably because the trouble of the Qiang 羌 was not completely calmed. Only the Deputy Colonel of the Western Regions was established at Dunhuang 敦煌 and a garrison of three hundred men was restored, just to keep in contact with the various states. After this the consultants asked to close the barriers of Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 to eradicate the troubles because the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 continuously invaded the Hexi 河西 region.

The sixth stage is from the second year of the *Yanguang* 延光 reign-period (A.D. 123) to the end of the Eastern Han 漢. This stage can be subdivided into three periods. The first period is from the second year of the *Yanguang* 延光 reign-period (A.D. 123) to the end of the *Yongjian* 永建 reign-period (A.D. 132). During this period the Eastern Han 漢 again made great efforts to develop the management of the Western Regions. As a result, while it was unable to recover communications with the various states to the west of the Cong 葱 Mountains, most of the various states around the Tarim Basin submitted anew to Han 漢. This eight years began with setting up an agricultural colony at Liuzhong 柳中 and ended with setting up an agricultural colony at Yiwu 伊吾, which was the second apex of the Eastern Han's 漢 management of the Western Regions.

The second period is from the first year of the *Yangjia* 陽嘉 reign-period (A.D. 132) to the first year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 151) of Emperor Huan 桓. During this period, the Eastern Han 漢 was still able to keep control of the Western Regions. However, the various states invaded each other and the authority of the Eastern Han 漢 steadily declined.

In the second year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 152), the Chief Official of the Western Regions, Wang Jing 王敬, was killed. This can be regarded as a symbol of the collapse of the Eastern Han's 漢 control of the Western Regions. In the third year of the *Jianning* 建寧 reign-period of Emperor Ling 靈 (A.D. 170), the Governor of Liang 涼 Province could still call up the troops of Yanqi 焉耆, Qiuci 龜茲, and the tribes of Nearer and Further Jushi 車師 to attack Shule 疏勒. In the fourth year of the *Xiping* 熹平 reign-period (A.D. 175) the *Wuji* 戊己

Colonel and the Chief Official of the Western Regions could still send forces to assist to establish the Jumi 拘彌 king's son, who had been attending at court, as king. These events seem to show that the Eastern Han's 漢 control of the Western Regions lasted until the later reign of Emperor Ling 靈 at least. However, to use military forces twice as mentioned above can only be regarded as the final efforts that the Eastern Han 漢 made for control of the Western Regions. After the third year of the *Jinaning* 建寧 reign-period (A.D. 170), the kings of Shule 疏勒 were all killed in succession, and the Han 漢 court was unable to stop it. The Jumi 拘彌 king's son, who had attended at court, was established as king, but Han 漢 was unable to denounce the king of Yutian 于闐, who had killed the former king of Jumi 拘彌. These examples all illustrate this point.

Notes

1. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 53–56.
2. Cf. the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 19 (Memoirs on Geng Bing 耿秉 and Geng Gong 耿恭).
3. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 3, it is recorded that in the second year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 78), in the third month, “on the day of *jiachen* 甲辰, [the emperor] stopped to set up the agricultural colony at Yiwulu 伊吾盧”.
4. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 4, it is recorded that in the second year of the *Yongyuan* 永元 reign-period (A.D. 90), the fifth month, “on the day of *jiwei* 己未, [Han 漢] sent the Deputy Colonel, Yan Pan 閻槃, to make a punitive expedition against the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 and occupy the land of Yiqu 伊吾盧”.
5. Ma (1990-1).
6. Cf. the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 47 (Memoir on Ban Yong) and 88 (Memoir on the Western Regions).
7. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 5, it is recorded that in the first year of the *Yongning* 永寧 reign-period (A.D. 120), in the third month, “the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師 rebelled and killed the major of the tribe”. And it is also recorded that “in the fourth month, on the day of *bingyin* 丙寅, “the prince, Bao 保, was established as crown prince. Let the title of the reign-period be changed to be *Yongning* 永寧. A general amnesty [was granted to] the empire”. From this, it can be seen that the revolt of the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師 was in fact in the seventh year of the *Yuanchu* 永初 reign-period (A.D. 120).
8. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is recorded that in the second year of the *Yanguang* 延光 reign-period (A.D. 123), the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Zhang Dang 張璠 sent a written message to the Emperor and said that “Now the King of Huyan 呼延 of the northern savages frequently passes through many places

- between Pulei 蒲類 and the Qin 秦 Sea. He controls the Western Regions, and, together with Jushi 車師, invades and robs”. This may be read for reference.
9. See Ma (1990-1). Also, Shimazaki (1977), pp. 59–80, suggests that the records as seen in the “Tablet of Pei Cen 裴岑” must refer to the war in which the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 “made a sneak attack on the northern savages at Mount Le 勒”. The reference “[Han 漢 forces] overcame the whole army of the enemy” and so on may be an overstatement. And “in the autumn, the king of Huyan 呼延 again led two thousand men to attack the tribe of Further [Jushi 車師] and routed it”, as recorded in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, must have been in the second year of the *Yonghe* 永和 reign-period (A.D. 137). In my opinion, this view is inadequate.
 10. According to Li Xian’s 李賢 commentary, “The town of Jinpu 金蒲 was the king’s court of state of Further Jushi 車師”. In my opinion, this is inadequate. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 19 (Memoir on Geng Gong 耿恭), in the eighteenth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 75), the Xiongnu 匈奴 “killed the king of the state of Further Jushi 車師 and attacked the town of Jinpu 金蒲”. This seems to be regarded as evidence that the king’s court of the state of Further Jushi 車師 was not located at the town of Jinpu 金蒲. Liuzhong 柳中, where Guan Chong 關寵 had been stationed, was not yet the king’s court of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師. Each statement supports the other.
 11. “金蒲” was noted as “金滿” in the original text. 蒲 and 滿 are easily confused because of being similar in shape. This was corrected according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 19 (Memoir on Geng Gong 耿恭). In my opinion, “Jinpu 金蒲” and “Jinfu 金附” as noted in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, must have been different transcriptions of the same name. However, the town of Jinpu 金蒲 was north of the mountains and the small state of Jinfu 金附 was probably south of the mountains. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 212–213.
 12. Cf. Meng (1985), pp. 28–29.
 13. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), p. 218.
 14. Cf. Shimazaki (1977-1).
 15. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.1).
 16. In the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, it is recorded that “The [kings of] the various states were extremely worried and afraid when they heard that the Protector General would not be sent out and the sons who were attending at court would all return. They thus sent a call-to-arms to the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 and said that they desired to have their sons remain in attendance at court to show Suoju 莎車 that their sons would be left and the Protector General would be sent out. They hoped that this would cause [Suoju 莎車] to cease hostilities. ... The princes from the states of Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆, and others who had [formerly] been in attendance at court all fled and returned [to their states]”.
 17. The date is on the basis of the “Hanji 漢紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒. It is noted as the third year of

- the *Yuanhe* 元和 reign-period of Emperor Zhang 章 (A.D. 86) in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88. The latter seems to be incorrect.
18. Ma (1990-2).
 19. The *Xu Hanshu* 續漢書, which was quoted by Li Xian’s 李賢 commentary, says, “sought and gained the son of the elder brother of his former king, Yule 榆勒, and established him as king. Yule 榆勒 was renamed Zhong 忠”.
 20. It seems that the sentence should read “the Commandant of Cavalry, Zhao Bo 趙博, was appointed as Chief Official of the Western Regions”.
 21. On the basis of the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 6, this was the third month of this year.
 22. Ma (1990-2).
 23. Huang W. (1989-3) seems to suggest that the Suo Mai’s 索勒 event was in Western Han 漢 times. This is inadequate. Cf. Liu, pp. 168–169.
 24. The exact date when the Xiongnu 匈奴 together with Qiuci 龜茲 attacked Suoju 莎車 is not clearly known. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, in the twenty-first year of the *Jianwu* 建武 reign-period (A.D. 45), in the winter, Xian 賢 attacked and killed the king of Qiuci 龜茲 and annexed his state. Afterwards Xian 賢 also established his son, Zelu 則羅 as the king of Qiuci 龜茲. After “several years”, the people of the state of Qiuci 龜茲 killed Zelu 則羅, sent an envoy to the Xiongnu 匈奴, and asked to establish a new king. The Xiongnu 匈奴 thus established Shendu 身毒 as the king. It must be after Shendu 身毒 had been established as the king of Qiuci 龜茲 that the Xiongnu 匈奴 together with Qiuci 龜茲 attacked Souju 莎車. According to the same chapter, soon after attacking Suoju 莎車, Xian 賢 was killed by the king of Yutian 于闐, Guangde 廣德. Since it was in the fourth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 61) that Guangde 廣德 killed Xian 賢, there is no problem with assuming that the attack on Suoju 莎車 was at the end of the *Jianwu* 建武 reign-period.
 25. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 85–86.
 26. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 108–111.
 27. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-1).
 28. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-1).
 29. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 190–192.
 30. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 184–186.
 31. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.2).
 32. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.1).

33. Cf. Tang, pp.15–21.
34. Cf. Wang B., pp. 106–110.
35. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 182–209.
36. Wu Y.
37. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.2).
38. Ise, p. 90.
39. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.4).

Chapter 4

The Cao Wei, Western Jin Dynasties and the Western Regions

A

In the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 30, it is recorded that "After the Wei 魏 Dynasty had arisen, the various states in the Western Regions did not completely reach the court, but the larger states of them, such as Qiuci 龜茲, Yutian 于寘, Kangju 康居, Wusun 烏孫, Shule 疏勒, Yuezhi 月氏, Shanshan 鄯善 and Jushi 車師, came to present tribute every year, roughly as formerly in Han 漢 times". However, the records of the various states in the Western Regions presenting tribute to the Wei 魏 Dynasty are the following:

1 In the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 2 (the Primary Chronicle on Emperor Wen 文), it is recorded that in the third year of the *Huangchu* 黃初 reign-period (A.D. 222), "the second month, the kings of Shanshan 鄯善, Qiuci 龜茲 and Yutian 于闐 respectively sent envoys to present tribute".¹

2 In the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 3, it is recorded that in the first year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 227), the tenth month, on the day of *Bingyin* 丙寅 "the king of Yanqi 焉耆 sent his son to attend at court".

3 In the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 3, it is recorded that in the third year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 229), in the twelfth month, "on the day of *guimao* 癸卯, the king of Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Bodiao 波調, sent envoys to present tribute. [The Wei 魏 Dynasty] made [Bo]diao [波]調 the King of Da Yuezhi 月氏 Who is Close to Wei 魏".

In the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 4, it is recorded that in the third year of the *Jingchu* 景初 reign-period (A.D. 239), "the Western Regions, [whose speech must be] successively interpreted, presented a fire-washed cloth".

In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 1, it is recorded that in the third year of the *Zhengshi* 正始 reign-period of the King of Qi 齊, Fang 芳 (A.D. 240), the first month, "Yanqi 焉耆, Weixu 危須 and others ... all sent envoys to present tribute".

6. In the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 4, it is recorded that in the third year of the *Xianxi* 咸熙 reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 (A.D. 265), in the intercalary tenth month, "on the day of

gengchen 庚辰, Kangju 康居 and Dayuan 大宛 presented famous horses, which were presented to the chancellery, which made manifest the merit of having caused the myriad states to pay tribute to the court from remote places”.

According to these sources, it is inappropriate to say that the larger states “came to present tribute every year”. But the 30th chapter does not seem to be completely baseless, because in the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 24 (Memoir on Cui Lin 崔林), it is recorded:

... [Cui Lin 崔林] was promoted to the Superintendent of State Visits. The king of Qiuci 龜茲 sent his son who was attending at court to present tribute. The Imperial Court rewarded the king well to commend his coming a long way. The other states respectively sent their sons to present tribute, and the secret envoys made their way without interruption. [Cui] Lin [崔]林 was afraid that those who were sent might not be real princes, just distant relatives or barbarian merchants instead. Their interest was in gaining official seals and ribbons through diplomatic contact [with the Wei 魏]. But the expenses to convoy envoys there were too great. Exhausting the people and subsidizing inutility would make them ridiculous to the barbarians. This had been precisely their worry in the past. [The Wei 魏 court] therefore sent a letter to Dunhuang 燉煌, presenting [the emperor’s] message and accounts of how previous dynasties treated [envoys from] the various states, richly or simply, so that there would be certain criteria [hospitality]. After Emperor Ming 明 ascended the throne, he was granted the rank of marquis of Guannei 關內 and was assigned to be the Chief Minister of the Palace and the Metropolitan Commandant.

The exact date when the king of Qiuci 龜茲 sent his son to present tribute was not recorded in the chapter, but it was undoubtedly before Emperor Ming 明 ascended the throne. That the king of Qiuci 龜茲 sent an envoy to present tribute as recorded in the second chapter may be just that Qiuci 龜茲 sent “his son, who was attending at court, to be presented” as recorded in the Memoir on Cui Lin 崔林.

From this it can be seen that the various state's presentation of tribute was frequent at the beginning of the Wei 魏 Dynasty at least. The reason it was not recorded completely in the primary chronicles of the *Sanguozhi* 三國志 is probably not through careless omission but because those who were sent were just distant relatives or merchant barbarians. The king of Qiuci 龜茲 sent his son to attend at court and was thus well rewarded, but in the second chapter it is recorded simply as "to present tribute" but not as attendance at court. This shows that Wei 魏 suspected "those who were sent might be not real princes".

B

As mentioned above, the states in the Western Regions that presented tribute to Cao Wei 曹魏 were only the following eight: Shanshan 鄯善, Qiuci 龜茲, Yutian 于闐, Yanqi 焉耆, Weixu 危須, Da Yuezhi 大月氏, Kangju 康居 and Dayuan 大宛. Even if Wusun 烏孫, Shule 疏勒 and Jushi 車師, which is referred to in the 30th chapter, are added, it amounts to just eleven states. However, it is notable that, besides Weixu 危須, the other ten of these states were the "large states" in the Western Regions at that time. According to the "Memoir on the Western Rong 戎" of the *Weilue* 魏略,

To the west, travelling along the Southern Route, one reaches the states of Qiemo 且末, Xiao Yuan 小宛, Jingjue 精絕 and Loulan 樓蘭, which were all annexed and belonged to Shanshan 鄯善; there were also the states of Ronglu 戎廬, Wumi 扞彌, Qule 渠勒 and Pishan 皮山, which were all annexed and belonged to Yutian 于闐; and there were the states of Jibin 罽賓, Daxia 大夏, Gaofu 高附 and Tianzhu 天竺; these were all annexed and belonged to Da Yuezhi 大月氏....

To the west, travelling alongside the Middle Route, one reaches the states of Weili 尉梨, Weixu 危須, and the kingdom of Shan 山, which were all annexed and belonged to Yanqi 焉耆. Then he reaches the states of Gumo 姑墨, Wensu 溫宿, and Weitou 尉頭, which were all annexed and belonged to Qiuci 龜茲; and the states Zhenzhong 楨中, Suoju 莎車, Jieshi 竭石, Qusuo 渠莎, Xiye 西夜,

Yinai 依耐, Manli 滿犁, Yiruo 億若, Yuling 榆令, Juandu 捐毒, Xiuxiu 休脩 and Qin 琴, which were all annexed and belonged to Shule 疏勒...

To the west, travelling along the New Northern Route, one reaches the states of Eastern Qiemi 且彌, Western Qiemi 且彌, Danhuan 單桓, Bilu 畢陸, Pulu 蒲陸, and Wutan 烏貪, which were all annexed and belonged to the king of the tribe of Further Jushi 車師.

From this, it can further be seen that at the time described in the "Memoir on the Western Rong 戎" of the *Weilue* 魏略, seven of the ten states: Shanshan 鄯善, Yutian 于闐, Da Yuezhi 月氏, Yanqi 焉耆, Qiuci 龜茲, Shule 疏勒 and the state of [Further] Jushi 車師 all were the overlords, who had their own spheres of influence. If the records in the "Memoir on the Western Rong 戎" of the *Weilue* 魏略 are not incorrect, it appears that the ten states to present tribute to Wei 魏 in fact represented most of the Western Regions at that time. However, according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88 (Memoir on the Western Regions),

At that juncture the Xiongnu 匈奴 were weak, and Xian 賢, the king of Suoju 莎車, destroyed the various states. After Xian 賢 died, they thereupon attacked each other. Xiao Yuan 小宛, Jingjue 精絕, Ronglu 戎盧, and Qiemo 且末 were annexed by Shanshan 鄯善. Qule 渠勒 and Pishan 皮山 were controlled by Yutian 于寘, and their lands were completely occupied by the latter. Yuli 郁立, Danhuan 單桓, Guhu 孤胡, and Wutzan 烏貪訾離 were destroyed by Jushi 車師. Afterwards these states all were established anew.

If we compare the above-quoted records of the "Memoir on the Western Rong 戎" of the *Weilue* 魏略 with this, some doubts occur: Was the situation described in the "Memoir on the Western Rong 戎" of the *Weilue* 魏略 really in Cao Wei 曹魏 times after all? Was it possibly the situation at the beginning of the Eastern Han 漢 instead? Many sources about the Western Regions in Eastern Han 漢 times are included in the "Memoir on the Western Rong" of the *Weilue* 魏略". And some similar paragraphs in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, possibly are taken from the latter.² Since this is so, a brief analysis is necessary.

Generally speaking, the situation described in some paragraphs in the “Memoir on the Western Rong” of the *Weilue* 魏略 which is similar to those in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, should be that of Eastern Han 漢 times. But the above-mentioned records about the small states’ being annexed and enslaved by the large states such as Shanshan 鄯善 are not necessarily specific to that time. This is because it is possible the phenomenon of the large states, such as Shanshan 鄯善 and Yutian 于闐, annexing and enslaving the small states appeared repeatedly. In other words, the situation described in the “Memoir on the Western Rong 戎” of the *Weilue* 魏略 could have occurred in Cao Wei 曹魏 times.

The situation in which some large states among the oasis states in the Western Regions annexed and enslaved the adjacent states existed for a long time. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, during the *Taichu* 太初 reign-period (B.C. 104–101), Qiuci 龜茲 accepted hostages from Wumi 扞彌. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, during the reign of Emperor Guangwu 光武, Suoju 莎車 had dominated the Western Regions for a time, and its king Xian 賢, who held power over the neighbouring states’ life and property, tyrannically abused his power. Generally, such situations appeared at the time when the dynasties in the Central Plain were unable to control the Western Regions. If the dynasties once recovered their control of the Western Regions, the situation would have disappeared or nearly disappeared. The *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96B, records the words with which Li Guangli 李廣利 upbraided Qiuci 龜茲 when he attacked Dayuan 大宛 and returned in triumph, saying: “The outer states are subject to Han 漢; by what authority has Qiuci 龜茲 accepted hostages from Wumi 扞彌”, which explains this point. From the end of the Western Han 漢 to Wang Mang’s 王莽 reign, because the dynasties in the Central Plain lost control of the Western Regions, Suoju 莎車 was able to seek hegemony. After the king of Suoju 莎車, Xian 賢, died, the various states freed themselves from Suoju’s bondage, but a course to annex each other began. At the end, an arrangement by which the powerful states, such as Shanshan 鄯善, Yutian 于闐, Jushi 車師 and others, coexisted was formed. As for the statement that these states all “were established anew”, this apparently was a result of Eastern Han 漢 control of the Western Regions.

It was not only possible but even inevitable that, as at the end of the Western Han 漢 and the beginning of the Eastern Han 漢, the large states of Shanshan 鄯善 and others once again

annexed and enslaved the adjacent states and carved up the spheres of influence. This was because of the confusion at the end of the Eastern Han 漢, and Cao Wei's 曹魏 temporary inability to penetrate the region after it had replaced Han 漢.³ The states which sent envoys to pay tribute to Wei 魏 as recorded in the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, are mainly the large states that were able to annex and enslave the small states. This can be regarded as evidence that the situation at the beginning of the Eastern Han 漢 reappeared in Cao Wei 曹魏 times.

According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, Emperor Guangwu 光武 was unable to manage the Western Regions, and thus granted the king of Suoju 莎車, Xian 賢, "the seals and ribbons of the Supreme General of Han 漢". And Emperor Shun 順 appointed the king of Shule 疏勒, Chenpan 臣磐, "the Han 漢 Chief Commandant", which was nothing but partial dependence on the powerful Shule 疏勒. According to the "Memoir on the Western Rong 戎" of the *Weilue* 魏略, Cao Wei 曹魏 granted the king of Further Jushi 車師, "Yisuoza 壹多雜, the Acting Palace Attendant of Wei 魏, the title of Chief Commandant and the seal of king of Wei 魏". This is also playing the same tactics as the Eastern Han 漢, because the state of Jushi 車師 held sway over the New Northern Route and guarded communications at that time.

C

According to the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 2, in the third year of the *Huangchu* 黃初 reign-period (A.D. 222), in the second month, the three states of Shanshan 鄯善 and others came over to present tribute. "An imperial edict said, that 'the Western Rong 戎 came to submit to the arrangements, and the Di 氐 and the Qiang 羌 came to seek acknowledgement. This is praised in both the *Shijing* 詩經 and the *Shujing* 書經. Recently, the outer barbarians in the Western Regions all knocked at the barriers and paid allegiance to the court. We should send envoys to pacify them'. Then communication with the Western Regions was started, and the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was established". From this, it can be seen that the Cao Wei 曹魏 Dynasty had established the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, after the second month of the third year of the *Huangchu* 黃初 reign-period (A.D. 222). According to the "Memoir on the Western Regions" of the *Weilue* 魏略, the government seat of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel in Cao Wei 曹魏 times was located at Gaochang 高昌, which was within the boundaries of the state of Jushi 車師.⁴

The first *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of Cao Wei 曹魏 was Zhang Gong 張恭. According to the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 18 (Memoir on Zhang Gong 張恭), the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Ma Ai 馬艾, died at his post. The people of the prefecture chose [Zhang] Gong [張]恭 to perform the duty of the Chief Official. [Zhang] Gong [張]恭 sent his son, [Zhang] Jiu 張就, east to call on Emperor Taizhu 太祖 (i.e., Cao Cao 曹操) and to ask for the Administrator to be sent”. At that time Huang Hua 黃華 in Jiuquan 酒泉 and Zhang Jin 張進 in Zhanye 張掖 rebelled in their respective prefectures, and they captured [Zhang] Jiu 張就. [Zhang] Gong [張]恭 lead troops to attack Jiuquan 酒泉, and also sent two hundred armoured horses and his official subordinates east along the northern barriers of Jiuquan 酒泉 to meet the Administrator, Yin Feng 尹奉. “In the second year of the *Huangchu* 黃初 reign-period (A.D. 221), an edict was issued to canonize him and grant [Zhang] Gong [張]恭 the rank of marquis of Guannei 關內 and appoint him to the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of the Western Region”.

In my opinion, “the second year 二年” here may be a textual error for “the third year 三年”. This is because the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was first established in the third year of the *Huangchu* 黃初 reign-period (A.D. 222), as recorded in the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 2. Also, in the “*Weiji* 魏紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, that Zhang Gong 張恭 was granted the rank of marquis of Guannei 關內 is recorded under the fifth month of the first year of the *Yankang* 延康 reign-period (A.D. 220), which shows that the title granted to Zhang Gong 張恭 is Han’s 漢 rank but not that of Wei 魏. Since Zhang Gong 張恭 sent his son to Emperor Taizhu 太祖, the Ma Ai’s 馬艾 having died at his post may be before Cao Cao 曹操 died in the twenty-fifth year of the Jian’an 建安 reign-period (A.D. 220). This shows that the date as recorded in the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒 is correct. It is obviously inaccurate that Zhang Gong 張恭 was granted the rank during the *Huangchu* 黃初 reign-period, as stated in the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 18. This may simply have been mentioned in passing and is not worth investigating.

The “Memoir on Zhang Gong 張恭” also records that “After several years [when Zhang Gong 張恭 had been appointed to the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel], he was summoned to return, to be given the position of an attendant minister, and he ordered [Zhang] Jiu [張]就, his son, to replace him [to be the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel]. [Zhang] Gong [張]恭 completely and firmly refused [to assume office] because he was critically ill when he reached Dunhuang 敦煌. He died in the

middle of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 227–233), and the title of Chamberlain for the Imperial Insignia was conferred posthumously". This is to say that Zhang Gong 張恭 as the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, was succeeded by his son, Zhang Jiu 張就.

Zhang Jiu's 張就 term as the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel went on at least until the fourth year of the *Qinglong* 青龍 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明 (A.D. 236). In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 13, it is recorded:

[In the fourth year of the *Qinglong* 青龍 reign-period (A.D. 236)] , in the ninth month, Abishi 阿畢師, [the leader of] the barbarians beyond the barriers of Liang 涼 Province, sent his men to invade the various states. The Colonel of the Western Regions, Zhang Jiu 張就, attacked him, and the tribesmen who were beheaded or made prisoners numbered ten thousand.

"The Colonel of the Western Regions" is the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of the Western Regions. This shows that the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel established by Cao Wei 曹魏 was held responsible for the safety of the various states in the Western Regions.

In the "Liangzhou 涼州 (Liang 涼 Province)" section of the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 14, it is recorded that "the Provincial Governor, holding concurrently the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, protected the Western Regions as [had happened] in the former case of the Han 漢 Dynasty. It was kept until the Jin 晉 Dynasty" in Cao Wei 曹魏 times. From this, it can be seen that the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel which was established in the Cao Wei 曹魏 period, had taken orders from the Governor of Liang 涼 Province for a time. In the reference "as [had happened] in the former case of the Han 漢 Dynasty", the Han 漢 refers to the latter reign of the Eastern Han 漢.⁵

D

It seems that Cao Wei 曹魏 established the position of Chief Official of the Western Regions, in addition to the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of the Western Regions.

1. In the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 16 (Memoir on Cang Ci 倉慈), it is recorded that "During the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 227–233), [Cang Ci 倉慈] was promoted to be the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌.... When they heard [Cang] Ci 倉慈 had died, the various

barbarians all assembled at the seats of government of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel and *Zhangli* 長吏 to go into mourning. Some drew on their faces with knives to declare their sincere emotion. They founded a memorial temple for him and all together offered a sacrifice to him, at a distance". 長吏 may be a textual error for 長史, i.e., the Chief Official.⁶

2. Of the Chinese official documents which were unearthed from the relics of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭 to the northwest of Lob Nor, eleven have the reign titles of Cao Wei 曹魏. Of the eleven, five have the names of officials. Of these names, four also appear in the Chinese documents which had the reign titles of Western Jin 晉, unearthed from the same locale:⁷

Jiang 將 (general): This appears in a document of "the fourth year of the *Jingyuan* 景元 reign-period (A.D. 263)" of Emperor Yuan 元 of Wei 魏 (No. 330). It also appears in a document of the second year of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 266)" of Emperor Wu 武 of Jin 晉 (No. 239).

Lushi 錄事掾 (the Division Head of Recorders): This appears in a document of "the fourth year of the *Jingyuan* 景元 reign-period (A.D. 263)" of Emperor Yuan 元 of Wei 魏 (No. 330), and also in the documents of the fourth (No. 538, 570), fifth (No. 238) and sixth (No. 460, 494) year of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 268, 269 and 270)" of Emperor Wu 武 of Jin 晉.

Shushi 書史 (the Clerk of Writing): This appears in a document of "the third year of the *Xianxi* 咸熙 reign-period (A.D. 266)" of Emperor Yuan 元 of Wei 魏 (No. 253), also in a document of the second year of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 266)" of Emperor Wu 武 of Jin 晉 (No. 239).

Jian ... 監: This is seen in the documents of the third year of the *Xianxi* 咸熙 reign-period (A.D. 266) of Emperor Yuan 元 of Wei 魏 (No. 30, 240). From the "Jian 監" character downwards the text is missing. A similar case also appears in a document of the ... year of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 of Jin 晉 (No. 243). "Jian 監..." is possibly "Jianchang 監倉 (Superintendent of Storehouses)" or "Jianchangshi 監倉史 (the Clerk of the Superintendent of Storehouses)". There is "Jianchang ... 監倉" in a document with the ... year of the *Xianxi* 咸熙 reign-period (No. 260). "Jianchang 監倉" or "Jianchangshi 監倉史" also appears in the documents of the second (No. 239), third (No. 568), fourth (No. 570) and fifth (No. 238) years of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 266, 267, 268 and 269).

It also is possible that Jian ... 監匯 is *Jianzangyuan* 監藏掾 (the Division Head of the Superintendents of Stores) or *Jianliangyuan* 監量掾 (the Division Head of the Superintendents of Measure). The former also appears in a document of the fifth year of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (No. 620). The latter also appears in the documents of the fourth year of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 268) of Emperor Wu 武 of Jin 晉 (No. 538, 570).

On the basis of research about the official documents which were unearthed from the relics of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭 in Western Jin 晉 times, it can be seen that the Western Jin 晉 Dynasty established the Chief Official of the Western Regions at the place where the documents were unearthed and the above-mentioned officials all were the subordinates of the Chief Official. Therefore, combining the records in the "Memoir on Cang Ci 倉慈", the possibility that the Cao Wei 曹魏 Dynasty also established the Chief Official of the Western Regions at the place cannot be ruled out.⁸

It has been suggested that the date when the Cao Wei 曹魏 Dynasty established the Chief Official of the Western Regions is the third year of the *Huangchu* 黃初 reign-period (A.D. 222). This is because, according to the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 2, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was established in this year.⁹ In my opinion, it is quite possible that the Chief Official of the Western Regions and the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of the Western Regions were established in the same year, but there is no direct evidence. Therefore, it is better to say that the latest time at which the Cao Wei 曹魏 Dynasty would have established the Chief Official of the Western Regions was during the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明 (A.D. 227–233).

In the official documents of the Cao Wei 曹魏 period, which were unearthed from the relics of the former town of Loulan 樓蘭, there are dates as follows: the fourth year of the *Jiaping* 嘉平 reign-period (A.D. 252), the fourth and fifth year of the *Jingyuan* 景元 reign-period (A.D. 264), the first, second and third year of the *Xianxi* 咸熙 reign-period (A.D. 264, 265 and 266). Though there are many links missing, there is no harm in considering that after Emperor Ming 明 ascended the throne, Cao Wei 曹魏 established the Chief Official and the post continued without interruption.

The seat of the government of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was at Gaochang 高昌, and the Chief Official of the Western Regions, Loulan 樓蘭. Therefore, the above-quoted "Memoir on

Cang Ci 倉慈” says that the various barbarians founded a memorial temple for the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 at the seats of the government of the Colonel and the Chief Official and “all together offered a sacrifice to him at a distance”. The *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel took orders from the Governor of Liang 涼 Province, the Chief Official should also be like this.

Of the documents unearthed from the relics of Loulan 樓蘭, those that can be confirmed to belong to the Cao Wei 曹魏 Dynasty are infrequent. Therefore, it is difficult to describe the activities of the Chief Official of the Western Regions. However, since there are few documents, it seems likely that the scale on which Cao Wei 曹魏 managed the Western Regions was far less than the Eastern Han 漢. Since the resources of the Cao Wei 曹魏 Dynasty were small, the Chief Official and the Colonel may have played only the role of the Colonel [for the Assistance of Imperial] Envoys, which was established during the reign of Emperor Wu 武 in Western Han 漢 times.

E

The scale of management of the Western Regions in Cao Wei 曹魏 times cannot compare with that of Han 漢 times, but the economical communications between the Western Regions and the Central Plain were quite frequent in this period. The evidence is as follows:

1. According to the above-quoted *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 24 (Memoir on Cui Lin 崔林), in the reign of Emperor Wen 文 the merchants of the various states frequently passed themselves off as envoys when they reached Wei 魏.

2. In the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 16 (Memoir on Su Ze 蘇則) it is recorded that “Emperor Wen 文 asked Su Ze 蘇則, ‘In former days, Jiuquan 酒泉 and Zhangye 張掖 were destroyed, and communications with the Western Regions started. Dunhuang 燉煌 Prefecture offered large pearls that each had a diameter of 1 *cun* 寸. Can more be got by trade?’ Su Ze 蘇則 answered, ‘If Your Majesty’s moral education is universalized in the Middle Kingdom, and the virtue touches upon the deserts, it will reach of itself without request. Getting it after begging is not at all valuable’. The emperor fell silent”. The large pearls offered by Dunhuang 敦煌 might have come from the merchants of the Western Regions. “If the virtue touches upon the deserts, it will reach

of itself without request" can be regarded as the Confucianists' ideal state of ruling the barbarians.¹⁰

3. In the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 27 (Memoir on Xu Miao 徐邈), it is recorded that Xu Miao 徐邈 was the Governor of Liang 涼 Province during the reign of Emperor Ming 明, "The communications with the Western Regions started and the remote barbarians came over to present tribute. These all were the exploits of [Xu] Miao [徐]邈".¹¹ This shows that both the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel and the Chief Official of the Western Regions took orders from the Governor of Liang 涼 Province. It is also possible that Xu Miao 徐邈 held concurrently the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of the Western Region.

4. In the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 16 (Memoir on Cang Ci 倉慈) it is recorded that when [Cang] Ci [倉]慈 was the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture, "at ordinary times, the various barbarians of the Western Regions wanted to present tribute, but often they were cut off beforehand by the powerful families and great clans. When they traded, they were swindled and bullied, and was often unsure what the real situation was. The barbarians thus were often resentful, and [Cang] Ci [倉]慈 expressed sympathy and solicitude for them. He provided the [border] pass for those who wanted to go to Luoyang 洛陽. As for those who returned home from the [Dunhuang 敦煌] Prefecture, the officers bought their goods at reasonable prices and always exchanged the special products of the seat of government for their goods. He also ordered the officials and people to escort them along the roads. Therefore, the people and barbarians were united in admiring his morals and kindness".

From this, it can be seen that there were two kinds of merchants from the Western Regions at that time. For the first kind, the destination was Luoyang 洛陽. All who directly dealt with the royal court can be classified as this kind. For the second kind, the destination was Dunhuang 敦煌. They returned home after selling their goods at Dunhuang 敦煌.¹²

F

An edict of the Latter Lord, Liu Chan 劉禪, was issued in the fifth year of the *Jianxing* 建興 reign-period (A.D. 227), recorded in the *Zhuge Liang Ji* 諸葛亮集 (The Collected Works of

Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮), and cited by Pei's 裴 commentary on the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 33 (Memoir on the Latter Lord, Liu Chan 劉禪), which states:

The Chancellor, Zhuge [Liang] 諸葛 [亮], has high aspirations and iron determination and is a loyal, righteous and valiant man. He is selflessly concerned about our country. Our late Emperor had entrusted him with all the land under heaven, and encouraged Our private person. Now We award him the power with [white] pennants and [yellow] battle-axe, and hand over to him the authority to act absolutely; We order him to lead a force of twenty thousand infantry and cavalry and to command large war chariots to follow the will of Heaven to punish [the enemy]. Ending disasters and pacifying rebellion and recovering the former capital all hinge on the one action. ... The King of Wu 吳, Sun Quan 孫權, sharing Our distress, dispatched troops in secret to pin down the enemy from behind. The various kings from Liang 涼 Province respectively sent the barbarian nobles of the Yuezhi 月氏 and the Kangju 康居, Zhi Fu 支富, Kang Zhi 康植 with others, more than twenty men in all, to accept Our assignment. As soon as the main army sets out they will lead their military forces and brandish their dagger-axes at the front.

“The various kings from Liang 涼 Province” refers to the various kings of the Western Regions. This is because the Chief Official of the Western Regions who led the various states in the Western Regions had taken his orders from the Governor of Liang 涼 Province since the latter reign of the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty, thus the Western Regions in fact became an area under Liang 涼 Province’s jurisdiction. Because the areas under the Chief Official of the Western Regions’ jurisdiction were mainly the regions to the east of the Cong 葱 Mountains, “the various kings of Liang 涼 Province” must refer to the kings of the various oasis states on the Southern and Northern Routes. From this, it can be seen that the barbarian noble of the Yuezhi 月氏, Zhi Fu 支富, and the barbarian noble of the Kangju 康居, Kang Zhi 康植 and others who were sent by “the various kings of Liang 涼 Province” can only be the Yuezhi 月氏 and the Kangju 康居 people who emigrated to the east of the Cong 葱 Mountains.¹³

It has been suggested that Zhi Fu 支富 and Kang Zhi 康植 were sent by Liang 涼 Province.¹⁴ In my opinion, this view is unconvincing, because there are no kings in Liang 涼 Province.¹⁵

Of the barbarian nobles, Kang Zhi 康植 was, of course a Kangju 康居 man. However, it is also possible that he came from Sogdiana, which was subject to Kangju 康居 at that time. As to Zhi Fu 支富, some suggest that he was a descendant of the Xiao Yuezhi 月氏,¹⁶ and others suggest that he was a Da Yuezhi 月氏 or Kushan person.¹⁷ In my opinion, the edict says only that Zhi Fu 支富 was a noble of the Yuezhi 月氏, thus it is difficult to infer whether he was a Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏 or a Kushan person who had come east. Since the latter reign of the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty, there were no doubt many Kushan people who came to China among those whose surname was "Zhi 支", but the possibility that the people of the Xiao Yuezhi 月氏 had been given the surname "Zhi 支" also cannot be completely ruled out. Since "Yuezhi 月氏" was mentioned with "Kangju 康居" in the same sentence, the possibility that it refers to the Kushans seems to be greater.

The problem is, what is the reason the various kings of the Western Regions formed an alliance with Shu 蜀 and Wu 吳, and why did Zhi Fu 支富, Kang Zhi 康植 and others willingly "brandish their dagger-axes at front"?

As mentioned above, the large states in the Western Regions, such as Shanshan 鄯善 and others, had begun to present tribute from the third year of the *Huangchu* 黃初 reign-period (A.D. 222). The Cao Wei 曹魏 had established the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel at Gaochang 高昌 in the same year, and declared the intention of controlling of the Western Regions. However, from the records in the "Memoir on Xu Miao 徐邈" and the "Memoir on Cang Ci 倉慈", it is not difficult to discover that the economic contacts between the Western Regions and the interior were not propitious, at least in the reign of Emperor Wen 文. The barbarian merchants who went to Liang 涼 Province and Louyang 洛陽 made up a large number, but they were unable to make much profit, owing to frequent bullying and discrimination. This bad environment for trade did not seem to change much until Xu Miao 徐邈 took up the post of Governor of Liang 涼 Province. Of course, the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, Cang Ci 倉慈, also played a positive role.

When Xu Miao 徐邈 reached Liang 涼 Province, according to his memoir, "Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 happened to come out from Mount Qi 祁, and the three prefectures to the west of Mount Long 隴 revolted". The date is the second year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 228). The time when Cang Ci 倉慈 took up the post of the Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌 may be later than Xu 徐. Since this is so, it is easy to understand that in the fifth year of the Jianxing 建興 reign-period (A.D. 227), the various kings of the Western Regions, especially the barbarians of the surname Kang 康 or Zhi 支, who emigrated to the east of the Cong 葱 Mountains and probably made a living as merchants, greatly assisted Shu 蜀 in attacking Wei 魏. Xu 徐 and Cang's 倉 good treatment of the barbarian merchants may also have had something to do with it.

G

On the relations between the Western Jin 晉 and the various states in the Western Regions there are the following records:

1. In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 3, it is recorded that in the sixth year of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 270) in "the ninth month, Dayuan 大宛 presented blood-sweating horses. Yanqi 焉耆 came to present their local products".

2. In the *Jinshu* 晉書, 97 (the Memoir on the Western Rong 戎), it is recorded that "The state of Kangju 康居: ... its king sent an envoy to send a sealed letter to the emperor and to present good horses during the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 265–274)".

3. In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 3, it is recorded that in the first year of the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period (A.D. 280) in "the eighth month, [the king of] the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師 sent his son to attend at court".

4. In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 3, it is recorded that in the fourth year of the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period (A.D. 283) in "the eighth month, [the king of] the state of Shanshan 鄯善 sent his son to attend at court, and [the emperor] lent him the title of Noble of Guiyi 歸義 (Allegiance to the Right)". However, the *Jin Yong'an Qijuzhu* 晉永安起居注, cited by the *Chuxueji* 初學記, vol. 26, says that "in the fourth year of the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period (A.D. 283), [the king of] the state of Shanshan 鄯善 sent his son, Yuanying 元英, to attend at the court, and [the emperor]

invested Yuanying 元英 with the rank of Commandant of Cavalry, wearing the seals of the Acting Noble of Guiyi 歸義, of which one had a blue ribbon and one had a purple ribbon”.

5. 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 ... Da Qin 大秦 respectively sent envoys to present tribute”.

6. In 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 tenth month, “[the kings of] the states of Qiuci 龜茲 and Yanqi 焉耆 sent their sons to attend at the court”. In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 97 (Memoir on the Western Rong 戎), it is recorded that “During the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武(A.D. 260–289), the king [of the state of Yanqi 焉耆], Long An 龍安, sent his son to attend at court”. It is also recorded that “During the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武, its king sent his son to attend at court”. The date of both should be in the sixth year of the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period (A.D. 285).

7. In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 97 (Memoir on the Western Rong 戎), it is recorded that “The State of Dayuan: ... In the sixth year of the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period (A.D. 285), Emperor Wu 武 sent his envoy, Yang Hao 楊顥, to grant its king, Lanyu 藍庚, the title of King of Dayuan 大宛. After Lanyu 藍庚 died, his son, Mozhi 摩之 ascended the throne, and he sent an envoy [to the Jin 晉 court] to present a blood-sweating horse”.

8. In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 3, it is recorded that in the eighth year of the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period (A.D. 287), in the twelfth month, “... and the state of Kangju 康居 in the Western Regions respectively sent envoys to present tribute”.

From this, it can be seen that the period when there were the most close contacts with the Western Regions is the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 in Western Jin 晉 times, and there was a long intermission from the middle of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period to the beginning of the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period, about ten years in all. After the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period the contact was interrupted entirely. The Xianbei 鮮卑 of the Hexi 河西 region constantly dispatched troops to rebel against Jin 晉 from the sixth year of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 270), and it captured Liang 涼 Province for a time. There was chaos caused by war in the Hexi 河西 region in successive years, so that communication with the Western Regions could not

resume until the end of the fifth year of the *Xianning* 咸寧 reign-period (A.D. 279). Soon after the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period, the so-called "Rebellion of the Eight Kings", which lasted for sixteen whole years, took place, and the Western Jin 晉 Dynasty tended toward collapse from then on. One must consider that the above-cited records roughly reflect the true case even if they are not necessarily integrated.

According to the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 3, an edict issued in the sixth year of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 270), said, "Since the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period, the important matters all were recorded, and then the records were duplicated by the secretaries. If there are such matters in future it would be suitable to compile them and continue to do this". From this, one also can deduce that records about the various states in the Western Regions paying tribute should be relatively unabridged, and not many would be missing.

Of the various states in the Western Regions which came to present tribute to Jin 晉, the oasis states in the Tarim Basin were Yanqi 焉耆, the state of Nearer Jushi 車師, Shanshan 鄯善 and Qiuci 龜茲, four states in all. In the wooden documents from Jin 晉 times unearthed from Niya, it is recorded :

The imperial edict, which was delivered by the Acting Palace Attendant and the Chief Commandant of Jin 晉, Noble-in-chief Esteeming the Jin 晉 and kings of Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆, Qiuci 龜茲, Shule 疏勒, / Yutian 于寘 of the Qinjin 親晉 (Enjoy Friendly Relations with Jin 晉), had reached.... (No. 684 // 678)¹⁸

If we add the states of Shule 疏勒 and Yutian 于寘, as seen in this,¹⁹ then the number of states amounts to six. This is roughly the same as the number of the states which presented tribute to the Cao Wei 曹魏 Dynasty. As mentioned above, Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆, Qiuci 龜茲, Shule 疏勒, Yutian 于闐 and others had all been the hegemony on the Southern and Northern Routes in the Western Regions, and annexed or controlled the small states in Cao Wei 曹魏 times. In Cao Wei's 曹魏 records on the paying of tribute there were only these large oasis states, and almost no small states. This is probably a result of the fact that these large states dominated them. The fact that the states which paid tribute to Cao Wei 曹魏 were the same as those that paid to

Jin 晉 seems to show that there was not much to choose between the situations of the Western Regions in Western Jin 晉 and Cao Wei 曹魏 times.

The fact that the large oasis states presented tribute to Wei 魏 in the above-mentioned situation can of course not be regarded as an indication of Cao Wei's 曹魏 successful management of the Western Regions. On the contrary, this should be regarded as proof that Cao Wei 曹魏 could not control the Western Regions. For the Western Jin 晉, the case must be the same as for Cao Wei 曹魏.

Cao Wei 曹魏 granted the king of Further Jushi 車師 the post of "the Acting Palace Attendant of Wei 魏 with the title of Chief Commandant and the seal of the king of Wei 魏". The Western Jin 晉 granted the kings of Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆, Qiuci 龜茲, Shule 疏勒, and Yutian 于闐 the titles "Acting Palace Attendant of Jin 晉 and the Chief Commandant and Noble-in-chief Esteeming the Jin 晉 and the King of Qinjin 親晉 (Enjoy Friendly Relations with Jin 晉)". Both had the same nature. On its granting, the original intention might have been to control the Western Regions through these large states. However, its actual meaning, with regard to the Wei 魏 or Jin 晉 dynasties, was mostly aimed at presenting a false picture of peace and prosperity. And with regard to the state of Shanshan 鄯善 and others, it was to be able to flaunt the banner of Wei 魏 or Jin 晉 to control their adjacent small states and to contend with other large oasis states. This was the political purpose for which the kings of the states of Shanshan 鄯善, Qiuci 龜茲, Yanqi 焉耆 and others sent their sons to attend at court. Of course, various economic interests were also the reason why the large oasis states had kept their contacts with Wei 魏 or Jin 晉.

As for the states of Kangju 康居, Dayuan 大宛 and others, when they presented tribute to Jin 晉, as to Wei 魏, the main purpose possibly was to trade. The reason the king of Dayuan 大宛, Lanyu 藍夷, accepted the title which was granted by Jin 晉, as well as why the king of the Da Yuezhi 月氏, Bodiao 波調, accepted the title granted by Wei 魏, is more likely to be because of the prestige that remained from the time the Western and Eastern Han 漢 managed the Western Regions than because the influence of the dynasties in the Central Plain reached as far as the west of the Cong 葱 Mountains.

H

The Western Jin 晉, like Cao Wei 曹魏, also established the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of the Western Regions. The direct evidence is the two records in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 3:

1. In the first year of the *Xianning* 咸寧 reign-period (A.D. 275), in the sixth month, "The *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of the Western Regions, Ma Xun 馬循, sent a punitive expedition against the rebelling Xianbei 鮮卑, destroyed them, and cut down their leader".

2. In the second year of the *Xianning* 咸寧 reign-period (A.D. 275), in the seventh month, "[The chief of] the Xianbei 鮮卑, Aluoduo 阿羅多, and others invaded the borders. The *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of the Western Regions, Ma Xun 馬循, sent a punitive expedition against him and cut off more than four thousand heads and took more than nine thousand prisoners alive. Aluoduo 阿羅多 thereupon came to surrender".

In addition, the records in the above-cited "Liangzhou 涼州 (Liang 涼 Province)" section of the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 14, also can be regarded as evidence that the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was established in Western Jin 晉 times. The *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of the Western Jin 晉 Dynasty, like that of Cao Wei 曹魏, took orders from the Governor of Liang 涼 Province. Since the text says that the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was subject to Liang 涼 Province and this did not change "until the Jin 晉 Dynasty" from Wei 魏, one can see that the location of the seat of government of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel in Western Jin 晉 times was the same as during Cao Wei 曹魏; both were established at Gaochang 高昌. In fact, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel in Western Jin 晉 times is an extension of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of Cao Wei 曹魏.

It has been suggested that the name of Aluoduo 阿羅多, the chief of the Xianbei 鮮卑, who had "invaded the borders" is not similar to that of the Xianbei 鮮卑 people, but is the same as the king of Further Jushi 車師, who reigned in the first year of the *Yongxing* 永興 reign-period of Emperor Huang 桓 (A.D. 153). Therefore, he was possibly of the Jushi 車師 people. This may show that the state of Further Jushi 車師 had been destroyed by the Xianbei 鮮卑 at that time, and that those who invaded the borders were the people of the state of Further Jushi 車師 who had surrendered to the Xianbei 鮮卑.²⁰ In my opinion, to this day, no record concerning the relationship between the Western Jin 晉 and the state of Further Jushi 車師 has been discovered. This shows that the state of Further Jushi 車師 had possibly been destroyed by the Xianbei 鮮卑.

as late as the foundation of the Jin 晉 Dynasty. Since this is so, it is possible that Aluoduo 阿羅多, who invaded the borders, came from the former lands of the state of Further Jushi 車師, and that Gaochang 高昌 was the first to be affected. This would seem to indicate the reason why the seat of the government of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of the Western Jin 晉 Dynasty was at Gaochang 高昌.

Besides the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, the Western Jin 晉 also established the Chief Official of the Western Regions, evidence for which appears in the official documents in Western Jin 晉, which were unearthed from Loulan 樓蘭.

Issued: Of sealed reports of the Chief Official, one for the government of Jiuquan 酒泉 Prefecture, two for the government of Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture. Sixteen sealed account books.... In the sixth year of the Taishi 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 270), the third month, on the fifteenth day ... the Vice-Division Head [Rank] at Loulan 樓蘭.

Twelve sealed letters for the seat of government of Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture and two for Wang Huai 王懷 and Han Xin 闕頎.... Ma Li 馬厲 submitted the official documents to ... Sun Decheng 孫得成. (No. 296)

“Chief Official” was obviously the Chief Official of the Western Regions, whose seat of government was located at Loulan 樓蘭.

The earliest dates seen in the official documents in the Western Jin 晉 times unearthed from Loulan 樓蘭 are in the second year of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 266). The dates seen in the documents of Cao Wei 曹魏 times from Loulan 樓蘭 are the second year of the *Xianxi* 咸熙 reign-period (A.D. 265) and the third year. From this, it can be seen that Western Jin’s 晉 garrison at Loulan 樓蘭 continued from Cao Wei 曹魏 and had been not suspended.

Besides the second year of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 266), the dates seen in the Western Jin 晉 official documents unearthed from Loulan 樓蘭 are the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth years of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 267, 268, 269 and 270), and the fourth year (A.D. 310) and sixth year of the *Yongjia* 永嘉 reign-period (A.D. 310 and 312). It is notable that

there is a blank of forty years between the sixth year of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 270) and the fourth year of the *Yongjia* 永嘉 reign-period (A.D. 312).

As mentioned above, the written records show that the contacts between the Western Jin 晉 and the Western Regions possibly were cut off from the middle of the *Tianshi* 泰始 reign-period to the end of the *Xianning* 咸寧 reign-period because of the continued chaos caused by war in the Hexi 河西 region. Therefore, the fact that no documents were discovered from the latter term of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period to the end of the *Xianning* 咸寧 reign-period can be explained by the garrison at Loulan 樓蘭 also having to interrupt communication in this period.

In addition, as mentioned above, the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period is the period of the most frequent contact between the Western Jin 晉 and the Western Regions. Therefore, it is quite possible that the communications with the garrison at Loulan 樓蘭 had been interrupted communications in the latter stage of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period may have been recovered. And it is probably purely due to chance that the documents from Loulan 樓蘭 in this period were not discovered. As for the time after the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period, because the Western Jin 晉 Dynasty moved towards collapse owing to internal disorder, contacts with the Western Regions were cut off once again, and the Chief Official of the Western Regions also possibly was abolished. The garrison at Loulan 樓蘭 was not opened up until some years after Zhang Gui 張軌 took control of the government of Liang 涼 Province. This may be the reason why only the reign title of *Yongjia* 永嘉 appears in the documents but the other reign titles after *Taikang* 太康 do not.

Of course, besides the above-mentioned possibilities, another possibility cannot yet be ruled out: that the garrison that was cut off during the latter *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period was not recovered until Zhang Gui 張軌 was appointed governor of Liang 涼 Province.

In addition, Aurel Stein discovered dozens of wooden documents from the ruins in the lower reaches of the Niya River. Most of them are official documents. Of these official documents, some date from the fifth year of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 269). Therefore, they are generally considered to be wooden documents of Jin 晉 times. In one significant document, it is recorded:

The document of the Superintendent of State Visits duplicated by the camp of the Chief Official of the Western Regions has reached here. We, according to the documents, are to find, seize, and then report it, on this, the twentieth day of the eleventh month in accordance with imperial edicts, statutes and ordinances.

Since what was duplicated by the camp of the Chief Official of the Western Regions was “the document of the Superintendent of State Visits”, it is evident that the document was one which was issued to the various states of the Western Regions. The ruins of Niya were located in the state of Jingjue 精絕 in Han 漢 times, which was subject to the state of Shanshan 鄯善 then. Since the title of the king of Shanshan 鄯善 was conferred by Jin 晉, it should have acted on the imperial edicts and ordinances. However, this was usually confined to “find and seize”, etc.

I

Some have tried to prove that the Western Jin 晉 Dynasty established a Shanshan 鄯善 Prefecture during the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 265–274).²¹ If this is true, this would have been a great event in the history of the relations between the Western Jin 晉 and the Western Regions. Thus it is necessary to examine the evidence.

On the theory that the Western Jin 晉 had established a Shanshan 鄯善 Prefecture, there are three main arguments. Regrettably, all seem to be untenable.

1. Of the Kharoṣṭhī documents, there are three wooden documents (No. 571, 590, 640)²² on whose reverse are the same Chinese seal characters. The impression of the seal reads 鄯善郡尉 (the Prefecture Defender of Shanshan 鄯善). According to the records in the written documents, Emperor Yang 煬 of Sui 隋 was the first to establish Shanshan 鄯善 Prefecture. However, various evidence shows that related Kharoṣṭhī documents may date from the third or fourth century. Therefore, we must suppose that either the Cao Wei 曹魏 or the Western Jin 晉 dynasties established Shanshan 鄯善 Prefecture.

Some have read the impression of the seal 鄯善郡尉 as 鄯善都尉 (the Commandant of Shanshan 鄯善).²³ In my opinion, this may be correct, for the following reasons:

First, “the Commandant of Shanshan 鄯善” in the state of Shanshan 鄯善, is clearly recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96A. It is possible that this official title continued to be used until Wei 魏 and Jin 晉 times. Since the Kharoṣṭhī documents were subject to the documents of the state of Shanshan 鄯善, it is also reasonable that they would be under the seal of the state of Shanshan 鄯善. The scholar who holds the above-mentioned theory has tried to explain the contradiction that the documents of the state of Shanshan 鄯善 carry the official seal of Shanshan 鄯善 Prefecture: Shanshan 鄯善 Prefecture, which was established by Cao Wei 曹魏 or Western Jin 晉 was abolished during the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 265–274). The original official seal of Shanshan 鄯善 Prefecture was handed about and used as a mark by the Shanshan 鄯善 people. This is the reason the contents of the three documents on which this mark was sealed have nothing to do with the duty of the Prefecture Defender. However, this does not mean that the contents of the three documents necessarily have nothing to do with the duty of the Commandant of Shanshan 鄯善. Even if the contents of the documents have nothing to do with the duty of the Commandant of Shanshan 鄯善, it also possible that the Chinese seal of the Commandant of Shanshan 鄯善 was used as a mark during the period when the Kharoṣṭhī was current throughout the state of Shanshan 鄯善.

Second, in the second year of the middle part of the reign of Emperor Jing 景 of the Western Han 漢 Dynasty (A.D. 148), 郡尉 the “Prefecture Defender” had been renamed 都尉 “Commandant”, and this is recorded in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 19A. From then to Sui 隋 times, the title of 郡尉 had not been recovered. This official title disappeared not only in the documents of Wei 魏 and Jin 晉, but also in the inland and the borderline prefectures in the same period. That is to say, even if a Shanshan 鄯善 Prefecture had been established in Wei 魏 or Jin 晉, it would be impossible that there was a 鄯善郡尉 (Shanshan Prefecture Defender) and the seal of “鄯善郡尉” (“Shanshan Prefecture Defender”).

2. Definite records concerning the Shanshan 鄯善 Prefecture in the documents of Jin 晉 times were unearthed from Loulan 樓蘭.

The so-called records about Shanshan 鄯善 Prefecture in the documents mainly refer to the following one:

In the tenth month, on the fourth day, this has been written. Xuan 玄 in Yanqi 焉耆 kowtows and says,

... The Supervisor of Post, Yanshi 彥時, the Major, Yanzu 彥祖, and their attendants respectively....

... family members together with myself and all is well, but [you] are very much missed because of being long parted from us and separated at a great distance....

... when...the trade has roughly ended. No place under control of the talented officials [is unable to be effective]....

... Recently, I spoke of missing you once again, ...and happened to hear that someone has come from the prefecture....

... the Director of Government Office, Xu 徐, ... is at the mountain town. The Chief Official, Tang 唐, is at....

... Bo Jin 伯進 is the Supervisor of Post in the East, who corrected me and said, "It should...".

... as like as. Yanzu 彥祖.... (No. 2)

This is a letter to Loulan 樓蘭 from Yanqi 焉耆 which was sent by a man whose name was Xuan 玄. The addressee was Yanshi 彥時, and his official position was the Supervisor of Post. It is suggested that the *fujun* 府君 (the Director of Government Office), Xu 徐, who appears in the letter, must have been the Administrator of Shanshan 鄯善 Prefecture at that time because *fujun* 府君 was an honorific form of the title Administrator. And the Chief Official, Tang 唐, must have been the Chief Official of the Western Regions then. There existed both the Administrator Xu 徐 and the subordinate officials -- the Supervisor of Post, Wang Yanshi 彥時, and the Supervisor of Post in the East, Bo Jin 伯進. This shows that the prefecture, as seen in the reference "someone from the prefecture", must have been Shanshan 鄯善 Prefecture, which was established at Loulan 樓蘭.

However, the document itself cannot prove that Xu 徐, the Administrator, was in Loulan 樓蘭 at that time. All the more, even if Xu 徐 was in Loulan 樓蘭, this would not prove that the

seat of government of the prefecture was in Loulan 樓蘭. It is quite possible that Xu 徐 momentarily stayed in Loulan 樓蘭 for some reason. According to the same reasoning, that the Supervisor of Post was in Loulan 樓蘭 also does not prove that seat of the government was in Loulan 樓蘭. A prefecture in Jin 晉 times was divided into two offices. A Supervisor of Post was set up in each office. Wang Yanshi 王彥時, who was in Loulan 樓蘭, may have been the Supervisor of Post in the West. Bo Jin 伯進, the Supervisor of Post in the East, was alluded to in the document, which shows that he might not have been in Loulan 樓蘭 at that time. As for the "prefecture" mentioned by the document, there is no harm in considering that it refers to Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture. Since the writer and addressee both were subordinate officials of this prefecture, they might call it "the prefecture" for short.²⁴

"Prefecture" and "*fujun* 府君 (the Director of Government Office)", which are mentioned in other documents (No. 1 recto), also can be connected with Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture.

In addition, there is an account for red millet issued to the soldiers (No. 1 verso), and after it an account of how much red millet was issued and to which soldiers. There is a grand total in which is recorded such items as "Issued: various grains one hundred and eighty-seven *hu* 斛 [a dry measure] and four *dou* 斗" in the end. After each account there is the sentence, "the document was submitted to the prefecture". Two such documents have been discovered. It is suggested that this document is that of the Chief Official of the Western Regions. That "the document was submitted to the prefecture" refers to sending an official communication composed of accounts to the government of the prefecture. Therefore, "prefecture" here does not refer to the other prefectures but only to the local prefecture, i.e., Shanshan 鄯善 Prefecture.

In my opinion, there is no harm in regarding 郡 ("prefecture") in the reference 行書入郡 ("the document was submitted to the prefecture") as Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture. Since Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture was the local prefecture, it could be called "the prefecture" for short in the documents of the government of the Chief Official.

3. Third, in the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 4, in the fifth year of the *Jianping* 建平 reign-period of King of Qi 齊, Fang 芳 (A.D. 253), "From the time when the Emperor ascended the throne to this year, many prefectures, states, counties and circuits were established or abolished. But some of them were recovered again very soon, though exact numbers could not be counted".

And according to the "Yizhou 伊州" section of the "Longyoudao 隴右道 B" chapter of the *Yuanhe Junxian Tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志, "Yiwu 伊吾 County was established in Wei 魏 times, and the Commandant of Yiwu 伊吾 was established in Jin 晉 times. Each entrusted its seat of government to the northern borders of Dunhuang 敦煌, but were not located in the present Yi 伊 Prefecture". From this, one can see that Yiwu 伊吾 County was first established in Cao Wei 曹魏 times. Since Yiwu 伊吾 County "entrusted its seat of government to the northern borders of Dunhuang 敦煌", the county was originally not under Dunhuang 敦煌. In other words, Yiwu 伊吾 County was originally located in the present Xingjiang 新疆 Province, not Gansu 甘肅 Province. It was not under Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture, but Shanshan 鄯善 Prefecture. The latter belonged to "prefectures, states, counties and circuits", which were abolished very soon after being established at the end of the reign of the Cao Wei 曹魏 Dynasty.

In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. The reference "entrusted its seat of government" and so on, says that [Yiwu 伊吾 County] entrusted its seat of government to the northern borders of Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture. The *Yuanhe Junxian Tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志 says that the areas under the administration of both Yiwu 伊吾 County in Wei 魏 times and the Commandant of Yiwu 伊吾 in Jin 晉 times were located in Yiwu 伊吾 (Yi 伊 Prefecture in Tang 唐 times) and were not under Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture, but that their seats of governments were located in the northern borders of Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture. From this, it is not difficult to see that Yiwu 伊吾 County in Wei 魏 times and the Commandant of Yiwu 伊吾 in Jin 晉 times were undoubtedly subject to the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel.

Notes

1. In the *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54, it is recorded that "During the reign of Emperor Wen 文 of the Wei 魏 Dynasty its king, Shanxi 山習, presented a renowned horse". It is possible that the event occurred in the third year of the *Huangchu* 黃初 reign-period (A.D. 222).
2. For example: the records concerning Tiaozhi 條枝, Lixuan 黎軒 and Da Qin 大秦. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 182–209.
3. The circumstances of Da Yuezhi 大月氏, i.e., the Kushan Empire, was not the same as the oasis states, such as Shanshan 鄯善, and should be regarded as a different matter.

4. Hu’s 胡 commentary on the “Weiji 魏紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒 says that “Since the reign of Emperor An 安, the [Eastern] Han 漢 Dynasty had always wanted contact with the Western Regions, but was unable to effect it. At this time the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel was established but this was not equal to the [Western] Han’s 漢 setting up the agricultural colony at Jushi 車師”.
5. Ma (1990-2).
6. Wang G. (1984-1).
7. The Chinese wooden documents as seen in this chapter are all cited from Lin.
8. Cf. Wang G. (1984-1) and Huang L. (1987-1).
9. Wang G.
10. Ise, p. 95, considers that, owing to believing the words of Su Ze 蘇則, Emperor Wen 文 gave up the plan to reestablish trade with the Western Regions. In my opinion, this theory is incorrect.
11. In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 26, it is also recorded that “The people from the Western Regions came to present tribute and the wealth and goods circulated, which all was the contribution of [Xu] Miao [徐]邈”.
12. Ma (1990-3).
13. Ma (1990-4).
14. Ise, p. 98; Enoki (1978).
15. In the *Sanguozhi* 三國志, ch. 6, it is recorded that in the second year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 367), in the Spring, in the first month, “Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮, the Senior General of Shu 蜀 invaded the borders, and the officials and people in the three prefectures of Tainshui 天水, Nan’an 南安, and Anding 安定 rebelled and supported [Zhuge] Liang [諸葛]亮. [Emperor Ming 明] sent the the Supreme General, Cao Zhen 曹真, to command west of Tong 潼 Barrier and advance. The General of the Right, Zhang He 張郃 attacked [Zhuge] Liang [諸葛]亮 at Jie Ting 街亭, and routed him. [Zhuge] Liang [諸葛]亮 fled after the defeat and the three prefectures were pacified down”. In the same book, ch. 9 (Memoir on Cao Zhen 曹真), it is recorded that “Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 besieged Mount Qi 祁, and the three prefectures of Nan’an 南安, Tainshui 天水, and Anding 安定 rebelled and supported [Zhuge] Liang [諸葛]亮. The emperor sent [Cao] Zhen [曹]真 to lead the troops and man the station at Mei 郿. [Cao Zhen 曹真] sent Zhang He 張郃 to attack a general of [Zhuge] Liang [諸葛]亮, Ma Su 馬謖, and he routed him. Yang Tiao 楊條 and others, who were from Anding 安定 Prefecture, robbed the officials and people, establishing themselves at the town of Yuezhi 月支, and [Cao] Zhen [曹]真 advanced and besieged it”. On the basis of this, we know that during the period when Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 made his first northern expedition, there were forces able to rebel against Wei 魏 in Liang 涼 Province (the three prefectures of Nan’an 南安, Tianshui 天水, and Anding 安定 were subject to Liang 涼 Province in Eastern Han 漢 times). And there was a town called

Yuezhi 月支 in the province. Since this was so, it seems also possible that Zhi Fu 支富 and others came from Liang 涼 Province. However, the officials and people in the three prefectures who rebelled against Wei 魏 and supported Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 did not establish themselves as kings; therefore it is impossible that "the various kings from Liang 涼 Province" originally were in Liang 涼 Province.

16. Enoki (1978).
17. Ma (1990-3) and Ma (1990-4).
18. This was originally two wooden documents, and they were determined to be parts of a single wooden document because "the significance is uninterrupted and the handwriting is the same [in the two parts]". See Wang G. (1984-2).
19. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 82 (Memoir on Zu Ying 祖瑩), it is recorded that "During the *Xiaochang* 孝昌 reign-period (A.D. 525–527) an ancient jade seal was unearthed in the mansion of the King of Guangping 廣平. The emperor called together [Zu] Ying [祖]瑩 and the Gentleman Attendant at the Palace Gate, Li Yanzhi 李琰之, and ordered them to establish the date at the seat. [Zu] Ying [祖]瑩 said that it was what the king of the state of Yutian 于闐 was given in the middle of the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period of Jin 晉 (A.D. 280–289). Thereupon they smeared the characters in it with Chinese ink and looked at the impression. It was exactly as [Zu] Ying [祖]瑩, had said, and he thus was called erudite by his contemporaries". From this, it can be seen that Yutian 于闐 had presented tribute during the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period of Jin 晉.
20. Meng (1985), pp. 47–48.
21. Ma (1990-5).
22. *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, tr. and ed. by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson, E. Senart and P. S. Noble, Oxford, 1920–1929.
23. *XJLSWW*, p. 18.
24. Cf. Meng (1990), pp. 213–217.

Chapter 5

The Earlier Liang Dynasty and the Western Regions

A

After the Western Jin 晉 Dynasty, the Earlier Liang 涼 Dynasty, i.e., a regime of the surname Zhang 張 in the Hexi 河西 region, continued to be in contact with the various states in the Western Regions. It has generally been suggested that this regime began with Zhang Gui 張軌 (A.D. 301–314), who was succeeded by Zhang Shi 張寔 (A.D. 314–320), and Zhang Mao 張茂 (A.D. 320–324), and attained its height during the reign periods of Zhang Jun 張駿 (A.D. 324–346) and Zhang Zhonghua 張重華 (A.D. 346–353). During this period communications between the Earlier Liang 涼 Dynasty and the various states in the Western Regions were at their closest.

In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 86 (the Memoir on Zhang Gui 張軌), it is recorded that “[Zhang] Gui [張]軌 secretly planned to occupy the Hexi 河西 region... At the beginning of the *Yongning* 永寧 reign-period (A.D. 301), he took up the post of Colonel Protecting the Qiang 羌 and the Governor of Liang 涼 Province”.¹ After Zhang Gui 張軌 had died, according to the same chapter (the Memoir on Zhang Shi 張寔), his son, Shi 寔, bore an imperial edict to be “Holding a Credential and Commanding Various Military Affairs of Liang 涼 Province, the General of the Gentlemen of the Household in the West, the Governor of Liang 涼 Province, Concurrently the Colonel Protecting the Qiang 羌, and the Duke of Xiping 西平”.² Since Zhang Gui 張軌 and his sons were made Governors of Liang 涼 Province, it was fitting that the Western Regions came within their jurisdiction.

After Zhang Shi 張寔 died, according to the same chapter (the Memoir on Zhang Mao 張茂), his younger brother, Mao 茂, was put up by the people of the province as “Commander-in-chief, Grand Commandant, Governor of Liang 涼 Province. [Zhang] Mao [張]茂 did not accede to this, but only accepted “Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, General of Pacifying the West, and Governor of Liang 涼 Province”.³ “The posts were not appointed by the imperial mandates and the positions were consulted in private”, but since he claimed to be “the Governor of Liang 涼 Province”, it suited him to regard the putting in order of the Western Regions as his duty. And according to the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 103, after Zhang Mao 張茂 had declared himself a

vassal, Liu Yao 劉曜 "sent his Superintendent of State Visits, Tian Song 田松, who appointed [Zhang] Mao [張]茂, Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers; Act Yellow Battle-axe; Palace Attendant; Commanding Various Military Affairs of Liang 涼, Southern and Northern Qin 秦, Liang 梁, Yi 益, Ba 巴, Han 漢 Provinces, the Various Barbarians and the Xiongnu 匈奴 in the West of Mount Long 隴 and the Western Regions; Grand Preceptor; Concurrently Grand Marshal; the Governor of Liang 涼 Province; Concurrently Grand Protector General of the Western Regions; Colonel of Protecting the Di 氐 and Qiang 羌, the King of Liang 涼".⁴ This shows that Liu Yao 劉曜 also acknowledged his mastery of the Western Regions.

There were no grand acts regarding the Western Regions during the reign periods from Zhang Gui 張軌 to Zhang Mao 張茂. Only the posts of Chief Official of the Western Regions and the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel were maintained. This is probably because the turbulence of the Central Plains spread to the western border, and there were flames of war in Liang 涼 Province for many years.⁵

Among the Chinese documents unearthed from the ruins of Loulan 樓蘭, there are documents with the dates of the fourth and sixth year of the *Yongjia* 永嘉 reign-period (A.D. 310 and 312), and the latest date is the sixth year of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 270) before these.⁶ There is evidence to show that the establishment of the Chief Official of the Western Regions was not necessarily continuous from the sixth year of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period (A.D. 270) to the fourth year of the *Yongjia* 永嘉 reign-period (A.D. 310). It is quite possible that the troops stationed at Loulan 樓蘭 were not replaced until Zhang Gui 張軌 took up the post of the Governor of Liang 涼 Province.⁷

The *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel at Gaochang 高昌 appears to have existed during the reign of Zhang Gui 張軌 and his sons, three men in all. According to the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 86 (Memoir on Zhang Shi 張寔), after Zhang Shi 張寔 had succeeded to the throne, "as Assistant Head of the Department for Robbers, Wei Jin 隗瑾, who was from Gaochang 高昌, offered a piece of advice.... [Zhang] Shi [張]寔 took his advice, promoted him three ranks and granted him forty bolts of silk".⁸ Wei Jin 隗瑾, who must have come from an old and well-known family in Gaochang 高昌, was called up to be an assistant of the Provincial Governor. This shows that Gaochang 高昌 was under Liang 涼 Province authority at that time, to a certain extent at least.

It must be pointed out that the relationship between the regime of Liang 涼 Province and the Western Regions before the Western Jin 晉 Dynasty became extinct can be regarded as a part of the relationship between the Western Jin 晉 Dynasty and the Western Regions. The relationship between the regime of Zhang's 張 family and the Western Regions after the Western Jin 晉 Dynasty had become extinct may be included in the relationship between the Earlier Liang 涼 Dynasty and the Western Regions, even though Zhang's 張 family was still devoted to the Jin 晉 Dynasty or at least claimed to be devoted to the Jin 晉 Dynasty for a quite long period after this.

B

In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 86 (Memoir on Zhang Jun 張駿), it is recorded that "Since Zhang Gui 張軌 occupied Liang 涼 Province, there has been disorder under heaven, there were punitive expeditions everywhere, and the army was called out every year. The situation within the boundaries of the province gradually quieted until [Zhang] Jun [張]駿 ascended the throne". It is evident that Zhang's family could not partake in affairs of the Western Regions until Zhang Jun 張駿 ascended the throne. The first step in Zhang Jun's 張駿 management of the Western Regions was to control Gaochang 高昌. According to the same chapter,

The Chief Official of the Western Regions, Li Bo 李柏, requested permission to attack the rebel general, Zhao Zhen 趙貞, but he was defeated by [Zhao] Zhen [趙]貞. The advisors considered that, since [Li] Bo [李]柏 had made the plan and caused this defeat, they requested leave to put him to death. [Zhang] Jun [張]駿 said that "I have often considered that Emperor Shizong 世宗 of Han 漢 killing Wang Hui 王恢 was not as good as Duke Mu 穆 of Qin 秦 pardoning Meng Ming 孟明". [Li Bo's 李柏] death-penalty was reduced in the end, and everyone was glad to acquiesce.

The "rebel general" was in fact the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel at Gaochang 高昌, for in the same chapter it is recorded:

Formerly, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, Zhao Zhen 趙貞, had not attached himself to [Zhang] Jun [張]駿. At this time, however,, [Zhang] Jun [張]駿 attacked and captured him, and established Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture in the land.⁹

Zhao Zhen 趙貞 is called the “rebel general” because he did not attach himself to [Zhang] Jun [張]駿. This shows that Zhang Jun 張駿 considered himself to be a minister of the Jin 晉 Dynasty.¹⁰ Li Bo 李柏 made the plan to attack Zhao Zhen 趙貞, and was condemned to death because of being defeated. The reason his death-penalty was reduced is that his plan deeply moved Zhang Jun 張駿. As a regime in the Hexi 河西 region, if it wanted to expand to the Western Regions, controlling Gaochang 高昌 would be best thing to do. Eventually, Zhao Zhen 趙貞 was captured by Zhang Jun 張駿.

There is no clear record of the date when Zhang Jun 張駿 captured Zhao Zhen 趙貞 in the historical books. In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 86 (Memoir on Zhang Jun 張駿), the event is recorded after the paragraph reading “[Liu] Yao [劉]曜 attacked Fuhan 枹罕, the Protecting Army, and Xin Yan 辛晏 reported the emergency. [Zhang] Jun [張]駿 sent Han Pu 韓璞 and Xin Yan 辛巖, leading a force of twenty thousand cavalry, to attack it and do battle at Lintao 臨洮 but they were utterly defeated by [Liu] Yao [劉]曜. [Han] Pu 韓璞 and the others retreated and [Liu Yao 劉曜] chased them as far as Lingju 令居. [Zhang] Jun [張]駿 thereupon lost the lands in Henan 河南”, appears before in the paragraph that states “After Shi Le 石勒 killed Liu Yao 劉曜, [Zhang] Jun [張]駿 recovered the lands of Henan 河南 because Chang’an 長安 was in disorder”. The time when Zhang Jun 張駿 lost the lands of Henan 河南 was the tenth month in the second year of the *Xianhe* 咸和 reign-period (A.D. 327), the time when Shi Le 石勒 killed Liu Yao 劉曜 was in the fourth year of the *Xianhe* 咸和 reign-period, and the time when Zhang Jun 張駿 recovered the lands of Henan 河南 was in the fifth month of the next year. “At this time” in the above-cited text must refer to the time when Zhang Jun 張駿 lost the lands of Henan 河南. Accordingly Zhang Jun 張駿 must have captured Zhao Zhen 趙貞 after the tenth month of the second year of the *Xianhe* 咸和 reign-period (A.D. 327). The *Diyuzhi* 地輿志, cited by the *Chuxueji* 初學記, ch. 8, says, that “Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture was established and Tiandi 田地 County thus was founded in the second year of the *Xianhe* 咸和 reign-period of Jin 晉 (A.D.

327)". From this, it can be seen that Zhao Zhen 趙貞 was captured and Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture was established before the end of the second year of the *Xianhe* 咸和 reign-period (A.D. 327).¹¹

Since the time when Zhang Jun 張駿 captured Zhao Zhen 趙貞 was in the second year of the *Xianhe* 咸和 reign-period (A.D. 327), it is clear that Li Bo 李柏 made the plan to attack Zhao Zhen 趙貞 before this year. Also, in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 86 (Memoir on Zhang Jun 張駿), it is recorded that "the various states in the Western Regions presented blood-sweating horses, fire-washed cloth, humped cattle, peacocks, a large elephant, and diversified rare goods, two hundred and more in all" before the paragraph "The Chief Official of the Western Regions, Li Bo 李柏, requested permission to attack the rebel general, Zhao Zhen 趙貞". In my opinion, it is quite possible that the period when the various states in the Western Regions came to present tribute in such as large scale was in the third year of the *Taining* 太寧 reign-period (A.D. 325), i.e., the year after Zhang Jun's 張駿 succession. The diverse rare goods may be the gift. If this is true, it must have been in this year or later that Li Bo 李柏 made the plan.¹²

As for the date of Zhang Jun's 張駿 control of Loulan 樓蘭, besides the above-cited records on Li Bo 李柏, a document with the date of the eighteenth year of the *Jianxing* 建興 reign-period (A.D. 330), also can be regarded as evidence.¹³

C

In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 86 (Memoir on Zhang Jun 張駿), it is recorded that Zhang Jun 張駿 "also sent his general, Yang Xuan 楊宣, to lead the troops, cross the flowing sands, and attack Qiuci 龜茲 and Shanshan 鄯善. Thereupon [the various states in] the Western Regions all surrendered. The king of the state of Shanshan 鄯善, Yuanmeng 元孟 presented his daughter, who was called Beauty. [Zhang Jun 張駿] founded Binxia 賓遐 Temple to get her. The kings of the states of Yanqi 焉耆, the Nearer [Jushi 車師] and Yutian 于寘 all sent envoys to present their local products". These matters obviously took place after the government of the prefecture was established at Gaochang 高昌, but the specific date was clearly unknown.

Under the first year of the *Xiankang* 咸康 reign-period (A.D. 335) in the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, the following affairs of the Earlier Liang 涼 Dynasty are recorded:

Formerly, Zhang Gui 張軌 and his two sons, [Zhang] Shi [張]寔 and [Zhang] Mao [張]茂, once occupied the west bank of the Yellow River, but there were military problems in every year. The situation gradually became quiet within the boundaries of the province, until [Zhang] Jun [張]駿 ascended the throne. [Zhang] Jun [張]駿 was diligent in government affairs, commanding civil and military officials, and this led everybody to wish to bring his talents into play. The people were rich and the army was strong. He was widely applauded and was regarded as a sagacious lord. [Zhang] Jun [張]駿 sent the general Yang Xuan 楊宣 to attack Qiuci 龜茲 and Shanshan 鄯善, and the various states in the Western Regions, such as Yanqi 焉耆 and Yutian 于寘, all came over to Guzang 姑臧 to present tribute. [Zhang] Jun [張]駿 built five palaces to the south of Guzang 姑臧, and the government officials all declared themselves to be his vassals.

[Zhang] Jun [張]駿 had the ambition to annex Qin 秦 and Yong 雍. He sent the Adjutant, Qu Hu 鞠護, to take a petition to [the Emperor of Jin 晉], which suggested that [Shi] Le [石]勒 and [Li] Xiong [李]雄 had died, which [Shi] Hu [石]虎 and [Li] Qi [李]期 had followed them in rebelling. The masses of the common people were estranged from their lord and the story was passed down through generations. The old men died and the young men no longer remembered. The feeling toward [the emperor] changed from one of adoration to one of aloofness and obliviousness day by day. Therefore he begged [the emperor] to order the Minister of Works, [Xi] Jian [郗]鑒, and the General of Conquering the West, [Yu] Liang [庾]亮, and others to take boats on the Jiang 江 and Mian 沔 rivers and advance from the two ends at the same time.

It seems that both Yang Xuan's 楊宣 attack on Qiuci 龜茲, Shanshan 鄯善, and Yanqi 焉耆, and Yutian's 于闐 presentation tribute to Guzang 姑臧 took place in the first year of the *Xiankang* 咸康 reign-period (A.D. 335). However, if we read carefully the records in the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, it is not difficult to discover that the only matter recorded in the first year of the *Xiankang* 咸康 reign-period (A.D. 335) is that Zhang Jun 張俊 "sent the Adjutant, Qu Hu 鞠護, to take a

petition to [the Emperor of Jin 晉]" and the rest is just the background to sending up the petition. This is to say that the other events may have taken place before the first year of the *Xiankang* 咸康 reign-period (A.D. 335).

In the "Qianliang Lu 前涼錄" chapter of the *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 124, it is recorded that:

In the eighth year, the group of officials advised [Zhang] Jun [張]駿 to proclaim himself the King of Liang 涼 and to establish various offices. [Zhang] Jun [張]駿 said, "this should not be done at the word of the vassals. If any dared to say this, his offense could not be pardoned". They also begged to establish the heir, and thereupon Zhonghua [張]重華 was established as heir. In the twelfth month, the king of the state of Shanshan 鄯善, Yuanmeng 元孟, presented his daughter, who was extremely pretty, and was called Beauty. [Zhang Jun 張駿] founded Binxia 賓遐 (Guest from A Far) Palace to house her.

It has been suggested that "the twelfth month" may be a textual error for "the twelfth year". The twelfth year after Zhang Jun 張駿 assumed the throne is the first year of the *Xiankang* 咸康 reign-period of Jin 晉 (A.D. 335). The editor of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒 placed both Yang Xuan's 楊宣 attack on Qiuci 龜茲, Shanshan 鄯善, and Yanqi 焉耆 and Yutian's 于闐 presentation of tribute to Guzang 姑臧 under the first year of the *Xiankang* 咸康 reign-period (A.D. 335). Its foundation was possibly this record in the *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋.¹⁴

In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. First, the king of the state of Shanshan's 鄯善 presenting his daughter is not recorded in the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒. This shows that Yang Xuan's 楊宣 attack on Qiuci 龜茲, Shanshan 鄯善, and Yanqi 焉耆 and Yutian's 于闐 presentation of the tribute to Guzang 姑臧 were not necessarily in the same year, in the mind of the editor of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒 at least. In other words, even if "the twelfth month" is definitely a textual error for "the twelfth year", it would not be impossible that Yang Xuan's 楊宣 western expedition and Yanqi 焉耆 and Yutian's 于闐 presenting tribute were placed under the first year of the *Xiankang* 咸康 reign-period (A.D. 335). Second, if the editor of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒 places Yang Xuan's 楊宣 western expedition and Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci's 龜

茲 presenting tributes under the first year of the *Xiankang* 咸康 reign-period (A.D. 335) on the basis of the above-cited records of the *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋, certainly he would not disregard the fact that the king of Shanshan 鄯善 presented his daughter. Third, there is no evidence in edition that "the twelfth month" is a textual error for "the twelfth year". The text of the *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋 in the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽 is just an excerpt. It is very natural that, because the records on "the eighth year" are followed by "the fourteenth year", there are no records on "the twelfth year" between the two paragraphs. In other words, the event of the king of the Shanshan's 鄯善 presenting his daughter should be in the eighth year of the reign of Zhang Jun 張駿, i.e., the sixth year of *Xianhe* 咸和 (A.D. 331). The chronology of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 has nothing to do with the *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋.

According to the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 105, "The Governor of Liang 涼 Province, Zhang Jun 張駿, sent the Chief Official, Ma Shen 馬詵, to hold the map and [cross over to Shi Le 石勒]. The envoys of Gaochang 高昌, Yutian 于闐, Shanshan 鄯善 and Dayuan 大宛 all presented their local products". These events should be in the twelfth month of the fifth year of the *Xianhe* 咸和 reign-period (A.D. 330). This is because, according to the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 7, in the fifth year of the *Xianhe* 咸和 reign-period (A.D. 330) "in the autumn, in the eighth month, Shi Le 石勒 overstepped his authority and ascended the throne". "In the twelfth month, Zhang Jun 張駿, declared himself a vassal to Shi Le 石勒". Zhang Jun 張駿, after he had declared himself a vassal, sent his envoy to "hold the map and cross over to Shi Le 石勒". The various states in the Western Regions, following the envoys of Zhang Jun 張駿, presented their local products.

It has been suggested that there was no Yanqi 焉耆 among the above-mentioned various states in the Western Regions, and this is especially noteworthy. This is because in the so-called "Li Bo's 李柏 Documents", unearthed from the ruins of Loulan 樓蘭, one can see that the relationship between Yanqi 焉耆 and Zhang's 張 regime was amicable before Gaochang 高昌 was established as a prefecture. If Yanqi 焉耆 was not listed here, this shows that the establishment of Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture had damaged the welfare of Yanqi 焉耆 and worsened relations between Yanqi 焉耆 and Zhang's 張 regime.¹⁵

In my opinion, "Li Bo's 李柏 documents" are not enough to prove that the relations between Yanqi 焉耆 and Zhang's 張 Liang 涼 had been amicable before Gaochang 高昌 was

established as a prefecture.¹⁶ However, the fact that Yang Xuan 楊宣 attacked Qiuci 龜茲 and Shanshan 鄯善 but not Yanqi 焉耆 may prove that relations between Yanqi 焉耆 and Zhang's Liang 涼 had been amicable during Yang Xuan's 楊宣 western expedition, because Yanqi 焉耆 was the only area through which Yang Xuan 楊宣 could go to attack Qiuci 龜茲. If this guess about the relationship between Zhang Liang 張涼 and Yanqi 焉耆 in the fifth year of the *Xianhe* 咸和 reign-period (A.D. 330) is correct, there would be no harm in considering that Yang Xuan's 楊宣 western expedition was before the fifth year of the *Xianhe* 咸和 reign-period (A.D. 330).

Also, on the above-cited reference in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 105, it is suggested that it should be noted as 奉高昌圖送于闐鄯善大宛使 (held a map of Gaochang 高昌 and convoyed the envoys of Yutian 于闐, Shanshan 鄯善, Dayuan 大宛 out). This is because Gaochang 高昌 had been a prefecture under Liang 涼 Province and thus it was impossible to send its envoy to the Later Zhao 趙. In addition, the tribe of Further Jushi 車師 should not be called "Gaochang 高昌". This is probably because Gaochang 高昌 was a newly established prefecture, and what was presented by Zhang Jun's 張駿 envoy in fact was a map of Gaochang 高昌, and in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 105, or in the historical data on which the chapter was based the four characters 圖送高昌 were erroneously arranged.¹⁷

In my opinion, this theory is inadequate. Zhang Jun 張駿 first attached himself to Shi Le 石勒, and therefore the map presented by his envoy would have been a complete map of Liang 涼 Province, not a map of Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture. In addition, Gaochang 高昌, before it was established as a prefecture, had been the seat of government of the Colonel, and it had never proclaimed itself a state and sent out envoys. It is possible that some Gaochang 高昌 people who followed Ma Shen 馬詵 presented their local products, and thus were regarded as envoys of Gaochang 高昌 by the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 105, or in the historical data which was the basis of the chapter, and nothing more.

On the route of the western expedition of Yang Xuan 楊宣, there are no specific records in the historical books. However, since it took place after Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture had been established, one can certainly consider that Yang Xuan 楊宣 went westwards and attacked Qiuci 龜茲 after acquiring supplies in Gaochang 高昌. It has been suggested that Qiuci 龜茲 and Yanqi 焉耆 are placed in reverse order, which shows that Yang Xuan 楊宣 must first have reached

Shanshan 鄯善 and then Qiuci 龜茲, and there is no possibility at all that he attacked first Qiuci 龜茲 and then Shanshan 鄯善 when he returned.¹⁸ In my opinion, this theory is unconvincing. The reference says "attacked Qiuci 龜茲 and Shanshan 鄯善", which does not prove that Qiuci 龜茲 was attacked before Shanshan 鄯善. The possibility that Qiuci 龜茲 first was attacked and then Shanshan 鄯善 was attacked also exists.

D

In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 97 (under the item on Yanqi 焉耆 in the "Memoir on the Western Rong 戎"), it is recorded that "After this, Zhang Jun 張駿 sent Yang Xuan 楊宣, the governor of Shazhou 沙州, to lead troops and take charge of the Western Regions. [Yang] Xuan [楊]宣 picked Zhang Zhi 張植, a military officer under his command, [to lead] the vanguard. [Zhang] Zhi's 張植 army swept away all obstacles and encamped in the state. The king [Long]Xi [龍]熙 guarded and fought at the town of Benlun 賁侖, but was defeated by [Zhang] Zhi 張植. [Zhang] Zhi [張]植 advanced to station himself at Tiemen 鐵門 (Iron Gate). Before they had progressed much more than ten *li* 里, Xi 熙 also led out troops to ambush [Zhang Zhi 張植] first at Zhelou 遮留 Valley. Just as [Zhang Zhi 張植] was arriving there, someone said: 'The founder of the Han 漢 Dynasty feared Poren 柏人 and Cen Peng 岑彭 met his end at Pengwang 彭亡; now this valley's name is Zheliu 遮留. I fear there will be an ambush'. [So] [Zhang] Zhi 張植 had a single horseman test it, and sure enough an ambush was sprung. [Zhang] Zhi 張植 attacked and defeated [the ambushers] on horseback, then advanced and occupied Weili 尉犁. Stripping off their upper garments, [Long]Xi [龍]熙 led 40,000 of his officials and people to surrender to [Yang] Xuan [楊]宣". The records on Yang Xuan's 楊宣 attack on Yanqi 焉耆 must have been the event recorded in the same book, ch. 8: In the first year of the *Yonghe* 永和 reign-period (A.D. 345), in the winter, in the twelfth month "the Governor of Liang 涼 Province, Zhang Jun 張駿 attacked Yanqi 焉耆 and conquered it". As mentioned above, it is possible that Yanqi 焉耆 and Zhang Liang 張涼 had been estranged as late as the fifth year of the *Xianhe* 咸和 reign-period (A.D. 330). Then Zhang Jun 張駿 sent Yang Xuan 楊宣 to attack it.

The reference says that Yang Xuan 楊宣 was "the Governor of Sha 沙 Province" when he attacked Yanqi 焉耆. This may be because in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 86 (Memoir on Zhang Jun 張

駿), it is recorded that Zhang Jun 張駿 divided three prefectures on the western borders to establish Sha 沙 Province, and divided six prefectures on the eastern borders to establish He 河 Province". In the same book, ch. 14A, it is also clearly recorded that "... Dunhuang 敦煌, Jinchang 晉昌, Gaochang 高昌, the Protector General of the Western Regions, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel, the Grand Protecting Army of Yumen 玉門, three prefectures and three camps in all, composed Sha 沙 Province". The records of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 99 (Memoir on Zhang Jun 張駿), are roughly the same as that of the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 14A, but they clearly point out that "Yang Xuan 楊宣, the Colonel of the Western Hu 胡, was appointed as provincial governor".

According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 99 (Memoir on Zhang Jun 張駿), it can be seen that Zhang Jun 張駿 "divided the eleven prefectures to establish Liang 涼 Province and appointed his eldest son, [Zhang] Zhonghua [張]重華, as Provincial Governor". He also "divided the eight prefectures to establish He 河 Province and appointed the Colonel of Stabilizing the Rong 戎, Zhang Guan 張瓘, as Provincial Governor" at the same time that he established Sha 沙 Province. And according to the *Jinshu* 晉書, 86 (Memoir on Zhang Jun 張駿), "in the first year of the *Yonghe* 永和 reign-period (A.D. 345), [Zhang Jun 張駿] appointed the heir, [Zhang] Zhonghua [張]重華, the General of the Leader of Court Gentlemen for Miscellaneous Uses and Governor of Liang 涼 Province". In other words, Yang Xuan's 楊宣 appointment of the Governor of Sha 沙 Province should also be in the first year of the *Yonghe* 永和 reign-period (A.D. 345). His attack on Yanqi 焉耆 was in the same year as his appointment as Governor of Sha 沙 Province, which the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 8, has placed under "the twelfth month" of this year.

It has been suggested that Zhang Jun's 張駿 establishment of the three provinces was not necessarily in the first year of the *Yonghe* 永和 reign-period (A.D. 345). This is because in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 99 (Memoir on Zhang Jun 張駿), there is a paragraph that states he "came to establish various officials, such as Libationer, Department Directors, Grand Master, and Internuncio. The titles of the officers all imitated the Heavenly Dynasty, but there was a little difference between the names of the two. Dancing in six squads formation, flying the flag with the leopard tail, with carriages, robes, and banners, all were the same as for kings". This follows the records about the three provinces' establishment in quick succession. And in the "Qianlianglu 前涼錄" of the *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 124,

it is recorded that "in the twenty-first year, he came to establish various officials. The titles of the officers all imitated the Heavenly Dynasty, and the carriages, robes, and banners all were the same as those of kings". This shows that the paragraph in the *Weishu* 魏書 also derived from the *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋. The twenty-first year of the reign of Zhang Jun 張駿 is the second year of the *Jianyuan* 建元 reign-period of the Emperor Kang 康 of the Eastern Jin 晉 (A.D. 344). Since the three provinces' establishment was before "came to establish various officials", and "came to establish various officials" was in the second year of the *Jianyuan* 建元 reign-period (A.D. 344), the three provinces' establishment cannot be later than this year. The parallel paragraph also appears in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 86 (Memoir on Zhang Jun 張駿), which mentions it before the two provinces of He 河 and Sha 沙 were established. It seems to be also in the same year. From this, it can be seen that Liang 涼 Province's being divided into three provinces and Sha 沙 Province's coming to be established are possibly in the second year of the *Jianyuan* 建元 reign-period (A.D. 344).¹⁹

In my opinion, since in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 86 (Memoir on Zhang Jun 張駿), the reference to the dates at which the various officials first were established is placed before the note that three provinces were established, the three provinces' establishment is not necessarily earlier than the dates the officials at first were established. This is to say, even if the fact that the officials at first were established was in the twenty-first year of the reign of Zhang Jun 張駿, the three provinces' establishment still could be in the first year of the *Yonghe* 永和 reign-period (A.D. 345). And if the officials at first were established in the same year when the three provinces were established, "二十一年 (the twenty-first year)" as seen in the *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋, cited the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, this may be a textual error for "二十二年 (the twenty-second year)".

In the "Qianlianglu 前涼錄" chapter of the *Shiliuguo Chunqiu Jibu* 十六國春秋輯補, Yang Xuan's 楊宣 attack on Qiuci 龜茲 and Shanshan 鄯善 was placed under the eleventh year of the reign of Zhang Jun 張駿, and the king of Shanshan's 鄯善 presenting his daughter, and Yanqi 焉耆, the tribe of Further Jushi 車師, and Yutian's 于闐 presenting their local products all are placed under the next year. According to this, it has been suggested that Zhang Liang's 張涼 attack on Yanqi 焉耆 may have occurred twice. The first occasion, which was in the first year of

the *Xiankang* 咸康 reign-period (A.D. 335), and the attack on Qiuci 龜茲 and Shanshan 鄯善 were in the same year. The specific course was as recorded in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 97 (under the item on Yanqi 焉耆 in the "Memoir on the Western Rong 戎"). In this reference, although Yang Xuan 楊宣 was called "the Governor of Sha 沙 Province", he was in fact the Colonel of the Western Hu 胡. The second occurrence was in the first year of the *Yonghe* 永和 reign-period (A.D. 345), which was recorded in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 8.²⁰ In my opinion, this theory is inadequate.

First, in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 86 (Memoir on Zhang Jun 張駿), Yang Xuan's 楊宣 attack on Qiuci 龜茲 and Shanshan 鄯善 is recorded, Yanqi's 焉耆 being attacked is not mentioned at all. However, the attack on Yanqi's 焉耆 must have been before Qiuci 龜茲 was attacked. It is unreasonable to suppose that if Yanqi 焉耆 really was attacked it is not mentioned. And Yanqi's 焉耆 presenting tribute after Yang Xuan 楊宣 had attacked Qiuci 龜茲 and Shanshan 鄯善 obviously does not indicate that the state also was attacked.

Second, in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 97 (under the item on Yanqi 焉耆 in the "Memoir on the Western Rong 戎"), it is clearly recorded that Yang Xuan 楊宣 was the Governor of Sha 沙 Province when he attacked Yanqi 焉耆, but it does not anywhere refer to the attack on Qiuci 龜茲 and Shanshan 鄯善. From this, it can be seen that the battle of Yanqi 焉耆 as seen in the "Memoir on the Western Rong 戎" is only the battle that took place in the first year of the *Yonghe* 永和 reign-period (A.D. 345) as seen in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 8.

In sum, Zhang Jun 張駿 established Sha 沙 Province in the first year of the *Yonghe* 永和 reign-period (A.D. 345), and his motive was to tighten his control on the Western Regions. Thereupon the battle of Yanqi 焉耆 ensued.

E

According to the above-cited records of the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 14A, one can see that Sha 沙 Province, established by Zhang Jun 張駿, had three prefectures and three camps under its command. Among them, Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture, the camp of the Protector General of the Western Regions, and the camp of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel were in the Western Regions.

We cannot know if the camp of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel still was stationed at Gaochang 高昌, after Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture had been established. In the "Qianlianglu 前涼錄" chapter of Cui Hong's 崔鴻 *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 11, it is recorded:

Zhang Zhi 張植, as the Colonel of the Western Regions, led the cavalry to rescue Zhang Chong 張沖, together with the General Displaying his Majesty, Niu Ba 牛霸. In the sixth month, they reached the Flowing Sands. Their soldiers were very thirsty as there was no water. [Zhang] Zhi [張]植, cutting off his hair, stripping off his upper garments, and baring his feet, raised an altar, crying, pray for rain. Presently, clouds rose from the northwest, and the rain formed a river. [Zhang] Zhi [張]植 killed his riding horse to offer it to Heaven and then left.

In this account, "the Colonel of the Western Regions" would be a shortened title of the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of the Western Regions. Zhang Zhi 張植, who was originally an officer under Yang Xuan's 楊宣 command, had been appointed as vanguard when Yang Xuan 楊宣 attacked Yanqi 焉耆. The achievement of Zhang Chong 張沖 is recorded in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 6:

[In the second year of the *Yonghe* 永和 reign-period (A.D. 346)], in the sixth month, Wang Zhuo 王擢, a general of Shi Jilong 石季龍, led a surprise attack on Wujie 武街, and captured Hu Xuan 胡宣, the Protecting Army of Zhang Zhonghua 張重華. [Shi Jilong 石季龍] also sent Ma Qiu 麻秋 and Sun Fudu 孫伏都 to attack Jincheng 金城, whose administrator, Zhang Chong 張沖, surrendered to him.

Since Zhang Zhi 張植 rescued Zhang Chong 張沖 on horseback and his destination was Jincheng 金城, it appears to be impossible that his seat of Government was at Gaochang 高昌. If the Western Jin 晉, which established the Commandant of Yiwu 伊吾, had once entrusted its seat of government to the northern borders of Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture,²¹ there is no harm in considering that Zhang Zhi 張植, the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of the Western Regions, had replaced the Commandant of Yiwu 伊吾, and also entrusted its seat of government to the northern borders

of Dunhuang 敦煌 Prefecture. If this is true, the Flowing Sands he reached can be identified as Tynger Desert.

"The camp of the Protector General of the Western Regions", as has been pointed out, must be a textual error for "the camp of the Chief Official of the Western Regions".²² If this is true, its location must have been at Loulan 樓蘭. As to how long Earlier Liang's 涼 station at Loulan 樓蘭 lasted, all we can do is set it aside without discussion due to a lack of hard data.²³

In contrast, there is abundant proof that the Earlier Liang 涼 maintained its control of Gaochang 高昌 until the end of the reign of Zhang Tianxi 張天錫. This is because there are a coffin inscription that dates from the thirty-sixth year of the *Jianxing* 建興 reign-period (A.D. 348),²⁴ and two contracts that date from the eleventh and fourteenth year of the *Shengping* 升平 reign-period (A.D. 367 and 370).²⁵ In addition, in the "Qianlianglu 前涼錄" chapter of the *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 124, it is recorded that:

In the tenth year, the heir Huai 懷 was appointed as Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, General of Governing the West, and Duke of Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture, and the second son, Dayu 大豫, was appointed as his heir. The mother of [Da] yu [大]豫, Mrs. Jiao 焦, was appointed to be a Lady of the Left.

The tenth year of the reign of Zhang Tianxi 張天錫 is the second year of the *Xian'an* 咸安 reign-period of the Eastern Jin 晉 (A.D. 372), which is only four years from the date when the Earlier Liang 涼 Dynasty died out.²⁶

After Zhang Jun 張駿, besides Loulan 樓蘭 and Gaochang 高昌, the record of the relations between the Earlier Liang 涼 and other states in the Western Regions has only one item, which occurs in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 97 (Memoir on the Western Rong 戎): "By the end of the reigns of Emperor Hui 惠 and Huai 懷, it sent envoys to present tribute to Zhang Chonghua 張重華 because the Middle Kingdom was in confusion". And according to the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, in the twelfth year of the *Yonghe* 永和 (A.D. 356), Zhang Guan 張瓘 had declared to the envoy of Fu Qin 苻秦: "We have occupied three provinces, and we have ten thousand men who can put on suits of armour. [Our territory] consists of the Chong 葱

Mountains in the west, and extends as far as the great river in the east. We have enough and to spare to attack others, much less defend ourselves. Why be in fear of Qin 秦"? It appears that the Earlier Liang 涼 could still affect the various states to the east of the Cong 葱 Mountains, not just the state of Qiuci 龜茲, as late as the reign of Zhang Xuanjing 張玄靚.

Notes

1. According to the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, the date should have been the first month of the first year of the *Yongning* 永寧 reign-period (A.D. 301).
2. According to the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, the date should have been the tenth month of the second year of the *Jianxing* 建興 reign-period (A.D. 314).
3. According to the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, the date should have been the sixth month of the third year of the *Taixing* 太興 reign-period (A.D. 320).
4. According to the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, the date should have been the first year of the *Taining* 太寧 reign-period (A.D. 323).
5. Zhang Gui 張軌 and Zhang Shi 張寔 followed the commencement [of the year] of Jin 晉, and ceaselessly dispatched troops to save the throne. And Zhang Mao 張茂 repeatedly made warfare against the Earlier Zhao 趙 Dynasty. Afterwards, Zhang Jun 張駿 was able to take over the Western Regions because Liu Yao 劉曜 and Shi Le 石勒 contended for Guandong 關東 and thus had no time to attend to the west.
6. See Lin. The documents which date from the fourth year of the *Yongjia* 永嘉 reign-period (A.D. 310) are two in number; their serial numbers are 79 and 101; in the sixth year (A.D. 312), also two: 554 and 557.
7. Cf. the third chapter of this book.
8. Cf. Tang Ch. (1989-1).
9. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 101 (Memoir on Gaochang 高昌), it is recorded that "During the Jin 晉 Dynasty, this land became the Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture, when Zhang Gui 張軌, Lü Guang 呂光 and Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 occupied Hexi 河西 they all established an administrator to control the region". "Zhang Gui" 張軌 here refers to the regime of Zhang Liang 張涼.
10. Cf. Ise, p. 103.
11. Matsuda (1970), pp. 127–137; Ma (1990-5).
12. Tang Ch. (1981).
13. See Lin (No.13).

14. See Lin (No.13).
15. This is Matsuda Hisao's theory; see Matsuda (1937), pp. 127–137.
16. Cf. Yu, T. (1995-2.6).
17. See Lin (No.13).
18. Cf. Feng (1976-1).
19. See Lin (No.13).
20. This is Matsuda Hisao's theory; see Matsuda (1937), pp. 127–137.
21. Cf. the third chapter of this book.
22. Wang G. (1984-1).
23. For discussion of this, cf. Meng (1990), pp. 265–273.
24. TLFWS, p.1.
25. TLFWS, pp. 5, 7.
26. Cf. Tang Ch. (1981).

Chapter 6

The Earlier Qin, Later Liang Dynasties and the Western Regions

A

In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 113, it is recorded that "Before this, Wang Meng 王猛 captured a general of Zhang Tianxi 張天錫, Yin Ju 陰據 of Dunhuang 敦煌, and some soldiers in armour, five thousand men in all. Since [Fu] Jian [苻]堅 had pacified the six provinces in the east, and captured Yang Zuan 楊纂 in the west, wished to embrace distant peoples by means of his virtue and to display his prestige in the Heyou 河右 (i.e., Hexi 河西 or Gansu 甘肅 Corridor) region, at this time, he returned all those who had captured to Liang 涼 Province. [Zhang] Tianxi [張]天錫, out of fear, sent an envoy to offer an apology and to declare himself a vassal. [Fu] Jian [苻]堅 was delighted, and appointed [Zhang] Tianxi [張]天錫 as Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary, and Inspector-General of Military Operations in the Heyou 河右 region, Cavalry Supreme General, Commander Unequaled in Honor, Governor of Liang 涼 Province, Protector General of the Western Regions, and Duke of Xiping 西平". Zhang Tianxi 張天錫 declared himself a vassal, according to the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, in the first year of the *Xian'an* 咸安 reign-period (A.D. 371). In my opinion, there is no harm in assuming that Fu Jian 苻堅 appointed Zhang Tianxi 張天錫 as Governor of Liang 涼 Province and Protector General of the Western Regions as an indication that the Earlier Qin 秦 Dynasty was watchful of the affairs of the Western Regions.

In the first year of the *Taiyuan* 太元 reign-period (A.D. 376), Fu Jian 苻堅 destroyed the Earlier Liang 涼 Dynasty. According to the *Jinshu* 晉書, 113, "[Fu] Jian [苻]堅 appointed Liang Xi 梁熙 as Commissioner with Special Powers, Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace of the West, Governor of Liang 涼 Province, and Concurrent Colonel Protecting the Western Qiang 羌 to govern Guzang 姑臧". In the same chapter it is recorded that "Liang Xi 梁熙 sent envoys to the Western Regions, publicised [Fu] Jian's [苻]堅 power and prestige, and bestowed coloured silk as presents on the kings of the various states. Thereupon the number of states that came to present tributes reached more than ten. The state of Dayuan 大宛 presented the heavenly horses, i.e., horses that could travel a thousand *li* 里 a day, that all sweat blood, have a red mane, are of

five colors, and have the breast of a phoenix and the body of unicorn, together with other treasures, five hundred and more creatures in all. [Fu] Jian [苻]堅 said, 'I call to mind that Emperor Wen 文 of Han 漢 returned the horses that travel a thousand *li* 里 a day, and was praised for it. If we now return all the horses as tributes, then our action would recall the former kings [of virtue] and be like that of the ancients'. Thereupon, he ordered the crowd of officers to compose poems to sing about stopping the gift of horses and repatriating them, showing that he was without greed. His subordinates considered that this showed abundant virtue, which could compare with Emperor Wen 文 of Han 漢 long ago. Thereupon there were more than four hundred men who presented their poems". This was the beginning of the actual contact between the Earlier Qin 秦 and the Western Regions. Of course, the purpose for which Fu Jian 苻堅 returned the horses was to show that "he wanted to have remote peoples in good submission to him", but the incident also shows that the Earlier Qin 秦 had no capacity to manage the Western Regions at that period. According to the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, Dayuan's 大宛 presenting the horses was in the tenth month of the third year of the *Taiyuan* 太元 reign-period (A.D. 378), when Fu Pi 苻丕, controlling a crowd of one hundred thousand, attacked Xianyang 襄陽 for a long time but did not capture it. That "more than ten" states presented tribute to Qin 秦 is not mentioned in the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒. This is probably because, in the mind of the editor of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, this matter and Dayuan's 大宛 presentation of horses did not occur in the same period, and there is no evidence on the date.

After this, in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 113, it is recorded that "The kings of the state of Shanshan 鄯善 and the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 came to pay court. Dayuan 大宛 presented horses. Sushen 肅慎 presented arrows, whose shaft was made of three *hu* 楛. Tianzhu 天竺 presented fire-washed cloth. Kangju 康居, Yutian 于闐 and the various states to the east of the sea, sixty-two kings in all, sent envoys to present their local products". According to the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, it was in the second month of the sixth year of the *Taiyuan* 太元 reign-period (A.D. 381) that the sixty-two states presented their local products, and it was in the ninth month of the seventh year (A.D. 382) that the kings of the state of Further Jushi 車師 and Shanshan 鄯善 came to pay court.

However, in the “Jiumoluoshi Zhuan 鳩摩羅什傳 (Memoir of Jiumoluoshi, i.e., Kumārajīva)” chapter of the *Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧傳, it is also recorded that the kings of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師 and Shanshan 鄯善 came to pay court. According to this,

[Jiumoluo]shi’s [鳩摩羅]什 Way had flowed into the Western Regions and his repute had spread though Dongchuan 東川. At that time, Fu Jian 苻堅 usurped the [imperial] title in Guanzhong 關中. When the king of the tribe of Nearer [Jushi 車師], the outer state, came there with the younger brother of the king of Qiuci 龜茲, [Fu] Jian [苻]堅 received them. The two kings persuaded [Fu] Jian [苻]堅, telling him that the Western Regions produced many treasures, and asking him for troops to pacify them so that they would pay allegiance to the court. In the first month of the thirteenth year of the *Jianyuan* 建元 reign-period (A.D. 377), when Jupiter was at *dingchou* 丁丑, the Grand Astrologer presented a memorial and said, “a star had appeared at the border of the outer states. This showed that a wise man with great virtue would come and assist the ruler in the Middle Kingdom”. [Fu] Jian [苻]堅 said, we heard that Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什 was in the Western Regions and that there was *śramaṇa*, i.e., the Buddhist monk Daoan 道安, at Xiangyang 襄陽. Wouldn’t this refer to them? He sent envoys to ask for them. In the seventeenth year (A.D. 381), in the second month, the king of Shanshan 鄯善, the king of the tribe of Nearer [Jushi 車師] and others again persuaded [Fu] Jian [苻]堅 and asked him for troops to make an expedition against the Western Regions. In the eighteenth year (A.D. 382), in the ninth month, [Fu] Jian [苻]堅 sent the General of Resolute Cavalry, Lü Guang 呂光, the General of Crossing the River, Jiang Fei 姜飛, with the king of the tribe of [Nearer Jushi 車師], and the king of Jushi 車師 and others,¹ leading a force of seventy thousand men to undertake a western expedition against the states of Qiuci 龜茲, Wuqi 烏耆² and others.

The time at which the kings of Shanshan 鄯善 and Nearer Jushi 車師 came to pay court was at the same time that the sixty-two states came to court. The sixty-two states that presented tribute

in the sixth year of the *Taiyuan* 太元 reign-period (A.D. 381) as noted in the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒 includes the two states of Shanshan 鄯善 and Nearer Jushi 車師. And the event noted in the ninth month of the seventh year is that Fu Jian 苻堅 ordered Lü Guang 呂光 and others to prepare an expedition against the Western Regions. That the kings of Shanshan 鄯善 and the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師 presented tribute to Qin 秦 and advised Fu Jian 苻堅 to attack the Western Regions seems to explain the cause of the western expedition.

According to the "Memoir on Kumārajīva", cited above, before the kings of Shanshan 鄯善 and the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師 presented tribute to Qin 秦 and advised [Fu] Jian [苻]堅, the kings of the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師 and the younger brother of the king of Qiuci 龜茲 had advised Fu Jian 苻堅 to attack the Western Regions. The latter date is not recorded in the "Memoir on Kumārajīva". But it is possible that it was after Liang Xi 梁熙 was appointed Governor of Liang 涼 Province in the ninth month of the twelfth year of the *Jianyuan* 建元 reign-period of Fu Jian 苻堅 (A.D. 376) and before the first month of the next year. Therefore, as far as the king of Nearer Jushi 車師 is concerned, his presenting tribute to Qin 秦 in the sixth year of the *Taiyuan* 太元 reign-period (A.D. 381) must have been the second such instance.³

On the circumstance that the kings of Nearer Jushi 車師 and Shanshan 鄯善 persuaded [Fu] Jian [苻]堅 and asked him for troops to make an expedition against the Western Regions, there is more in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 114.

The king of the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師, Mitian 彌寘, and the king of Shanshan 鄯善, Xiumituo 休密馱, came to present tribute to [Fu] Jian [苻]堅. [Fu] Jian [苻]堅 bestowed court dress on them and received them at the Western Hall. [Mi]tian [彌]寘 and others were quite afraid when they saw that his palaces were glorious, and that his guard of honour and armed escort were formidable, and they requested permission to present tribute every year. [Fu] Jian [苻]堅 would not allow this because the road to the Western Regions was remote, and he ordered them to present tribute once every three years, and to come to court once every nine years, and this formed a lasting institution. [Mi]tian [彌]寘 and others said, the various states, such as Dayuan 大宛, came to present tribute, but their loyalty

was not pure. They begged to establish the post of Protector General as in Han's 漢 time. "If the royal army will come out from the barrier, we crave permission to show you the way". [Fu] Jian [苻]堅 thereupon appointed the General of Resolute Cavalry, Lü Guang 呂光, as Commissioner with Special Powers, and Commander-in-chief of Military Operations for the Western Expedition with the General of Crossing River, Jiang Fei 姜飛, the General of Light Cavalry, Peng Huang 彭晃, and others, amounting altogether to a force of seventy thousand men, to suppress and put down the Western Regions.

From this, it can be seen that the king of the tribe of Further Jushi 車師 and the king of Shanshan 鄯善 advised Fu Jian 苻堅 to make an expedition against the Western Regions in order to have Qin 秦 establish a Protector General. This was quite similar to the case at the beginning of the Eastern Han 漢 Dynasty. According to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88, the various states, such as Shanshan 鄯善, Nearer Jushi 車師 and others, sent their envoys again and again, seeking to pay allegiance to the court and asking for a Protector General. This is mainly because the state of Suoju 莎車 used its strength to bully the states. Because the data is deficient, the case of the Western Regions during the reign of Fu Jian 苻堅 is not known in detail. One can only say, the reason why the states of Shanshan 鄯善 and others begged Fu Qin 苻秦 to establish a Protector General is possibly that they could not bear the bullying from a great power. And it is most likely that the great power which bullied the various states was Qiuci 龜茲. Qiuci 龜茲 had been the largest state of walled cities in the Western Regions since the Western Han 漢. We know that Qiuci 龜茲 undoubtedly had great strength at that time from the course of Lü Guang's 呂光 western expedition. In a petition sent up by Lü Guang 呂光, as seen in the *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 895, it is said that "Only Qiuci 龜茲 is at the center of the thirty-six states and controls the destinies of their kings and nobles", which can be regarded as evidence. The fact that the two kings spoke of Dayuan 大宛 was only an excuse. In order to persuade Fu Jian 苻堅 to agree to act as in the Han 漢 period, it was unavoidable for them to speak of an attack on Dayuan 大宛. Their original idea was not necessarily to persuade

Fu Jian 苻堅 to make an anabasis against Dayuan 大宛. In fact, Lü Guang's 呂光 western expedition reached only as far as Qiuci 龜茲, and did not follow that of the Ershi 貳師 General.⁴

As to the occasion on which the younger brother of the king of Qiuci 龜茲 persuaded Fu Jian 苻堅 to make a western expedition, the main object also possibly was Qiuci 龜茲. According to the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96, the king of Loulan 樓蘭 opposed Han 漢, but "the [king's] younger brother, Weituqi 尉屠耆, submitted to Han 漢 and gave a full account of the situation". Han 漢 sent Fu Jiezi 傅介子 to kill the king of Loulan 樓蘭. Weituqi 尉屠耆 was established as king. After he destroyed Qiuci 龜茲, Lü Guang 呂光 established the younger brother of the former king as king. The king's younger brother is probably the same person as the younger brother of the king of Qiuci 龜茲 who persuaded Fu Jian 苻堅 to subdue the Western Regions.

According to the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 114, when Fu Jian 苻堅 ordered his generals to make the western expedition, "Fu Rong 苻融 admonished them repeatedly and thought that it could not be brought off. This is because it would have left the Middle Kingdom's [treasury] empty and exhausted. And it would take the army to places beyond ten-thousand *li* 里, where the people obtained could not be worked, and the lands obtained could not be cultivated. [Fu] Jian [苻堅] said, 'two Han 漢 dynasties dispatched troops to the Western Regions though their forces were unable to control the Xiongnu 匈奴. Now that the Xiongnu 匈奴 have been pacified, [controlling the Western Regions] would be as easy as smashing rotten wood. We would wear down the troops on a long expedition but pacification could be done by issuing an official circular. To educate and influence the people beyond the Kun[lun] 崑[崙] Mountains, and leave a good name in history, wouldn't this be a great thing'? The courtiers also repeatedly admonished him, but [Fu Jian 苻堅] completely rejected their objections". In the same chapter, it is also recorded that when Lü Guang 呂光 set out from Chang'an 長安, Fu Jian 苻堅 saw him off at the Palace of Jianzhang 建章 and said to [Lü Guang 呂光] that "The Western Rong 戎 is called a wild and distant domain, and, it is not a land of ceremony and propriety. The way of winning them over is to pardon them if they submit, and guide them with kingly ways by using the might of the Middle Kingdom, and not wantonly engage in military ventures and murder and rob excessively". From this, it can be seen that Fu Jian 苻堅 regarded himself as a lord who ruled his land under heaven in a kingly way, and that his dispatching troops to the Western Regions was in order to

leave a good name forever. In Fu Jian’s 苻堅 mind the Western Regions could be pacified by issuing an official circular since there was no disturbance by the Xiongnu 匈奴. “To educate and influence the people beyond the Kun[lun] 崑[崙] Mountains” was a huge attraction to him, and therefore he ignored the repeated admonishment of the courtiers.

It should be pointed out, that another purpose for which Fu Jian 苻堅 dispatched troops to the Western Regions was to obtain the “wise man with great virtue”, Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什. According to the “Memoir on Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什” of the *Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧傳, when he gave a farewell dinner for Lü Guang 呂光, Fu Jian 苻堅 said to him, “We heard there is a Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什 in the Western regions, who profoundly understands *dharmalakasana* and is proficient in *Yin* 陰 and *Yang* 陽, and is a great master of that learning. We have longed for him very much. This is because a person outstanding in virtue and learning is a great treasure of a nation. Send Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什 back speedily by the post road as soon as Qiuci 龜茲 is captured”. This shows Fu Jian’s 苻堅 fervent wish.⁵ Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什 was in Qiuci 龜茲 at that time, which was an important reason that Qiuci 龜茲 was attacked.

B

According to the “Jinji 晉紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, Fu Jian 苻堅 “appointed Yang Gan 楊幹 of Gaochang 高昌 as Administrator of Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture at the same time that he appointed Liang Xi 梁熙 as Governor of Liang 涼 Province. At that time Gaochang 高昌 was subject to Liang 涼 Province because Sha 沙 Province had been abandoned. From the document “A legal case on the matter of Han Pen 韓盆 himself having fixed the deadline for calling his younger brother to respond to the summons in the twentieth year of the *Jianyuan* 建元 reign-period (A.D. 384)”⁶, which was unearthed from Turfan, one can quickly see the Earlier Qin’s 秦 rule in Gaochang 高昌.⁷

According to the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 114, in the seventh year of the *Taiyuan* 太元 reign-period (A.D. 382), Duke of Donghai 東海, [Fu] Yang [苻]陽, the son of [Fu] Fa [苻]法, the elder brother of [Fu] Jian [苻]堅 rebelled with the Gentleman Cavalier Attendant [Wang] Pi [王]皮, the son of Wang Meng 王猛, and the matter was discovered”. Fu Jian 苻堅 “absolved them and did not put them to death. He removed Fu Yang 苻陽 to Gaochang 高昌 and Wang Pi 王皮 to the

north of Shuofang 朔方". From this, it can be seen that Gaochang 高昌 still was regarded as a place where those who were banished to guard the frontier were sent even after it was established as a prefecture.⁸ After this, according to the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, "[Fu] Yang [苻]陽, who was very courageous, was soon removed to Shanshan 鄯善. At the end of the *Jianyuan* 建元 reign-period, when the state of Qin 秦 was in great disorder, [Fu] Yang [苻]陽 abducted the chancellor of Shanshan 鄯善, seeking to return him to the east. The king of Shanshan 鄯善 killed him". There is no evidence to show that Fu Qin 苻秦 was garrisoned at Loulan 樓蘭 or other regions in the state of Shanshan 鄯善, but [Fu] Yang's [苻]陽 being removed to Shanshan 鄯善 seems to show the extraordinary relationship between Fu Qin 苻秦 and Shanshan 鄯善.⁹

Also, according to the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 114, in the eighth year of the *Taiyuan* 太元 reign-period (A.D. 383), when Lü Guang 呂光 set out from Chang'an 長安, Fu Jian 苻堅 "added the titles, king of Shanshan 鄯善, Xiumituo 休密馱, Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary, Commander-in-chief of Military Operations in the Western Regions, General of Stabilizing the West and King of the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師 as well as Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, General of Pacifying the West and the Protector General of the Western Regions, and ordered them, leading their troops, to show [Lü] Guang 呂光 the way".¹⁰ The official position that he added seems to show that the two kings were not distant subjects. This also shows the close relationship between Fu Qin 苻秦 and Shanshan 鄯善 and even the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師.

Pacifying Liang 涼 Province, occupying Gaochang 高昌, and controlling Shanshan 鄯善 and the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師 made Fu Qin's 苻秦 contacts with the various states in the Western Regions increasingly frequent. Therefore, in Che Pin's 車頻 *Qinshu* 秦書, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 363, it is said that "During the reign of Fu Jian 苻堅, the barbarians of the four quarters obeyed, and gathered together in Guanzhong 關中. People from every quarter were there, all of exotic appearance and strange colors". The above-cited reference in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 114, which states that Dayuan 大宛 and others, more than ten states in all, came to pay court at about the third year of the *Taiyuan* 太元 reign-period (A.D. 378), is also an example. And of the sixty-two states which came to pay court in the sixth year of the *Taiyuan* 太

元 reign-period (A.D. 381), there must be quite a few states belonging to the Western Regions. "The various states to the east of the sea" as seen in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 113, had appeared in the "Memoir on the Western Rong 戎" of the *Weilue* 魏略 at the earliest. "The east of the sea" was mentioned and compared with "the west of the sea". The sea refers to the Mediterranean.¹¹

It should be pointed out that Fu Qin's 苻秦 orders admittedly could not be enforced though the various states in the Western Regions frequently came to pay court. This is to say that "[the various states] came to present tribute, but their loyalty was not pure". This is the reason why Fu Jian 苻堅 ordered Lü Guang 呂光 to make the western expedition. However, when Lü Guang 呂光 pacified the Western Regions in the ninth year of the *Taiyuan* 太元 reign-period (A.D. 384), Fu Qin 苻秦, who lacked time even to attend to the Hexi 河西 region, much less the Western Regions, after having been defeated at the battle of the Fei 淝 River. In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 122, it is recorded that "when [Fu] Jian [苻]堅 heard that [Lü] Guang 呂光 quelled the Western Regions he appointed him Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary, Commander-in-chief of Military Operations West of Yumen 玉門 [Barrier], General of Pacifying the West, and Colonel of the Western Regions. The roads were cut off, and there was no communication [with Qin 秦]". This can be regarded as evidence. Also, Lü Guang 呂光 triumphantly returned in the third month of the tenth year of the *Taiyuan* 太元 reign-period (A.D. 385), and killed the Governor of Liang 涼 Province who had been appointed by Fu Qin 苻秦 in the ninth month, and entered Guzang 姑臧. Then, according to the same chapter, he styled himself "Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, Palace Attendant, Grand Commander-in-chief of Internal and External [Affairs], Inspector of Military Operations of Longyou 隴右 and Hexi 河西, Supreme General, Concurrent Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace of Protecting the Xiongnu 匈奴, Governor of Liang 涼 Province, and Duke of Jiuquan 酒泉", after hearing news of Fu Jian's 苻堅 death in the tenth month of the next year. He still used the title of Fu Pi's 苻丕 reign, but actually a separate regime had been set up. From this, it can be seen that Lü Guang's 呂光 western expedition was sent by Fu Jian 苻堅, but Fu Qin's 苻秦 regime had nothing to do with the result of this western expedition. In fact the Western Regions conquered were subject to the regime of Lü Liang 呂涼.

In sum, during the whole dynasty of Fu Qin 苻秦, apart from Gaochang 高昌, Shanshan 鄯善 and the Nearer state of Jushi 車師, Fu Qin 苻秦 was unable to control the Western Regions. In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 122, it is recorded that Lü Guang 呂光 exchanged the *jie* 節 and *zhuan* 傳 (the certificates to undertake trade relations and to ride in carriages and use the horses of posthouses) of Fu Qin 苻秦 for that of Han 漢 after he had pacified the Western Regions, though only in a nominal sense. The "Daoan Zhuan 道安傳 (Memoir on Daoan 道安)" of the *Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧傳 says that Fu Jian 苻堅 annexed Qiuci 龜茲 in the west, which also is obviously an instance of Lü's 呂 contribution being attributed to Fu Qin 苻秦.

C

In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 122, it is recorded that "[Fu] Jian [苻]堅, having subdued Shandong 山東, and his warriors and horses being strong and numerous, began to have ambitions to plan against the Western Regions. Accordingly he conferred on [Lü] Guang 呂光 the titles, Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers and Commander-in-chief of Military Operations for the Western Expedition, at the head of Generals Jiang Fei 姜飛, Peng Huang 彭晃, Du Jin 杜進, Kang Sheng 康盛, and others, having a total force of seventy thousand men-at-arms and five thousand armored horsemen, to lead an expedition against the Western Regions. He appointed Dong Fang 董方 of Longxi 隴西, Guo Bao 郭抱 of Pingyi 馮翊, Jia Qian 賈虔 of Wuwei 武威, and Yang Ying 楊穎 of Hongnong 弘農 as the Assistant Generals of the Four Headquarters". According to the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 114, the matter was in the seventh year of the *Taiyuan* 太元 reign-period (A.D. 382), and it is placed under the ninth month of this year in the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒. Also, from the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 114, and the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, we know that Lü Guang 呂光 "set out from Chang'an 長安" in the first month of the next year.

On the military strength of Lü Guang's 呂光 western expeditionary army, the records of various books are not completely in agreement with the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 122. It is noted as "commanding a force of seventy thousand men" in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 114, and as "having a total force of one hundred thousand men-at-arms and five thousand armored horsemen" in the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒. In addition, in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 58 (Memoir on

Zhou Xiao 周虓), it is recorded that “When Lü Guang 呂光 went on the expedition against the Western Regions, [Fu] Jian [苻]堅 came out to give a farewell dinner for him. The soldiers were two hundred thousand and the banners and flags for them covered several hundred *li* 里. He asked [Zhou] Xiao [周]虓, saying, ‘How is Our military strength?’ [Zhou] Xiao [周]虓 said, ‘There has never been such [a powerful] army since the barbarians appeared’”. The editor of the *Tongjian Kaoyi* 通鑑考異 says, “In the second month of the eighteenth year of the *Jianyuan* 建元 reign-period (A.D. 382), [Zhou] Xiao [周]虓 rebelled and was removed to Shuofang 朔方. In the first month of the nineteenth year (A.D. 383), Lü Guang 呂光 set out from Chang’an 長安. From this, we know that this was the time Liang 涼 Province was attacked. Therefore, we follow the records in the *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋”. In my opinion, “seventy thousand infantry and cavalry” as recorded in the “Houliang Lu 後涼錄” chapter of the *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 125, is the most clear, and we must follow this. The reference “with a total force of seventy thousand men-at-arms and five thousand armored horsemen” as seen in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 122, means that the seventy thousand men included the five thousand cavalymen. “十萬 (One hundred thousand)” as seen in the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 could be a textual error for “七萬 (seventy thousand)”. As for the reference “led a force of seven thousand to go on an expedition against the Western Regions” noted in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 95 (Memoir on Lü Guang 呂光), it is obviously mistaken.

In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 122, it is recorded that “When [Lü Guang 呂光] had proceeded as far as Gaochang 高昌, he learned that [Fu] Jian [苻]堅 was invading the Jin 晉. [Lü] Guang 呂光 wanted to wait for later orders, but his Divisional General, Du Jin 杜進, said: ‘Your Honor, you have been given responsibility for the Western Quarter. You should meet the occasion promptly. What is unclear that you should linger any longer?’ [Lü] Guang 呂光 thereupon advanced and went into the Flowing Sands, where there was no water for over three hundred *li* 里. The generals and soldiers lost countenance. [Lü] Guang [呂]光 said: ‘I have heard that Li Guangli 李廣利 concentrated his sincerity [until] the heavens were mysteriously influenced and a flying fountain gushed forth. Can it be that we alone are without the efficacy of [such] influence? Sovereign Heaven is surely about to send aid; you need not worry, gentlemen’. Presently it rained in torrents [to a depth of] three feet on the level ground. Advancing the men-

at-arms, he arrived at Yanqi 焉耆,¹² whose king, Niliu 泥流, leading his neighboring states, requested permission to surrender. The king of Qiuci 龜茲, Bu Chun 帛純, however, resisted [Lü] Guang 呂光. [Lü] Guang 呂光 bivouacked south of his town, making one encampment every five *li* 里, with deep trenches and high ramparts [around each]. Over a wide area he set up decoy men-at-arms, using [downed] trees for men, clothing them with armor and spreading them along the ramparts. Bo Chun 帛純 drove the outlying population inside the town wall. Each of his satellite nobles and kings patrolled around his own town for self-defense". In my opinion, the order of narration in this paragraph is disordered.¹³ The statement from "[Lü] Guang 呂光 thereupon advanced and went into the Flowing Sands" to "[to a depth of] three feet on the level ground" should be before "When [Lü] Guang 呂光 had proceeded as far as Gaochang 高昌". According to the order of the original text, Lü Guang 呂光 would have reached Gaochang 高昌 first and then crossed the Flowing Sands, which appears to be impossible. The Hu's 胡 commentary on the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 suggests that Lü Guang 呂光 "set off from the Yumen 玉門 Barrier, crossed the Flowing Sands, marched west and reached Shanshan 鄯善, and then marched north and reached Jushi 車師". This hints that Lü Guang's 呂光 western expedition took the "Middle Route" as seen in the "Memoir on the Western Rong 戎" of the *Weilüe* 魏略:

The Middle Route is the one which, leaving the Yumen 玉門 Barrier, goes out by the west, leaves the Protector General's Well, winds around the northern tip of the desert of Sanlong 三隴, passes by the granary of Julu 居廬, then, from the Sand-West Well, turns to the northwest, passes by Dragon Mounds, arrives at old Loulan 樓蘭, and, turning to the west, arrives first at Qiuci 龜茲 and then the Cong 葱 Mountains.

However, if Lü Guang 呂光 went to Yanqi 焉耆 by this way, he could not make the detour to Gaochang 高昌. Since Lü Guang 呂光 reached Gaochang 高昌, he possibly took the "New Route" as recorded in the "Memoir on the Western Rong 戎" of the *Weilüe* 魏略:

The New Route is the one which, leaving the Yumen 玉門 Barrier, goes out to the northwest, crosses Hengkeng 橫坑, avoiding the desert of Sanlong 三隴 and Dragon Mounds, comes out from north of Wuchuan 五船, and reaches Gaochang 高昌 on the frontier of Jushi 車師, where the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel had his government's seat, then turns west and joins up with the Middle Route at Qiuci 龜茲.

The "New Route" must have been "the Route of the Great Sea" as seen in the *Xizhou Tujing* 西州圖經, which was recovered from the Dunhuang 敦煌 Grottoes.¹⁴

The route on the right setting out from the borders of Liuzhong 柳中 County, to the southeast is a distance of one thousand and three hundred and sixty *li* 里 to Sha 沙 Province. There are often flowing sands, where people get lost. There are springs or wells, whose smell is salty and bitter. There is no pasture. Conveying water, bearing provisions, and walking on sands and stones, the travellers who come and go are exhausted.

From this, it can be shown that, if taking this route to Gaochang 高昌 from Dunhuang 敦煌, one must first cross the flowing sands. Of course, the possibility that Lü Guang 呂光 went to Gaochang 高昌 taking the Yiwu 伊吾 route cannot be ruled out. This is because in the *Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 42 (under the item on Gaochang 高昌), it is recorded:

All the way from Dunhuang 敦煌 to that state sand and rocks abound, so that neither the road nor the mileage can be exactly marked. Only by the skeletons of men and animals and by the droppings of camels and horses can one verify [which is the way]. Also, there are hobgoblins and prodigies there, for which reason the merchant caravans, going and coming, usually take the Yiwu 伊吾 route.

To "take the Yiwu route" is to go to Gaochang 高昌 from Dunhuang 敦煌 *via* Yiwu 伊吾. On the basis of the *Da Ciensi Sanzang Fashi Zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, vol. 1, we know that

between Dunhuang 敦煌 and Yiwu 伊吾 there was “the Moheyan 莫賀延 Desert. Its length is more than eight hundred *li* 里. It was called the Sand River in ancient times. There are no birds in the sky, no beasts on the ground, nor is there any water and grass either”. This is to say that one also need pass through a desert if he wanted to reached Gaochang 高昌.

In sum, Lü Guang’s 呂光 western expedition set out from Dunhuang 敦煌, passing the flowing sands, and reached Gaochang 高昌, and then from Gaochang 高昌 reached Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲.

According to the item on Yanqi 焉耆 in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 97 (Memoir on the Western Rong 戎), the king of Yanqi 焉耆 was Long Xi 龍熙 at that time:

When Lü Guang 呂光 made an expedition against the Western Regions, [Long] Xi [龍]熙 also surrendered to [Lü] Guang [呂]光. When [Lü] Guang [呂]光 usurped the throne, [Long] Xi [龍]熙 sent his son to attend at court.

However, the name of the king of Yanqi 焉耆 was noted as “Niliu 泥流” in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 122. There is no evidence to attest that the line of the Long 龍 family of the king of Yanqi 焉耆 was not discontinued at that time.¹⁵ “Long Xi 龍熙” and “Niliu 泥流” must have been different transcriptions of the same name. “Long 龍” is a transliteration, thus “Niliu 泥流” is possibly a different transcription of “Long 龍”; if the former is read rapidly, its pronunciation would be similar to the latter.

The king of Yanqi 焉耆 “leading his neighboring states, requested permission to surrender” and “Each of his satellite nobles and kings patrolled around his own town for self-defense” when the Qiuci 龜茲 resisted Lü Guang 呂光. This shows that Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲, as large states among the oasis states on the Southern and Northern Routes, respectively controlled some small states at that time.

In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 122, it is also recorded that “When [Lü] Guang 呂光] once more advanced to attack Qiuci 龜茲, he dreamed that a golden statue flew over and beyond the town walls in the night. [Lü] Guang 呂光 said, ‘This means the Buddhist God is deserting them. The Hu 胡 will surely perish’. When [Lü] Guang’s 呂光 attack on the town grew intense, Bo Chun 帛純 emptied the state’s treasures to request aid from the Hu 胡 of Kuai 獯. The younger brother

of [the chief] of the Hu 胡 of Kuai 猯, Nelong 訥龍, and a noble, Jiangkui 將廝, led a force of over two hundred thousand cavalry, in addition to the kings of Wensuo 溫宿, Weitou 尉頭 and others, a combined force of over seven hundred thousand men, to rescue [Bo Chun 帛純]. The Hu 胡 people excelled in horsemanship and archery and were good at the use of lance and spear. Their armour was linked chain, impenetrable by arrow. They used rawhide thongs as lariats which they, whipping their mounts, threw at men with frequent hits. The hosts were exceedingly wary of them. The generals were in favor of resisting them by having each encampment take up its battle station, posting its men-at-arms. [Lü] Guang 呂光 said: 'They are many and we are few. Furthermore, the encampments are far apart, and to have our striking force divided and scattered is not good strategy'. Thereupon he moved the encampments into a continuous line, in the form of a hook. Picked cavalry acted as a mobile force lacing together the gaps. They joined battle west of the town, and [Lü Guang 呂光] inflicted a crushing defeat on them, decapitating over ten thousand. Bo Chun 帛純 gathered up his treasures and fled. The kings and nobles of over thirty states surrendered".

In my opinion, according to the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, Lü Guang's 呂光 destruction of Qiuci 龜茲 was in the seventh month of the ninth year of the *Taiyuan* 太元 reign-period (A.D. 384). "The kings of Wensuo 溫宿, Weitou 尉頭 and others" is noted as "the states of Gumo 姑墨, [Wen]suo [溫]宿, Weitou 尉頭 and others, and the various barbarians" in the "Houliang Lu 後涼錄" chapter of the *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 125. This shows that Gumo 姑墨 was among the small states which went to rescue Qiuci 龜茲, besides Wensuo 溫宿 and Weitou 尉頭.

As to the "Hu 胡 of Kuai 猯" who led the cavalry to rescue Qiuci 龜茲, it has been suggested that they were the predecessors of the Yueban 悅般 in Yuan Wei 元魏 times.¹⁶ In my opinion, this theory is convincing.

First, according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, their forebears of the Yueban 悅般 were "a horde of the Northern *Chanyu* 單于 of the Xiongnu 匈奴". When the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴 were expelled by Dou Xian 竇憲 they ran away westwards but those who were weak were left in the north of Qiuci 龜茲. Afterwards, the weak moved northwards and occupied the former land of the Wusun 烏孫 and formed the state of Yueban 悅般. The king of Qiuci 龜茲 asked the Hu

胡 of Kuai 獯 for help, which shows that the territory of the Hu 胡 of Kuai 獯 was close to him, possibly to the north of Qiuci 龜茲. The Hu 胡 sent a cavalry of two hundred thousand to rescue Bo Chun 帛純, and these "excelled in horsemanship and archery and were good at the use of lance and spear". This shows that it must have been a horseriding nomadic tribe.

Second, "Kuai 獯 [*kuat*]" can be regarded as a different transcription of "Hun". "Yueban 悅般" had its own tribal name, but it is possible that they had styled themselves "Xiongnu 匈奴 (Huns)" for a time since they were regarded as "a horde of the Northern *Chanyu* 單于 of the Xiongnu 匈奴" by the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102. It is not impossible that someone who was not unaware of the truth translated "Hun" into "Kuai 獯" and then added the character "Hu 胡" (barbarians).

In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 122, it is also recorded that "[Lü] Guang 呂光, entering their town, held a great banquet to reward his officers and men, and composed a poem to express his ambition. Beholding the splendour and beauty of their palace buildings, he ordered his Adjutant, Duan Ye 段業 of Jingzhao 京兆, to write the 'Rhyme Prose on the Qiuci 龜茲 Palaces' to mock them. The Hu 胡 people are luxury-loving and richly endowed with the comforts of life. In their homes they have grape wine, some even as much as a thousand *hu* 斛, which keeps ten years without spoiling. Many soldiers, one after another, immersed and lost themselves in the wine stores. The various states were awed by [Lü] Guang's 呂光 prestige, and tribute offerings [flowed] continuously along the roads. [Lü Guang 呂光] set up Bo Chun's 帛純 younger brother, Zhen 震, as king to keep the peace. In [Lü] Guang's 呂光 pacification of the Western Regions his prestige and benevolence were highly conspicuous, and the cruel and crafty Hu 胡 kings who had not heretofore been subdued, undaunted by distances of ten thousand *li* 里, all came pledging their allegiance; they submitted the *jie* 節 and *zhuan* 傳 (the certificates to undertake trade relations and to ride carriages and the horses of posthouses) that had been conferred upon them by the Han 漢, and [Lü] Guang 呂光 renewed them all by sending a request to the throne". In my opinion, Bo Zhen 帛震 was established as king because he was close to Qin 秦. Lü Guang 呂光 established Bo Zhen 帛震 as king of Qiuci 龜茲, and renewed the certificates of the various states, which shows that his way to control the Western Regions was not different from the former dynasties.

In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 122, it is also recorded that "[Lü] Guang 呂光 had subdued Qiuci 龜茲, and he had the intention of remaining there. At that time he had taken Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什 captive, who urged him to return east.... [Lü] Guang 呂光 thereupon gave a great banquet for his civil and military [officers], where they widely discussed the question of going or staying. As everyone requested that they return, [Lü] Guang 呂光 acquiesced. With over twenty thousand camels he carried the treasures of the foreign states, together with over a thousand expert entertainers, marvelous actors, exotic birds, and bizarre animals, and over ten thousand swift horses. Fu Jian's 苻堅 Administrator of Gaochang 高昌, Yang Han 楊翰, advised his Governor of Liang 涼 Province, Liang Xi 梁熙, to fortify and defend two barriers, at Gaotong 高桐 and Yiwu 伊吾, but [Liang] Xi [梁]熙 did not follow [his advice]. When [Lü] Guang 呂光 reached Gaochang 高昌, [Yang] Han [楊]翰 welcomed him and surrendered with the prefecture". Jiumoluoshi's 鳩摩羅什 urging him to return east also is recorded in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 95 (Memoir on Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什), and in the "Jiumoluoshi Zhuan 鳩摩羅什傳" (Memoir on Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什) of the *Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧傳. In fact this was because Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什 wanted to work his way east with the support of Lü Guang 呂光.

The statement "with over twenty thousand camels" and so on shows how rich Qiuci 龜茲 and its neighbouring states were. Lü Guang's 呂光 policy of robbing without restraint violated Fu Jian's 苻堅 original intention. Therefore, the note that "in [Lü] Guang's 呂光 pacification of the Western Regions his prestige and benevolence were highly conspicuous" is only a pretence adopted by him during the period when it was uncertain whether he would advance or retreat. The culture of the Western Regions was spread eastwards along with expert entertainers, marvelous actors, and others taken by Lü Guang 呂光, but one should note that his confiscations were detrimental to cultural interchange between East and West in the final analysis.

Yang Han 楊翰 is possibly the "Yang Gan 楊幹" seen in the above-mentioned "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑. One of the two, "han 翰" or "gan 幹" must be mistaken. Of course, Yang Gan 楊幹 appeared in the first year of the *Taiyuan* 太元 reign-period (A.D. 376), and in the same book it is recorded that the Administrator of Gaochang 高昌 was Yang Han 楊翰 in the tenth year of the *Taiyuan* 太元 reign-period (A.D. 385). Thus to interpret Yang Han 楊翰 and Yang Gan 楊幹 as two persons is by no means impossible.

According to the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, in the third month of the tenth year of the *Taiyuan* 太元 reign-period (A.D. 385), Lü Guang 呂光 decided to return east. Gaochang 高昌, Dunhuang 敦煌, and Jinchang 晉昌 submitted to him one by one. When he captured Liang Xi 梁熙, the Administrator of Wuwei 武威 surrendered. Lü Guang 呂光 killed Liang Xi 梁熙 and entered Guzang 姑臧, and concurrently held in person the post of Governor of Liang 涼 Province.

In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 122, it is recorded that "All [the officers] advised that although Gaochang 高昌 was on the western frontier, its situation was strategic. Its outer border touched the domain of the Hu 胡 savages, and rebellions might easily break out. [They felt] it would be well to dispatch someone from among [Lü Guang's 呂光] sons and younger brothers to govern it. [Lü] Guang [呂]光 appointed his son, [Lü] Fu [呂]覆, Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, General of Governing the West, Inspector-General of Military Operations West of Yumen 玉門, and Grand Protector General of the Western Regions, to govern Gaochang 高昌, and ordered young men from ministerial families to accompany him". In my opinion, these matters were recorded after Lü Guang 呂光 sent a punitive expedition against [Qifu] Qiangui [乞伏]乾歸 and Peng Xinian 彭奚念 (A.D. 392), and before he styled himself Celestial Emperor (A.D. 396) in this chapter. In the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, this is recorded in the nineteenth year of the *Taiyuan* 太元 reign-period (A.D. 394).¹⁷ From this, one can see that Lü Guang 呂光 established the Administrator to control Gaochang 高昌, and that his attention to Gaochang 高昌 surpassed that of the former dynasties.

The foundation of the Latter Liang 涼 Dynasty had begun in Lü Guang's 呂光 western expedition. It is possible that Lü Guang's 呂光 government issued orders for the Western Regions for a time. Unfortunately, we cannot know the details. Only two matters are recorded in the written literature: In the above-cited *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 97, it is recorded that the king of Yanqi 焉耆, Long Xi 龍熙, "sent his son to attend at court" when Lü Guang 呂光 usurped the throne.¹⁸ And in the same book, ch. 87, it is recorded that Lü Guang 呂光 "sent envoys to buy the jade with which the six [imperial] seals were made at Yutian 于寘" when he "styled himself king".

Notes

1. 前部王及車師王 (the king of Nearer Jushi 車師 and the king of Jushi 車師) appears to be a textual error for 前部王及鄯善王 (the king of Nearer Jushi 車師 and the king of Shanshan 鄯善).
2. “Wuqi 烏耆” is a different transcription of “Yanqi 焉耆”.
3. In Daoan’s 道安 “Mohe Boluoruo Boluomi Jing Chao Xu 摩訶鉢羅若波羅密經抄序” (a preface to the hand-copied book of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*), cited by the *Chu Sanzang Jiji* 出三藏記集 (A Collection of the records of translations of the Tripitaka), vol. 8, it is recorded that “In the first month of the eighteenth year of the *Jianyuan* 建元 reign-period (A.D. 382) the king of the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師, whose name was Midi 彌第, came to court, and his State Master, Jiumoluobati 鳩摩羅跋提 (Kumārabuddhi) presented a *Da Pin* 大品 (Pañcavimsati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā)”. Midi 彌第 must have been the king of Nearer Jushi 車師, Mitian 彌寔, as seen in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 114. From this, we know that Mitian 彌寔 came the third time to Qin’s 秦 court in the first month of the eighteenth year of the *Jianyuan* 建元 reign-period (A.D. 382). Tang Ch. (1981) considers that Mitian 彌寔 possibly reached Qin 秦 in the winter of the previous year, and paid his respects to Fu Jian 苻堅 in the first month of the eighteenth year (A.D. 382), which is the note “come to pay court in the first month”. In my opinion, since Mitian 彌寔 came the second time to Qin 秦 court in the second month of the seventeenth year (A.D. 381), it is also possible that he did not return home and presented the Buddhist sūtra in the first month of the next year.
4. Ise, p. 106, considers that the two kings persuaded Fu Jian 苻堅, asking him for troops to make an expedition against the Western Regions and for the establishment of the Protector General, in order to stimulate trade between East and West so they could earn profits from it. The theory of Matsuda (1970), p. 135, is roughly the same. In my opinion, if their theory is right, there must have existed a power which was able to corner the trade between East and West. It is quite possible that the state of Qiuci 龜茲 played this role.
5. In the “Qianqin Lu 前秦錄” chapter of the *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 122, it is recorded that “In the first month of the thirteenth year of the [*Jianyuan* 建元] reign-period (A.D. 377), the Grand Astrologer presented a memorandum and said, a star appeared at the border of of the outer states. This showed that a wise man would come and assist the ruler in Middle Kingdom. Those who gained him would be prosperous. [Fu] Jian [苻]堅 heard there was a Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什 in the Western Regions and there was a Daoan 道安 at Xiangyang 襄陽, and thus sent envoys to ask for both”. In addition, in the “Shi Daoan Zhuan 釋道安” (Memoir on Daoan 道安, the Buddhist monk) of the *Gaoseng Zhuan* 高僧傳 it is recorded that “[Fu] Jian [苻]堅 said to Quan Yi 權翼, ‘We dispatched a force of ten thousand men to take Xiangyang 襄陽, and only one man and a half were gained’. [Quan] Yi [權]翼 asked. ‘Who are they’? [Fu] Jian [苻]堅 said ‘Gentleman [Dao]an [道]安 is one and Xi Zaochi 習鑿齒 is a half’”. All these can serve as reference.

6. *TLFWS*, p. 11.
7. Cf. Huang L.
8. Matsuda (1970), p. 136.
9. Ise, p. 115.
10. In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 95, it is recorded that "the kings of Shanshan 鄯善 and the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師 came to court. When they returned westwards, the king of Shanshan 鄯善 died at Guzang 姑臧". From this, it can be seen that only Mitian 彌寔 acted as guide for Lü Guang 呂光.
11. Cf. Yu, T. (1992), pp. 182–209.
12. In the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, ch. 40 (under the item on Jiaohe 交河 Prefecture, Xi 西 Province) it is recorded that there was a place whose name was "Lü Guang 呂光 Guesthouse" on the border of Yanqi 焉耆. This must have been a relic of Lü Guang's 呂光 western expedition.
13. There are also similar examples in the *Jinshu* 晉書; see Ma (1990-5).
14. Cf. Shimazaki (1977), pp.467–493; Huang L. (1987-2).
15. According to the *Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 50B, the king of Yanqi 焉耆 was "surnamed Long 龍, and is a descendant of Long Xi 龍熙, who was enfeoffed by Zhang Gui 張軌 of the Former Liang 涼 Dynasty". "Zhang Gui 張軌 of the Earlier Liang 涼 Dynasty" here is used to refer to Zhang's 張 regime.
16. Cf. Guo. Also, on the Yueban 悅般, cf. Yu, T. (1986), pp. 183–187, 196–199.
17. Tang Ch. (1981).
18. Long Xi 龍熙, the king of Yanqi 焉耆, was a grandson of Long An 龍安. Long An 龍安 was on the throne during the *Taikang* 太康 reign-period (A.D. 280–289) of the Western Jin 晉 Dynasty. The time when Long Xi 龍熙 ascended the throne is not known. However, he surrendered to Yang Xuan 楊宣, Governor of Sha 沙 Province of Zhang Liang 張涼 in the first year of the *Yonghe* 元和 reign-period of Emperor Mu 穆 of the Eastern Jin 晉 Dynasty (A.D. 345). From this, it can be seen that the reign of Long Xi 龍熙 already exceeded a half century by the time Lü Guang 呂光 styled himself king. This seems to be too long but it is not impossible.

Chapter 7

The Western & Northern Liang Dynasties and the Western Regions

A

In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 87 (Memoir on Li Xuansheng 李玄盛), it is recorded that “In the fourth year of the *Longan* 隆安 reign-period (A.D. 400), the Administrator of Jinchang 晉昌 Prefecture, Tang Yao 唐瑤, sent a call-to-arms to the six prefectures to put up [Li] Xuansheng [李]玄盛 as Grand Inspector General, Supreme General, Duke of Liang 涼, Concurrent Governor of both Qin 秦 and Liang 涼 Provinces, Colonel of Protecting the Qiang 羌”. [Li] Xuansheng [李]玄盛 thus “sent Song You 宋繇 to make an expedition against Liangxing 涼興, and attack the various towns to the west of Yumen 玉門 Barrier, which all were captured. Thereupon he stationed his army at Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 Barriers, widely tilled the land, and gathered the harvest to prepare materials for the eastern expedition”. In my opinion, this is the beginning of Li Liang’s 李涼 contacts with the Western Regions. The “various towns to the west of Yumen 玉門 Barrier” must refer to Yiwu 伊吾 and the towns under Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture, and should not be regarded as the various states with walled towns in the Western Regions. At the beginning of Li Liang’s 李涼 establishment its strength was thin and weak, and its eastern expedition reached only as far as Liangxing 涼興, therefore it seems impossible that its western expedition reached as far as Gaochang 高昌 and beyond. Song You’s 宋繇 attack on the various towns to the west of Yumen 玉門 Barrier was planned in the eleventh month, as recorded of the fourth year, in the “Jinji 晉紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, and Tang Yao’s 唐瑤 sending a call-to-arms to the six prefectures is in the same month.

The *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 117, records that Yao Xing 姚興 conferred on “Li Xuansheng 李玄盛, the titles General of Pacifying the West and Marquis of Gaochang 高昌”. According to the “Jinji 晉紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒, this was in the first year of the *Yuanxing* 元興 reign-period of Emperor An 安 (A.D. 402). This is probably because Li Xuansheng’s 李玄盛 being given the title General Pacifying the West was arranged after the Northern Wei 魏 captured Chaibi 柴壁 and before Yao Xing 姚興 sent Qi Nan 齊難 to enter Guzang 姑臧 and meet Lü Long 呂隆. Chaibi’s 柴壁 being captured, according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 95 (Memoir on Yao

Xing 姚興), was in the fifth year of the *Tianxing* 天興 reign-period of Wei's 魏 Tuoba Gui 拓跋珪 (A.D. 402), in the ninth month; Qi Nan's 齊難 meeting Lü Long 呂隆, according to the "Houliang Lu 後涼錄" of Cui Hong's 崔鴻 *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋, cited by the *Taiping Yulan* 太平御覽, vol. 125, took place in the third year of the *Shending* 神鼎 reign-period of Lü Long 呂隆 (A.D. 403).¹ From this, it can be seen that Li Xuansheng 李玄盛 occupied Gaochang 高昌 between the end of A.D. 400 and 402.

In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 87 (Memoir on Li Xin 李歆), it is recorded that "in this year the imperial court appointed Shiye 士業 (i.e., Li Xin 李歆) as Commissioner with Special Powers, Inspector-General of Military Operations of the Seven Prefectures, Supreme General of Governing the West, Colonel of Protecting the Qiang 羌, and Duke of Jiuquan 酒泉". "Seven Prefectures" refers to the seven prefectures of Gaochang 高昌 and others.² "This year" is the following year, when Li Xin 李歆 ascended the throne. Therefore, this is arranged under the fourteenth year of the *Yixi* 義熙 reign-period of Emperor An 安 (A.D. 418) in the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑. In addition, according to the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 98 (Memoir on Grand Qiequ Mengxun 且渠蒙遜), "When Emperor Gaozu 高祖 ascended the throne, he conferred on [Li] Xin [李]歆 the titles Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, Inspector General of Military Operations of the Seven Prefectures of Gaochang 高昌, Dunhuang 敦煌, Jinchang 晉昌, Jiuquan 酒泉, Xihai 西海, Yumen 玉門, Kanquan 堪泉, Colonel of Protecting the Qiang 羌, General-in-chief of Conquering the West, Duke of Jiuquan 酒泉". "Emperor Gaozu 高祖 ascended the throne" was in A.D. 420. From this, it can be seen that Li Liang 李涼 controlled Gaochang 高昌 in its entirety. In the documents unearthed from Turfan there is one that dates from the fourth year of the *Jiaying* 嘉興 reign-period (A.D. 420),³ which can be regarded as evidence. In "A list of burial clothing and articles of Han Qu's 韓渠 wife in the fourteenth year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 418)", unearthed from Turfan in 1963, it is said, "The wife of Han Qu 韓渠, who is of a people that dwells in Xiaojing 孝敬 Village, Du 都 Township, Gao[chang] 高[昌] County, Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture...".⁴ This shows that Li Liang 李涼 established the county, township and village entities in Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture, whose administrative system accorded with that used inland.

Since Li Liang 李涼 stationed the army at the Yumen 玉門 and Yang 陽 Barriers and occupied Gaochang 高昌, there should be communications, between it and other regions in the Western Regions. However, only a single record occurs in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 87 (Memoir on Li Xuansheng 李玄盛): "The kings of Shanshan 鄯善 and the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師 sent envoys to present their local products". In this chapter the two states' coming to present tribute is arranged after Li Xuansheng 李玄盛 moved to Jiuquan 酒泉 from Dunhuang 敦煌 in the first year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D.405) and before Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 invaded and did battle at Anmi 安彌 in the second year of the *Yixi* 義熙 reign-period (A.D. 406). Therefore, the two states' coming to present tribute was between A.D 405 and 406.⁵

In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 87 (Memoir on Li Xuansheng 李玄盛), it is also recorded that Li Xuansheng 李玄盛 sent a *śramaṇa*, Fa Quan 法泉, to submit a memorial to Jin 晉. In this it is said that "Now accumulated capital and goods are enough and equipment is has been sufficient. We can call up the forces from the various states of the walled towns in the west and lead the masses of the Dingling 丁零 in the north. With such national power and influence we look forward to conquering entire regions of He 河 and Long 隴 in one sweep, and setting our flags over Qinchuan 秦川. Acting according to imperial instruction, we will be wholeheartedly loyal to the standard of moral integrity until our deaths". It also said that "Dunhuang 敦煌 is a big prefecture and has a large population. It has controlled the Western Regions, has jurisdiction over ten thousand *li* 里, and is the base from which to lead the army and govern the country. I have appointed my second son, Rang 讓, as General of Stabilizing the North, Colonel of the Western Yi 夷, and Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, to command the Western barbarians and stabilize the distant places". Li Xuansheng's 李玄盛 appointing Li Rang 李讓 as Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, according to the same chapter, was in the first year of the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period (A.D. 405). According to the "Jinji 晉紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, Fa Quan's 法泉 mission to Jin 晉 was in the third year of the *Yixi* 義熙 reign-period (A.D. 407). We know this because the memorial says that "Your vassal advanced to Jiuquan 酒泉 in that year, ... Time flies and three years have elapsed".⁶ According to the memorial, it appears that Li Liang 李涼 could control the Western Regions and command the western barbarians at the beginning of the

Jianchu 建初 reign-period, but there is no further evidence. "Call up the forces from the various states of the walled towns in the west" may be talking about mere stratagems on paper.

After Li Liang 李涼 Dynasty was destroyed, its descendants went into exile at Yiwu 伊吾 and attached themselves to the Rouran 柔然 for a time. According to the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 98 (Memoir on Grand Qiequ Mengxun 且渠蒙遜), in the third year of the *Yongchu* 永初 reign-period (A.D. 422), "in the twelfth month, the Administrator of Jinchang 晉昌, Tang Qi 唐契, rebelled. [Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜] sent [Juqu] Zhengde [沮渠]正德 to attack [Tang] Qi 唐契. In the first year of the *Jingping* 景平 reign-period (A.D. 423), in the third month, [Zhengde 正德] captured Jinchang 晉昌. Tang Qi 唐契 ran away to Yiwu 伊吾". According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 43 (Memoir on Tang He 唐和), "After Li's 李 family was destroyed by Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜, [Tang] He [唐]和 took refuge at Yiwu 伊吾 with his elder brother, Qi 唐契, and his nephew Li Bao 李寶, and called up the common people of over two thousand households to swear fealty to the Ruru 蠕蠕. The Ruru 蠕蠕 established [Tang] Qi 唐契 as King of Yiwu 伊吾". Tang's 唐 brothers were the sons of Tang Yao 唐瑤, and Li Bao 李寶 was a grandson of Li Xuansheng 李玄盛.⁷

Li Bao's 李寶 running away to Yiwu 伊吾 is also recorded in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 39 (Memoir on Li Bao 李寶): "After his uncle had been destroyed by Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜, [Li] Bao 李寶 removed to Guzang 姑臧. Over a year later, he ran away northwards to Yiwu 伊吾, along with his mother's brother, Tang Qi 唐契, and swore fealty to the Ruru 蠕蠕. The number of survivors who attached themselves to him gradually rose to two thousand men. [Li] Bao 李寶 wholeheartedly treated them with courtesy and gained popular support, and everyone was ready to serve him. He hoped to take revenge and wipe out the earlier humiliation". According to the above-mentioned *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 98 (Memoir on Grand Qiequ Mengxun 且渠蒙遜), and *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 43 (Memoir on Tang He 唐和), the Tang 唐 brothers ran away to Yiwu 伊吾 with Li Bao 李寶 in the first year of the *Jingping* 景平 reign-period (A.D. 423), in the third month, which does not match the record that it was "over a year" after Li Liang 李涼 Dynasty's downfall in the "Memoir on Li Bao 李寶". Also, the Tang 唐 brothers ran to Yiwu 伊吾 from Jinchang 晉昌, in the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 98. However, according to this memoir, they should have run from Guzang 姑臧. Therefore, the fact is possibly that before he ran away to Yiwu 伊吾,

Li Bao 李寶 had run away to Jinchang 晉昌 and become attached to the Tang 唐 family, and this was "over a year" after he removed to Guzang 姑臧.⁸

In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 39 (Memoir on Li Bao 李寶), it is also recorded that "When Emperor Shizu 世祖 sent a general to attack Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 at Dunhuang 敦煌, [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱 abandoned the town and ran away. [Li] Bao [李]寶 returned southwards to Dunhuang 敦煌 from Yiwu 伊吾, and repaired the town and the residence of the administrator, thus restoring the achievement of his ancestors. He sent his younger brother, Huaida 懷達, to submit a memorial to pledge their allegiance. Emperor Shizu 世祖 praised his allegiance, and conferred on Huaida 懷達 the titles Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary and Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌. [Emperor Shizu 世祖] also sent another envoy to confer on [Li] Bao [李]寶 the titles Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, Palace Attendant, and Commander-in-chief of Military Operations of the Western Borders, Supreme General of Governing the West, Commander Unequaled in Honor, Concurrent Colonel for Protecting the Western Rong 戎, Governor of Sha 沙 Province, and Duke of Dunhuang 敦煌, letting him govern Dunhuang 敦煌 as before, and allowing him, with imperial decree, to confer informally official posts below that of the fourth rank. In the fifth year of the [*Tai ping*] *Zhenjun* [太平]真君 reign-period (A.D. 444), he thus came to court, then left the capital with the title Senior Official Sitting in the Outer Sovereign Meeting Hall". According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5, in the third year of the *Tai ping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 442), "in the summer, in the fourth month, [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱 ran away, crossed the flowing sands, and occupied Shanshan 鄯善. The grandson of Li Gao 李暠, [Li] Bao 李寶, occupied Dunhuang 敦煌 and sent an envoy requesting permission to pay allegiance to the court". In the tenth month, "Li Bo 李寶 sent an envoy to present tribute. [The emperor] conferred on [Li] Bao [李]寶 the titles Supreme General of Governing the West, Commander Unequaled in Honor, Governor of Sha 沙 Province, and Duke of Dunhuang 敦煌.". From this, we know that Li Bao 李寶 went to court about two years after Li Bao 李寶 had been given the title Duke of Dunhuang 敦煌. The relation between the remainder of the Li Liang 李涼 Dynasty and the Western Regions was at its end.

B

When the Northern Liang 涼 Dynasty began, its influence already reached as far as Gaochang 高昌. A document recording grain borrowed in the Storehouse Section that dates from the third year of the *Shenxi* 神璽 reign-period of Duan Ye 段業 (A.D. 399), in the fifth month, on the seventh day, which was unearthed from Turfan,⁹ can be regarded as evidence. Duan Ye 段業 changed the title of his reign to "*Tainxi* 天璽" in the second month of the third year of the *Shenxi* 神璽 reign-period (A.D. 399). This document is written in the fifth month, and the title of the reign was still "the third of the *Shenxi* 神璽 reign-period". This shows that the change of the title of the reign was not yet known. After this, the relationship between the Northern Liang 涼 Dynasty and Gaochang 高昌 was severed because Li Gao 李暹 rose unexpectedly.

As soon as Li Liang 李涼 collapsed, the Juqu 沮渠 family controlled Gaochang 高昌. In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 129, it is recorded that "In the eleventh year of the *Yixi* 義熙 reign-period (A.D. 415), Sima Weiren 司馬隗仁 of Huanghe 滄河 "was captured by [Qifu] Chipan [乞伏]熾磐", and returned to Guzang 姑臧 "after being in the area of Chipan [乞伏]熾磐 for five years". "When he arrived, [Juqu] Mengxun [沮渠]蒙遜 took his hand and said 'You are truly My Su Wu 蘇武'! And appointed him Administrator of Gaochang 高昌. His governance was known for both benevolence and severity, but it lost much popular support because of his love of money". From this, it can be seen that the first Administrator of Gaochang 高昌 who was appointed by the Juqu 沮渠 family was Sima Weiren 司馬隗仁. However, five years after the eleventh year of the *Yixi* 義熙 reign-period was within the reign of the Western Liang 涼 Dynasty, thus it is suggested that "Administrator of Gaochang 高昌", seen in the above-cited reference in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 129, could be a textual error for "Administrator of Jinchang 晉昌".¹⁰ In my opinion, this does not necessarily follow from the fact that Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 "appointed him Administrator of Gaochang 高昌" in the same year that Sima Weiren 司馬隗仁 returned to Guzang 姑臧. We should not understand the text so mechanically.

The latest official documents of the Western Liang 涼 unearthed from Turfan dated from the fourth year of the *Jiaying* 嘉興 reign-period (A.D. 420), and the earliest document of the Northern Liang 涼 is "Ma Shou's 馬受 memorandum for taking out wine in the eleventh year of the *Xuanshi* 玄始 reign-period (A.D. 422)".¹¹ From this, it can be seen that the Northern Liang's

涼 rule of Gaochang 高昌 indeed followed closely that of the Western Liang 涼. Of the documents of the government of Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture unearthed from Turfan, those that were subject to the Northern Liang 涼 are the most numerous. On the basis of these documents, it can be seen that the administrative system of Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture at that time roughly followed those of the Han 漢 and Wei 魏 from an earlier time, and Jin 晉 and Song 宋 closer at hand. Arrangements completely corresponded regarding prefecture and county in the hinterland, from the organization of district and village to the institution of prefecture and army headquarters.¹²

There were communications between the regime of the Juqu 沮渠 family which occupied Gaochang 高昌, and other states in the Western Regions. Following its statement that Li Xun 李恂 killed himself in the third year of the *Yongchu* 永初 reign-period (A.D. 422), in the third month, and then Li Liang 李涼 became extinct, the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 98 (Memoir on Qiequ Mengxun 且渠蒙遜), states that "Thereupon the king of Shanshan 鄯善, Bilong 比龍, came to pay court, and the thirty-six states in the Western Regions all swore fealty and presented tribute". "The thirty-six states in the Western Regions" refers generally to the various states in the Western Regions. From this, it can be seen that there were extensive connections between the Juqu 沮渠 family and the Western Regions after it destroyed the Western Liang 涼.

It should be pointed out that, according to the "Songji 宋紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, the dates at which Li Xun 李恂 killed himself and that the various states presented tribute were both in the second year of the *Yongchu* 永初 reign-period (A.D. 421), the third month. According to the *Shiliuguo Chunqiu* 十六國春秋, cited by *Shazhou Dudufu Tujing* 沙州都督府圖經, Li Xun's 李恂 killing himself was in the fifth year of the *Jiaying* 嘉興 reign-period (A.D. 421), in the spring.¹³ One can see that "三年 (the third year)" seen in the *Songshu* 宋書 must be a textual error for "二年 (the second year)".

There is no record of Bilong's 比龍 coming to pay court in the "Songji 宋紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, in which it is said only that "於是西域諸國皆詣蒙遜稱臣朝貢 (thereupon the various states in the Western Regions all came to [Juqu] Mengxun [沮渠]蒙遜 to swear fealty and pay tribute)". Because Bilong's 比龍 coming to pay court is recorded in the *Songshu* 宋書, this should be taken as coming to Liu Song 劉宋 to pay court. However, since, in the second year

of the *Yongchu* 永初 reign-period (A.D. 421), in the third month, the relationship between Liu Song 劉宋 and Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 had not begun, it is impossible that the king of Shanshan 鄯善 came to Song 宋 to pay court through [Juqu] Mengxun [沮渠]蒙遜. The *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 adds the three characters “詣蒙遜” (came to [Juqu] Mengxun [沮渠]蒙遜) before “稱臣朝貢” (to swear fealty and pay tribute) and this was in order to avoid being misunderstood. It is possible that Shanshan 鄯善 also should be included in the various states that “came to [Juqu] Mengxun [沮渠]蒙遜” to present tribute, therefore the item about Bilong 比龍 could be cancelled in the mind of the editor of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑.

Juqu’s 沮渠 regime, not only was itself connected with the various states in the Western Regions, but it also acted as a neutral intermediary by which Liu Song 劉宋 and the Northern Wei 魏 connected with the Western Region.

According to the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 3, in the second year of the *Yongchu* 永初 reign-period (A.D. 421), in the tenth month, “on the day *jihai* 己亥, the leader of the Hu 胡 in Liang 涼 Province, Grand Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜, was appointed as Supreme General of Maintaining Order in Army, Commander Unequaled in Honor, and Governor of Liang 涼 Province”.¹⁴ According to the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 4, in the first year of the *Jingping* 景平 reign-period (A.D. 423), in the second month, on the day *dingchou* 丁丑, Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 “sent envoys to present tribute”. “On the day *gengchen* 庚辰, invested [Juqu] Mengxun [沮渠]蒙遜 with the title of Cavalry Supreme General, and conferred on him the title of King of Hexi 河西”.¹⁵ After [Juqu] Mengxun [沮渠]蒙遜 died, his son, [Juqu] Mujian [沮渠]牧犍 succeeded to the throne. According to the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 5, in the eleventh year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 434), in the fifth month, “on the day *wuyin* 戊寅, [Emperor Wen 文] conferred on Grand Juqu Maoqian 沮渠茂虔 (i.e., Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍) the titles Supreme General of Conquering the West and Governor of Liang 涼 Province”.¹⁶ From this, it can be seen that Liu Song 劉宋 acknowledged the Western Regions to be under the Juqus’ 沮渠 control, and the Juqu 沮渠 family became the attorney by which Liu Song 劉宋 controlled the Western Regions, in name at least. During this period, the Juqu 沮渠 family was certain to present their local products from the Western Regions whenever it came to Song 宋 to pay court. It is imaginable that there were some envoys of the Western Regions who went to Liu Song 劉宋 by way of Liang 涼 Province.¹⁷

According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A, in the fourth year of the *Shenji* 神麴 reign-period (A.D. 431), in the ninth month, "on the day *guihai* 癸亥, an imperial edict ordered Li Shun 李順, the Chamberlain for Ceremonials, who retained the emblems of authority, to appoint the King of Hexi 河西, Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 as Commissioner with a Warrant, Honorific Palace Attendant, Commander-in-chief of Military Operations of Liang 涼 Province, the Western Regions and the Qiang 羌 and Rong 戎, Concurrent Supreme General of Conquering the West, Grand Mentor, Governor of Liang 涼 Province, and King of Liang 涼".¹⁸ It is also recorded that in the second year of the *Yanhe* 延和 reign-period (A.D. 433), Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 died. His son, [Juqu] Mujian [沮渠]牧犍, was appointed as Chariot and Horse General and the title of King of Hexi 河西 was reconferred".¹⁹ Since the Juqu 沮渠 family was given the official titles, it is reasonable to assume that they led or convoyed the envoys who were sent to the Western Regions by the Northern Wei 魏. However, according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 99 (Memoir on Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜), in the fifth year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 439), Emperor Shizu 世祖 of Wei 魏 declared twelve charges against Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍 when he went on an expedition against Liang 涼 Province in person. Of them, the fourth charge is that "Though knowing the imperial court's will was to cherish the distant people, he persistently disobeyed the holy vision by harshly collecting taxes from the merchant barbarians and intercepting travellers". From this, one can see that the Juqu 沮渠 family, fact, overtly appeared to agree with but covertly opposed the central government.

C

In the fifth year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 439), in the seventh month, Emperor Shizu 世祖 of Wei 魏 attacked Guzang 姑臧. In the ninth month, Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍 surrendered. The communications between the Northern Liang 涼 and the Western Regions came to an end. However, the Juqu 沮渠 remnant forces still moved about in the Western Regions for a rather long time.

After Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍 had surrendered, the Northern Wei 魏 sent Xi Juan 奚眷 to attack Zhangye 張掖 and Jiuquan 酒泉. Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱, the Administrator of Jiuquan 酒泉, and Juqu Yide 沮渠宜得, the Administrator of Zhangye 張掖, fled westwards to Jinchang 晉

昌. In the sixth year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 440), in the first month, Wuhui 無諱 counterattacked Jiuquan 酒泉 and captured it in the third month. He then attacked Zhangye 張掖, but was unable to take it, so he returned and occupied Jiuquan 酒泉. In the eighth month he begged to surrender to Wei 魏. In the second year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 441), in the first month, Wei 魏 conferred on Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 the titles Supreme General of Conquering the West, the Governor of Liang 涼 Province, and King of Jiuquan 酒泉. In the fourth month Wei 魏 sent Xi Juan 奚眷 to attack Jiuquan 酒泉. In the fifth month Juqu Tangni 沮渠唐兒, Juqu Wuhui's 沮渠無諱 Administrator of Dunhuang 敦煌, rebelled. A younger male cousin with the same surname, Juqu Tianzhou 沮渠天周, remained to defend Jiuquan 酒泉. Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 himself went to attack and kill Juqu Tangni 沮渠唐兒 and thus remained at Dunhuang 敦煌. In the seventh month, Xi Juan 奚眷 besieged Jiuquan 酒泉, and he captured it in the eleventh month. Juqu Tianzhou 沮渠天周 was taken captive.²⁰ Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 at Dunhuang 敦煌 feared that he would be unable to stand alone, according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 99 (Memoir on Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜), and "thus planned to cross the flowing sands and send [Juqu] Anzhou 沮渠安周 to attack Shanshan 鄯善 to the west. When the king of Shanshan 鄯善 became afraid and desired to surrender, it happened that he was advised to resist by the Wei's 魏 envoys. [Juqu] Anzhou [沮渠]安周 thus fought him continuously but could not overcome him, so retreated to defend the eastern town. In the spring of the third year (A.D. 442), the king of Shanshan 鄯善, Bilong 比龍, fled westwards to Qiemo 且末. The eldest son by his queen thereupon followed [Juqu] Anzhou [沮渠]安周. Shanshan 鄯善 was in considerable unrest. [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱 crossed the flowing sands, most of his soldiers dying of thirst, and occupied Shanshan 鄯善". Thenceforth, the activities of Juqu's 沮渠 survivors were removed to the Western Regions from the Hexi 河西 region. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4B, Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 "fled and crossed the flowing sands and occupied Shanshan 鄯善" in the third year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 442), in the fourth month. In the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 98 (Memoir on Grand Qiequ Mengxun 且渠蒙遜), it is recorded that in eighteenth year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 441), in the eleventh month, [Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱] "sent his younger brother, leading a force of five thousand men, to attack Shanshan 鄯善, which held its ground, and he was unable to capture it. In the

nineteenth year (A.D. 442), in the fourth month, abandoning Dunhuang 敦煌, Wuhui 無諱 himself led over ten thousand households westwards to [Juqu] Anzhou [沮渠]安周. Before he arrived, the king of Shanshan 鄯善, Bilong 比龍, leading over four thousand households, fled, and [Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱] thus occupied Shanshan 鄯善". This also can be taken as evidence.

In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 99 (Moir on Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜), it is also recorded that "Previous to this time, the Administrator of Gaochang 高昌, Han Shuang 闕爽, was attacked by Tang Qi 唐契, the younger brother of Li Bao's 李寶 mother. After having heard that [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱 had arrived at Shanshan 鄯善, he sent an envoy to pretend to surrender [to Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱]; he wanted to have [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱 and Tang Qi 唐契 fight each other. Leaving behind [Juqu] Anzhou [沮渠]安周 to live at Shanshan 鄯善, [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱 ran to Gaochang 高昌 from the northeast of Yanqi 焉耆. It happened that the Ruru 蠕蠕 had killed Tang Qi 唐契, and [Han] Shuang 闕爽 thus resisted [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱. Wei Xingnu 衛興奴, a general of [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱, tricked [Han] Shuang 闕爽 and massacred the inhabitants of his town. [Han] Shuang 闕爽 fled to the Ruru 蠕蠕, and [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱 then stayed at Gaochang 高昌". In my opinion, the statement "previous to this time" refers to the time before Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 abandoned Dunhuang 敦煌 and fled to Shanshan 鄯善 in the third year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 442), in the fourth month. This is to say that Tang Qi's 唐契 attack on Gaochang 高昌 was before Li Bao's 李寶 occupation of Dunhuang 敦煌.

In the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 98 (Moir on Grand Qiequ Mengxun 且渠蒙遜), it is recorded that "Previously, Tang Qi 唐契 had fled to Yiwu 伊吾 from Jinchang 晉昌. In this year he attacked Gaochang 高昌. The lord of the town of Gaochang 高昌, Han Shuang 闕爽, suffered this emergency. In the eighth month, leaving behind his nephew, [Juqu] Fengzhou [沮渠]豐周, to defend Shanshan 鄯善, [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱 ran [to Gaochang 高昌] in person leading his households. When he had not yet arrived, the Ruirui 芮芮 sent troops to rescue Gaochang 高昌 and killed Tang Qi 唐契, whose private troops fled to [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱. In the ninth month, [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱 sent his general, Wei Liao 衛寮, to raid Gaochang 高昌 at night. [Han] Shuang 闕爽 fled to the Ruirui 芮芮, and [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱 again occupied Gaochang 高昌". From this, we see that Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 departed from

Shanshan 鄯善 in the third year of the *Tai ping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 442), in the eighth month and occupied Gaochang 高昌 in the ninth month. The reference says that Wuhui 無諱 left behind Juqu Fengzhou 沮渠豐周 to defend Shanshan 鄯善, which is different from the record in the *Weishu* 魏書, according to which, the one who was left behind was Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周. However, the record of the *Songshu* 宋書 is correct. This is because, according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 43 (Memoir on Tang He 唐和), after Tang Qi 唐契 had died, his younger brother, Tang He 唐和, ran to the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師, and then captured the town of Hengjie 橫截, where Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 was stationed. From this, one can see that Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 went to Gaochang 高昌 along with Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周, and the man who stayed to take care of Shanshan 鄯善 was Juqu Fengzhou 沮渠豐周.²¹

According to the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 5, in the nineteenth year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 442), in the sixth month, "[the emperor] appointed Grand Juqu Menshun 大且渠蒙遜 as Supreme General of Conquering the West and Governor of Liang 涼 Province". And in the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 98 (Memoir on Grand Qiequ Mengxun 且渠蒙遜), after the statement that Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 occupied Gaochang 高昌 in the ninth month of the same year, it is recorded that "[Qiequ Mengxun 且渠蒙遜] sent the Attendant-in-Ordinary, Si Jun 汜儁, to submit a memorial to the capital and offer their local products. Emperor Taizu's 太祖 edict said, 'In former years, the crafty savages were unrestrained and invaded the land of Liang 涼 Province. The King of Xihe 西河,²² [Qiequ] Mujian [且渠]茂虔, eventually was unable to defend it and was captured by the rebels. Since his family has been celebrated for faithfulness generation after generation, we would take pity upon him. Now the second younger brother, [Qiequ] Wuhui [且渠]無諱, who can carry on his remaining career, has safeguarded the border area, united the neighbouring countries outside, and caused the common people to live in amity inside, is concerned about the imperial court, and performs his duty to pay tribute. So it is proper to give him an imperial appointment to praise his outstanding feat. He shall be Commissioner with Special Powers, Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, Commander-in-chief of Military Operations of the three provinces of Liang 涼, He 河, and Sha 沙, Supreme General of Governing the West, Concurrent Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace of Protecting the Xiongnu 匈奴, Colonel of the Western Yi 夷, Governor of Liang 涼 Province, and King of Hexi 河西". The month is noted

as "the sixth month" in ch. 5, but "the ninth month" in ch. 98. The former refers to the time in which the envoy of Song 宋 started on his journey to Gaochang 高昌, the latter refers to the time in which he arrived at Gaochang 高昌. Si Jun's 汜儁 action was during Juqu Wuhui's 沮渠無諱 occupation of Gaochang 高昌. Therefore, there is the statement that he "can carry on his remaining career, has safeguarded the border area" in the edict.²³

In the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 5, it is also recorded that in the twenty-first year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 444), "In the ninth month, on the day *jiachen* 甲辰, Grand Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 was appointed as General of Conquering the West, Governor of Liang 涼 Province, and the title of King of Hexi 河西 was conferred upon him". However, according to the same book, ch. 98 (Memoir on Grand Qiequ Mengxun 且渠蒙遜), the full official title of Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 is "Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary, Commander-in-chief of Military Operations of the three Provinces of He 河, Liang 涼 and Sha 沙, Concurrent *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of the Western Regions, Governor of Liang 涼 Province, and King of Hexi 河西". The replacement of "Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace of Protecting the Xiongnu 匈奴" with "the *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of the Western Regions" is because Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 occupied Gaochang 高昌 at that time.²⁴

The tombstone of Qiequ Fengdai 且渠封戴, the administrator of Gaochang 高昌, Liang's 涼 capital, dating from the thirteenth year of the *Chengping* 承平 reign-period of the Northern Liang 涼 Dynasty (A.D. 455), unearthed from the ancient graveyard of Astana in Turfan in 1972,²⁵ shows that Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 and Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 also had established Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture, during the period when they controlled Gaochang 高昌. One of the Administrators of Gaochang 高昌 Prefecture was Qiequ Fengdai 且渠封戴. "Fengdai 封戴" may be "Fengtan 封壇" as seen in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 99 (Memoir on Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜).

After they occupied Gaochang 高昌, as a matter of course, the Juqu 沮渠 family wanted to occupy the town of Jiaohe 交河. On the other hand, the goal of the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師, Ju Yiluo 車伊洛, who was loyal to the Northern Wei 魏, out of consideration for his own survival, wanted to wipe out the Juqu 沮渠 regime that was entrenched at Gaochang 高昌. Therefore, the two parties fought each other continuously. In the ninth year of the *Taiping*

Zhenjun 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 448), when the Northern Wei 魏 ordered Wan Dugui 萬度歸 to attack Yanqi 焉耆, an imperial edict [ordered] Ju Yiluo 車伊洛, together with Tang He 唐和, to lead his troops to cooperate with Dugui’s 萬度歸 attack. Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 left behind his son, Xie 歇, to defend the town of Jiaohe 交河, and he personally led the troops and reached the eastern border of Yanqi 焉耆 along with Tang He 唐和. Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 took advantage of this weak point to lead the Rouran 柔然 to besiege the town of Jiaohe 交河. Up to the eleventh year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 450), the town was occupied. Xie 歇 fled to Ju Yiluo 車伊洛, and the town of Jiaohe 交河 thus belonged to Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周.

After this, according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 101, the Juqu 沮渠 family in Gaochang 高昌 “in the first year of the *Heping* 和平 reign-period (A.D. 460) Gaochang 高昌 was annexed by the Ruru 蠕蠕. The Ruru 蠕蠕 established Han Bozhou 闕伯周 as king of Gaochang 高昌”. In the “*Songji* 宋紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 it is also said that “The Rouran 柔然 attacked Gaochang 高昌, killed Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 and destroyed the Juqu 沮渠 family, and established Han Bozhou 闕伯周 as king of Gaochang 高昌”. Thus the relationship between the remnant forces of the Juqu 沮渠 family and the Western Regions also came to an end.

Notes

1. Cf. Tang Ch. (1981).
2. See Tang Ch. (1981). Hu’s 胡 commentaries on the “*Jinji* 晉紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 considers that “The Seven Prefectures” refers to Dunhuang 敦煌, Jiuquan 酒泉, Jinxing 晉興, Jiankang 建康, Liangxing 涼興, Kuaiji 會稽 and Guangxia 廣夏. In my opinion, Hu’s 胡 theory is inadequate. “The seven prefectures” should be the same as that of the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 98 (Memoir on Grand Qiequ Mengxun 且渠蒙遜); see Cf. Tang Ch. (1981).
3. *TLFWS*, p. 34.
4. *TLFWS*, pp. 14–15. The original note: “*Jianchu* 建初 was a title of Li Gao’s 李暠 reign in Western Liang 涼 times. There was in fact no the fourteenth year during this reign-period because it had been changed into *Jiaying* 嘉興 by Li Xin 李歆 in its thirteenth year, in the second month. Because the *Jianchu* 建初 reign-period continued to be used in the Gaochang 高昌 region, documents dated from the fourteenth year of the

- Jianchu* 建初 reign-period occur. This year was the second year of the *Jianxing* 嘉興 reign-period (A.D. 418).
5. Cf. Tang Ch. (1981).
 6. Cf. Tang Ch. (1981).
 7. In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 96, it is recorded that the wife of Li Gao 李暠, Mrs. Yin 尹, also “secretly fled to Yiwu 伊吾” after Li Liang 李涼 had deceased.
 8. Cf. Tang Ch. (1981).
 9. *TLFWS*, p. 32.
 10. Feng (1976-2). Ise, p. 111, also takes note of this problem and considers that Sima Wei Ren 司馬隗仁 was an Administrator of Gaochang 高昌, which was established by Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 in advance. In my opinion, Ise’s theory may be correct. The Administrator of Jinchang 晉昌 which was appointed by Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 seems to be Tang Qi 唐契, so Feng’s theory is inadequate.
 11. *TLFWS*, p. 120.
 12. Cf. Tang Ch. (1989-2).
 13. See Wang Zh., p. 120.
 14. According to the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 98 (Memoir on Grand Qiequ Mengxun 且渠蒙遜), “Emperor Gaozu 高祖 appointed [Qiequ] Mengxun [且渠]蒙遜 as Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, Commander-in-chief of Military Operations of Liang 涼 Province, Supreme General of Maintaining Order in Army, Commander Unequaled in Honor, Governor of Liang 涼 Province, and Duke of Zhangye 張掖”.
 15. This statement was noted as that “[Emperor Gaozu 高祖] promoted Mengxun 蒙遜 to Palace Attendant, Commander-in-chief of Military Operations of the Four Provinces of Liang 涼, Qin 秦, He 河 and Sha 沙, Cavalry Supreme General, Concurrent Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace of Protecting the Xiongnu 匈奴, Colonel of the Western Yi 夷, Governor of Liang 涼 Province, and Commander Unequaled in Honor and Commissioned with Special Powers as before” in the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 98 (Memoir on Grand Qiequ Mengxun 且渠蒙遜).
 16. The official title of Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍, according to the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 98 (Memoir on Grand Qiequ Mengxun 且渠蒙遜), is “Commissioner with Special Powers, Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary, Commander-in-chief of Military Operations of the Four Provinces of Liang 涼, Qin 秦, He 河 and Sha 沙, Supreme General of Conquering the West, Concurrent Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace of Protecting the Xiongnu 匈奴, Colonel of the Western Yi 夷, Governor of Liang 涼 Province, and King of Hexi 河西”.

17. Cf. Tang Ch. (1983).
18. This is roughly the same as the records in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 99 (Memoir on Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜).
19. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 99 (Memoir on Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜), it is recorded that "Emperor Shizu 世祖 also sent Li Shun 李順 to confer upon [Juqu] Mujian 沮渠牧犍 the titles of Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, Palace Attendant, Commander-in-chief of Military Operations of the Qiang 羌 and Rong 戎 in the three provinces of Liang 涼, He 河, and Sha 沙 and the Western Regions, Chariot and Horse General, Commander Unequaled in Honor, Concurrent Colonel of Protecting the Western Rong 戎, Governor of Liang 涼 Province, and King of Hexi 河西".
20. Cf. Tang Ch. (1981).
21. On this theory see Matsuda (1970), pp. 138–142.
22. It seems that "The King of Xihe 西河" should be read as "the King of Hexi 河西".
23. Cf. Tang Ch. (1981).
24. Cf. Tang Ch. (1981).
25. See *XJLSWW*, p.33.

Chapter 8

The Northern & Western Wei, Northern Zhou Dynasties and the Western Regions

A

The preface of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), says, “At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Taizu 太祖, he had no time to attend to the four borders because of managing the Central Plains. Thenceforth, the Western Rong 戎 did not come to pay tribute. The officials appealed to [the throne] to, as was done in Han 漢 times, open up communications with the Western Regions. This would both show Wei’s 魏 power and virtue to the wild and distant domains, and attract rare goods into the Heavenly repository. Emperor Taizu 太祖 replied, ‘The Han 漢 Dynasty did not defend its borders and pacify the common people. Instead, it opened up the distant Western Regions, and the resources within the four seas were spent and wasted. How can there be any benefit? Now if we open up [the West], the former mistreatment will once again press on the common people’. So he did not follow their advice. Finally, [Wei 魏] did not seek and admit [the various states in the Western Regions] during the reign of Emperor Taizong 太宗”. In my opinion, the reason why “the Western Rong 戎 did not come to pay tribute” is mainly because Tuoba Wei 拓跋魏 failed to control the Hexi 河西 region (Gansu 甘肅 Corridor) at that time. Since Emperors Taizu 太祖 and Taizong 太宗 had no time to attend to the West, the various states in the Western Regions did not attach much importance to the Northern Wei 魏. The reference “finally did not seek and admit [the various states in the Western Regions]” shows not only that the Tuoba 拓跋 family did not have the ability required to do it, but also that Emperors Taizu 太祖 and Taizong 太宗 did not see the significance of managing the Western Regions. Tuoba Wei’s 拓跋魏 managing the Western Regions in fact began during the reign of Emperor Shizu 世祖, i.e., Emperor Taiwu 太武.

In the same preface it is also said, “During the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435–440), the virtue of Wei 魏 became better known far and wide day after day. The kings of the various states in the Western Regions, such as Qiuci 龜茲, Shule 疏勒, Wusun 烏孫, Yueban 悅般, Kepantuo 渴槃陁, Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆, Jushi 車師, and Sute 粟特 began sending envoys to present tribute. Emperor Shizu 世祖 considered that the Han 漢 Dynasty had had contact with

the Western Regions, but now if there was something which the states required, they would come with their humble language; if there was nothing that they desired, their behaviour was arrogant to the royal order. This was because they knew themselves to be cut off from [Han 漢] by a long distance beyond the range of [Han's 漢] huge army. If envoys were sent back and forth in reply, they would ultimately not gain any benefit. Therefore, Emperor Shizu 世祖 did not want to send envoys. The officials sent a memorial to [the throne] that the nine states, braving hardship and danger, had submitted their local products from distant places. It was therefore proper to support them in their effort to move forward. How could we curb their successors in advance? Shizu 世祖 agreed to their request. Thereupon, he finally sent envoys, Wang Ensheng 王恩生, Xu Gang 許綱, and others to go on a mission to the Western [Regions]. When they came out of the flowing sands, Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and the others were unexpectedly captured by the Ruru 蠕蠕, and thus were unable to arrive [in the Western Regions]. Emperor Shizu 世祖 also sent the Gentleman Cavalier Attendant Dong Wan 董琬, Gao Ming 高明 and others. Taking many brocaded silks, they came out from Shanshan 鄯善 to summon and appease the nine states and offer them big rewards". On the basis of this, we know that during the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period, the nine states of the Western Regions came to present tribute, and Emperor Shizu 世祖 of Wei 魏 then ordered Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and others to go on the mission to the West. This is the earliest mission to the Western Regions by Tuoba Wei 拓跋魏. Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and others did not reach the destination because they were captured by the Rouran 柔然. Then Dong Wan 董琬 and Gao Ming 高明 and others were sent.

However, according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4, in the first year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435), in the second month, on the day *gengzi* 庚子, "the states of ... Yanqi 焉耆, Jushi 車師 and others sent their respective envoys to present tribute". In the sixth month, on the day *bingwu* 丙午, "the states of ... Shanshan 鄯善 all sent envoys to present tribute". In the eighth month, on the day *bingxu* 丙戌, "the state of Sute 粟特 sent envoys to present tribute". In the third year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437), in the third month, on the day *guisi* 癸巳 "the states of Qiuci 龜茲, Yuebam 悅般, Yanqi 焉耆, Jushi 車師, Sute 粟特, Shule 疏勒, Wusun 烏孫, Kepantuo 渴槃陁, and Shanshan 鄯善 sent their respective envoys to present tribute". From this, it can be seen that the nine states coming to pay court as seen in the above-

cited preface of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, are not identical with the various states in the Western Regions that first sent envoys to present tribute. Of the nine states, the four states of Yanqi 焉耆, Jushi 車師, Shanshan 鄯善 and Sute 粟特 at least had already presented tribute in the first year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435).

According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4, in the first year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435), in the fifth month, on the day *gengshen* 庚申 the Northern Wei 魏 "sent twenty missions to the Western Regions". In the second year (A.D. 436), in the eighth month, on the day *dinghai* 丁亥, the Northern Wei 魏 once again "sent six missions to the Western Regions". From this, it can be seen that if the western mission of Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and Xu Gang 許綱, as recorded in the preface of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, is really the first mission to the Western Regions by the Northern Wei 魏, the time should be the first year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435), in the fifth month, namely after Yanqi 焉耆 and Jushi 車師 had come to present tributes in the same year, in the second month.¹ And since the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4, does not record that the Northern Wei 魏 had sent its envoys to the Western Regions in the third year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437), it is possible that Dong Wan 董琬 and Gao Ming's 高明 being sent was in the second year (A.D. 436), in the eighth month, namely after the state of Sute 粟特 had come to present tribute.²

In the "Songji 宋紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑒 (under the twelfth year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period [A.D. 435], in the fifth month), it is recorded that "the nine states of Qiuci 龜茲, Shule 疏勒, Wusun 烏孫, Yueban 悅般, Kepantuo 渴槃陁, Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆, Jushi 車師, and Sute 粟特 came to pay the Wei 魏 court. The lord of Wei 魏 considered that the Han 漢 Dynasty had maintained contact with [the various states of] the Western regions, but, if there was something which [the various states in the Western Regions] required, they would come with their servile language; if there was nothing which it desired, their behaviour was arrogant and they disobeyed [the royal orders]. This was because they knew themselves to be cut off from the Middle Kingdom by a long distance beyond the range of the huge army. If envoys were sent to reply, often visiting each other, they would make great effort and spend money in vain, and they would not gain any benefit ultimately. Therefore, [the lord of Wei 魏] did not want to send envoys. The officials insistently begged, considering that the nine states,

braving danger and distance, presented tribute for justice. It was not proper to refuse them and curb their successors. [The lord of Wei 魏] thus sent twenty missions, including Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and others, to the Western Regions. [Wang] Ensheng 王恩生 and the others crossed the flowing sands, but they were captured by the Rouran 柔然. When he met with the *Kehan* 可汗 (Khan) Chilian 敕連, [Wang] Ensheng 王恩生, retaining the Wei 魏 emblems of authority, did not bow. When he heard this, the lord of Wei 魏 sharply blamed Chilian 敕連. Chilian 敕連 then sent [Wang] Ensheng 王恩生 and others back, since they unexpectedly were unable to reach the Western Regions". In my opinion, as mentioned in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4, the states which came to the Wei's 魏 court were only the two states of Yanqi 焉耆 and Jushi 車師 before the first year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435), in the fifth month. When the nine states came to present tribute at the Wei 魏 court at one time, it was in the third year (A.D. 437), in the third month. The editor of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 not only affirms that Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and others were the earliest envoys to be sent to the Western Regions by the Northern Wei 魏, in the first year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435), in the fifth month, but also places the fact that the nine states came to court at one time before the note that Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and others were sent on the mission to the West. This is in order to harmonize the related records of chapter 4 and 102 (the preface of the "Memoir on the Western Regions") in the *Weishu* 魏書. However, it does not have grounds for doing so. The records of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 should not be followed here.³

B

Dong Wan 董琬 and Gao Ming's 高明 mission to the Western Regions is one of the most important western missions during the the Western and Eastern Han 漢, Wei 魏, Jin 晉, Northern & Southern dynasties, and it can compare in excellence with Zhang Qian 張騫 or Gan Ying 甘英.⁴

As mentioned above, Dong 董 and Gao 高 set out in the second year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 436), in the eighth month, namely after the state of Sute 粟特 had come to present tribute. Before this, the states of the Western Regions which came to present tribute, besides Sute 粟特, still included Yanqi 焉耆, Jushi 車師 and Shanshan 鄯善. Therefore, the four

states might be those that Dong 董 and Gao 高 chose to offer big rewards. The reason it is just "might be" is that there were different objectives for the six missions that were sent at the same time. Of course, "the states on the feasible roads" mentioned in the preface of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, belonged to those whom Dong 董 and Gao 高 wanted "to summon and appease".

As mentioned above, the nine states which came to pay tribute "during the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period" at one time, as seen in the preface of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), arrived at the Wei 魏 capital in the third year (A.D. 437), the third month. Therefore, the "nine states" in the reference "to summon and appease the nine states" only generally refers to the various states in the Western Regions, and which ones cannot be clearly pointed out. Since Dong 董 and Gao 高 were unable to predict that the nine states would come to pay tribute, that these nine states could not be the object of their mission is a natural conclusion.

The preface of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions) says, "[Dong] Wan 董琬 passed the nine states, and went north and reached the state of Wusun 烏孫. The king gained the reward of the imperial court, did obeisance and accepted it, and was quite pleased. Then he said to [Dong] Wan [董]琬, 'I hear that both Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌 longed for the virtue of Wei 魏, and wanted to swear fealty and pay tribute, but were worried there was no way to reach Wei 魏. Now that you have arrived here, it is proper to go to these two states to encourage their sincere admiration'. Thereupon, [Dong] Wan [董]琬 went in person to Poluona 破洛那, and sent [Gao] Ming 高明 to Zheshe 者舌. The king of Wusun 烏孫 provided them with guides and interpreters for the two states. [Dong] Wan [董]琬 and others read out the imperial edict meant to comfort and reward them. Later, when [Dong] Wan 董琬 and [Gao] Ming 高明 returned eastwards, some of the Wusun 烏孫, Poluona 破洛那 and the like, sent envoys with [Dong] Wan 董琬, to come to pay tribute, sixteen states in all". From this, it can be seen that, of the states in which Dong 董 and Gao 高 arrived in person, besides Shanshan 鄯善, those that can confidently, be referred to are the three states of Wusun 烏孫, Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌. Dong 董 and Gao 高 started on their way home after they had arrived at Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌 respectively. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A, it is recorded that in the third year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437), in the eleventh month, on the day of *jiashen* 甲申, "The states of Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌 sent their respective envoys to pay tribute and present

blood-wealing horses". The envoys of the two states are undoubtedly those who, "with Dong 董 and Gao 高, come to pay tribute". Therefore, the time when Dong 董 and Gao 高 returned home must have been the eleventh month of the third of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437).

According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4, the states which came to pay tribute in the third year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437), in the eleventh month were only the two of Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌, and it does not refer to the state of Wusun 烏孫 and the others. "Some of the Wusun 烏孫, Poluona 破洛那 and the like" and so on, as seen in the preface in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions) is a textual error owing to confusing the above statements. Since Wusun 烏孫 belonged to the nine states which came to present tribute in the third year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437), in the third month, it did not necessarily send out its envoy once again when Dong 董 and Gao 高 returned to their homeland. On the basis of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A, those envoys who, with Dong 董 and Gao 高, came to present tribute at court were just those of the two states of Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌. As for "sixteen states", this must refer to the various states in the Western Regions that sent their envoys, with the six *Wie* 魏 missions, such as that of Dong 董 and Gao 高, to present tribute. Owing to limited materials, they cannot be firmly identified individually.

In the preface of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), it is recorded that "When [Dong] Wan [董]琬 and others had originally returned to the capital after their mission, they mentioned all the neighbouring states they had seen with their own eyes or those they had heard about, and said, 'Since Emperor Wu 武 of the Han 漢, there have been over fifty states in the Western Regions. Afterwards they gradually annexed each other. By the middle of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period, there were sixteen states in all. Their lands can be divided into four regions. East of the Cong 葱 Mountains and west of the Flowing Sands was one region, west of the Cong 葱 Mountains and east of the sea bend was another, south of Zheshe 者舌 and north of Yuezhi 月氏 was the third, and between the two seas and south of the marsh was the fourth. In the four regions there were perhaps 100 petty chiefs'".⁵ In my opinion, of "the four regions" mentioned by Dong 董 and Gao 高, the first region refers to land east of the Pamirs, the Tarim Basin and the region north of the Tian 天 Mountains. The second refers to the region to the west of the Hindukush Mountains and to the east of the Mediterranean. The third refers to

Sogdiana, Ṭuhārestān and a part of the northwestern subcontinent. The fourth refers to the south of the Black Sea and the regions around the Mediterranean whose center is the Italian peninsula. At the time described by Dong 董 and Gao 高, the first region was in the sphere of influence of the nomad tribes north of Eurasia. The second is Persia and its sphere of influence. The third is a glacis between the above-mentioned two great powers, and thus it was controlled by the Persians or the nomad tribes which had removed south. The fourth is Roman and its sphere of influence. This is to say that Dong 董 and Gao 高 drew a quite exact political map at that time.

In the preface of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), it is further recorded that "To go to the Western Regions there were originally two routes. Later they changed into four. From the Yumen 玉門 Barrier crossing the Flowing Sands going west 2,000 *li* 里 to Shanshan 鄯善 is the first route. From the Yumen 玉門 Barrier crossing the Flowing Sands and going north 2,200 *li* 里 to Jushi 車師 is the second route. From Suoju 莎車 going west 100 *li* 里 to the Cong 葱 Mountains, then west 1,300 *li* 里 to Jiabei 伽倍 is the third route. From Suoju 莎車 southwest 500 *li* 里 to the Cong 葱 Mountains, then southwest 1,300 *li* 里 to Bolu 波路 is the fourth route". In my opinion, the so-called "four routes" are in fact the "Southern and Northern Routes" as seen in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 96 (Memoir on the Western Regions), and their extension. The routes may be those by which Dong 董 and Gao 高 actually went to the Western Regions. Of course, part of the account is probably hearsay. It is notable that the order of the various states seen in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Region), is arranged in light of the numbering of the "four routes" successively. This shows that the compilation of this memoir was deeply influenced by the western mission of Dong 董 and Gao 高.

In the preface of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), it is also recorded that "As for those states that sent envoys to present tribute after [Dong] Wan [董]琬, who did not report them, only their names are recorded, and an account of their customs cannot be given. In this chapter, we have compiled those matters which differ from the reports of the former envoys". Combining the above-cited reference "When [Dong] Wan [董]琬 and others had originally returned to the capital after their mission, they mentioned all the neighbouring states they had seen with their own eyes or those they had heard about", we know that the main contents are taken from the report of Dong 董 and Gao 高.

C

In the preface of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), it is recorded that "Originally, whenever Emperor Shizu 世祖 sent envoys to the Western Regions, he usually issued edicts, which ordered the King of Hexi 河西, Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍, to convoy the envoys. When envoys arrived in Guzang 姑臧, [Juqu] Mujian [沮渠]牧犍 usually sent his envoys to lead the envoys of Wei 魏 across the flowing sands". In my opinion, the fact that Emperor Shizu 世祖 of Wei 魏 ordered [Juqu] Mujian [沮渠]牧犍 to convoy the envoys must have been after Wang Ensheng 王恩生, Xu Gang 許綱 and others' mission to the Western Regions had failed. And it is possible that Dong Wan 董琬 and Gao Ming's 高明 mission to the Western Regions and crossing the flowing sands relied on Juqu Mujian's [沮渠]牧犍 sending envoys to lead them.

Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and Xu Gang 許綱 went on their mission to the Western Regions during the period when Tuoba Wei 拓跋魏 attempted to pacify the Rouran 柔然 by marriage. In the third year of the *Yanhe* 延和 reign-period (A.D. 434), Wei 魏 married Princess Xihai 西海 to the *Khan* of the Rouran 柔然, Wuti 吳提, and took the younger sister of Wuti 吳提 to wife as the Lady of Left Bright Department. However, Wuti 吳提 still relentlessly arrested Wang 王 and Xu 許 and did not allow them to reach the Western Regions, when all is said and done. The case is quite similar to Zhang Qian's 張騫 being arrested by the *Chanyu* 單于 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 in Western Han 漢 times. This is because the Rouran 柔然 already regarded the Western Regions as their exclusive domain,⁶ and thus did not want to acknowledge that the Northern Wei 魏 had begun contacts with the Western Regions. As for the purpose that the Northern Wei 魏 sent the Wang 王 and Xu 許 on the mission to the Western Regions, whether it was to conspire to cut off the right arm of the Rouran 柔然, though this is without clear record in the historical books, the possibility cannot completely be ruled out.

Emperor Shizu 世祖 of Wei 魏 issued the edict to order Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍 to escort the envoys because Wang 王 and Xu 許 had been suffocated. However, Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍 was equally unhappy to see that the Northern Wei 魏 had made contact with the Western Regions, out of consideration of his own self-interest. In the preface of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), it is also recorded:

Afterwards, when the envoys returned from the Western Regions and reached Wuwei 武威, the ministers of [Juqu] Mujian [沮渠]牧犍 told them, "Our lord has accepted the absurdities of the ruler of the Rouran 柔然, Wuti 吳提, who said, 'Last year, the Son of Heaven of Wei 魏 came in person to attack me, was utterly defeated, and returned as his soldiers and horses died of the plague. I captured his younger brother, the King of Leping 樂平, Pi 丕'. Our lord was delighted and declared this to the state". He also heard that Wuti 吳提 sent envoys to announce to the various states in the Western Regions, declaring that "Wei 魏 had already been weakened, and now only I am powerful under the sun. If the envoys of Wei 魏 come again, don't respect them and don't present tribute". Some of the states in the Western Regions thus were half-hearted, and [Juqu] Mujian [沮渠]牧犍 gradually became indolent in his attendance on the princess. The envoys returned and reported all these facts. Emperor Shizu 世祖 thereupon ordered a discussion of an expedition against Juqu Mujian [沮渠]牧犍.

Juqu Mujian [沮渠]牧犍 was delighted when he heard "the absurdities" of Wuti 吳提 because his advantages and disadvantages, concerning communications between the Northern Wei 魏 and the Western Regions, were identical with those of Wuti 吳提. The territories of the various states in the Western Regions were close to the Rouran 柔然 and the Northern Liang 涼, the latter two were unhappy to see the Northern Wei 魏 in contact with the various states, and the states themselves also had reservations about the contacts. Probably because of this, "some of the states in the Western Regions thus were half-hearted". The fact that Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍 feigned compliance with Wei 魏, and obstructed the communications between the Northern Wei 魏 and the Western Regions accelerated the steps that the Northern Wei 魏 took to destroy the Northern Liang 涼. In the fifth year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 439), Emperor Shizhu 世祖 of Wei 魏 in person went on the punitive expedition against Guzang 姑臧. Because the Northern Liang 涼 had become extinct, the relations between the Northern Wei 魏 and the Western Regions reached a new stage.

The development of the relations between the Northern Wei 魏 and the Western Regions after Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍 had surrendered to Wei 魏 first can be understood as the fight of the Northern Wei 魏 with the remnants of the Juqu 沮渠 family. The struggle was engaged mainly through the remnants of the Western Liang 涼, who were the deadly enemy of the Juqu 沮渠 family, and some small states in the Western Regions who had attached themselves to Wei 魏.

Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱, the younger brother of Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍, occupied Jiuquan 酒泉, Dunhuang 敦煌 and other lands to resist the Northern Wei 魏 for a time after Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍 had surrendered. In the second year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 441), in the eleventh month, the general of Wei 魏, Xi Juan 奚眷 captured Jiuquan 酒泉. Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 at Dunhuang 敦煌 feared that he could not defend it by himself, and thus sent his younger brother Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 to lead a crowd of five thousand men to attack Shanshan 鄯善 to the west. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions),

The king [of Shanshan 鄯善], Bilong 比龍, was afraid and wanted to surrender. It happened that Wei's 魏 envoys were just then returning from Tianzhu 天竺 and Jibin 罽賓, and they all met in Shanshan 鄯善, and advised Bilong 比龍 to resist him. Bilong 比龍 thus fought with him continuously. [Juqu] Anzhou [沮渠]安周 was unable to overcome him, and retreated to defend the eastern town

This is how the Northern Wei 魏 took advantage of Shanshan 鄯善 to prevent the Juqu 沮渠 family from running away to the Western Regions. In the same chapter, it is also recorded that "Afterwards, Bilong 比龍 was afraid and, leading his followers, fled westwards to Qimo 且末. The prince thus responded to [Juqu] Anzhou [沮渠]安周". Accordingly, [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱 abandoned Dunhuang 敦煌 and went to Shanshan 鄯善.

After this, the Administrator of Gaochang 高昌, Han Shuang 闕爽, was attacked by Tang Qi, 唐契, Li Bao's 李寶 mother's brother, and sent an envoy to pretend to surrender to Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱. In the third year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 442), in the eighth month, leaving his nephew, Juqu Fengzhou 沮渠豐周, to defend Shanshan 鄯善, Quju Wuhui 沮渠無諱 in person led his households to Gaochang 高昌 by way of Yanqi 焉耆. Tang Qi

唐契 had died in the last ditch when he arrived, and Han Shuang 闕爽 then resisted Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱. In the ninth month, Wuhui 無諱, in a sneak attack, occupied Gaochang 高昌. Han Shuang 闕爽 fled to the Rouran 柔然. Tang Qi 唐契 and his younger brother, Tang He 唐和, called up the remnants of their followers and fled to the state of Nearer Jushi 車師. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 43 (Memoir on Tang He 唐和),

At that time Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 was stationed in the town of Hengjie 橫截. Tang He 唐和 attacked and took the town, and beheaded [Juqu] Shu [沮渠]樹, the son of the elder brother of [Juqu] Anzhou [沮渠]安周. He also took the two towns of Gaoning 高寧 and Baili 白力, and beheaded the commander of the garrison, then sent envoys to present a memorial to describe it. Emperor Shizu 世祖 praised his faithfulness and frequently offered [Tang] He [唐]和 rewards. Later, [Tang] He [唐]和 attacked and defeated [Juqu] Anzhou [沮渠]安周 with the king of the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師, Ju Yiluo 車伊洛, and beheaded three hundred men.

The three towns of Hengjie 橫截, Gaoning 高寧 and Baili 白力 all were the towns in the Gaochang 高昌 state in which the Juqu 沮渠 family had been entrenched. According to the *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54 (Memoir on Gaochang 高昌), "The state of [Gaochang 高昌] is in the former land of Jushi 車師. It adjoins Henan 河南 in the south, connects to Dunhuang 敦煌 in the east, joins Qiuci 龜茲 in the west, and neighbors Chile 敕勒 in the north. Forty-six defence commands have been established. Jiaohe 交河, Tiandi 田地, Gaoning 高寧, Linchuan 臨川, Hengjie 橫截, Liupo 柳婆, Wulin 洿林, Xinxing 新興, Youning 由寧, Shichang 始昌, Dujin 篤進 and Baili 白力 are all the names of its defence commands", which can be regarded as evidence.⁷ "Baili 白力" must have been "Baijie 白棘" as seen in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 101 (Memoir on Gaochang 高昌). Emperor Shizu 世祖 of Wei 魏 "frequently offered [Tang] He [唐]和 rewards" was for nothing but encouraging him to confront the Juqu 沮渠 family continually. Tang He 唐和 was instrumental in preventing the influence of the remnants of the Juqu 沮渠 family from going beyond Gaochang 高昌 and its surrounding area.

D

Besides Tang He 唐和, another important agent during the earlier period of the Northern Wei's 魏 management of the Western Regions was Ju Yiluo 車伊洛, the king of the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 30 (Memoir on Ju Yiluo 車伊洛), it is recorded:

Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 was of a barbarian people who came from Yanqi 焉耆. [His predecessors] were the lords of the eastern borders for generations. As he had always paid tribute, Emperor Shizu 世祖 recorded his faithfulness. In the middle of the *Yanhe* 延和 reign-period (A.D. 432–434), he conferred on [Ju] Yiluo [車]伊洛 the title General of Pacifying the West and King of Nearer Jushi 車師, and gave him one hundred bolts of thin tough silk, one hundred catties of silk floss, a suit of embroidered clothes, a golden belt, boots and hat. [Ju] Yiluo [車]伊洛 was delighted, and planned to return to the imperial court. Because Juqu Wuhui 無諱 cut off the route, [Ju] Yiluo [車]伊洛 fought with him continually, and eventually defeated him. After [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱 died, his younger brother, [Juqu] Anzhou 沮渠安周, seized the forces of [Juqu] Qianshou [沮渠]乾壽, the son of [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱, and then watched for his chance to gain possession of the private troops [of the Juqu 沮渠 family]. [Ju] Yiluo [車]伊洛 sent envoys to summon and appease him in the imperial name time after time. [Juqu] Qianshou [沮渠]乾壽 thus, leading five hundred households, came to surrender. [Ju] Yiluo [車]伊洛 escorted him to the capital. He also summoned and appeased in the imperial name over fifty men including [Li] Xin [李]欽, the younger brother of Li Bao 李寶, and escorted the latter to Dunhuang 敦煌. In addition, [Ju] Yiluo [車]伊洛 led his tribal group of over two thousand men to attack Gaochang 高昌, and he attacked and took the seven towns of the eastern barrier of Yanqi 焉耆 and captured over two hundred men and women, one thousand camels, and one thousand horses. He sent envoys to pay one hundred catties of gold to the court.

According to the memoir, [Ju] Yiluo [車]伊洛 “was of a barbarian people who came from Yanqi 焉耆”, but this seems to be incorrect, and should be read as a barbarian people who came from

Jushi 車師. If this is true, "the eastern border" should refer to the eastern border of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師. The reference "He had always paid tribute" would refer to the fact that Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 took the lead in coming to pay court in the first year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435), in the second month, and then sent envoys to present tribute to Wei 魏 in the third year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437), in the third month. Therefore, the time when Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 was the "King of Nearer Jushi 車師" must have been in the middle of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435–440), but was not "in the middle the *Yanhe* 延和 reign-period (A.D. 432–434)".⁸ Of course, another possibility cannot be ruled out. This is that Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 was of a barbarian people who came from Yanqi 焉耆, and his ancestors were the leaders of tribes on the eastern border of Yanqi 焉耆 for generations. Because he sent envoys to present tribute to the Northern Wei 魏 "during the *Yanhe* 延和 reign-period (A.D. 432–434)", and was given the title "King of Nearer Jushi 車師", he for the first time was surnamed "Ju 車".⁹ Afterwards, he sent envoys to present court in the first and third year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435 and 437) in the name of the King of Nearer Jushi 車師. There is no record of Ju Yiluo's 車伊洛 paying tribute in the middle of the *Yanhe* 延和 reign-period (A.D. 432–434) in the primary chronicle of the *Weishu* 魏書, probably not only because Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 was just the leader of a small tribe at that time, but also because this has been recorded minutely in his memoir. As for the fact that Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 "planned to return to the imperial court", the time should be at the end of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period or at the beginning of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period as Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 left Shanshan 鄯善 and went to Gaochang 高昌, down to the eighth month of the third year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 442).

In the first year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435), in the fifth month, when the Northern Wei 魏 sent Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and Xu Gang 許綱 on the mission to the Western Regions, according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 101 (Memoir on Gaochang 高昌), their purpose was to go to Gaochang 高昌 on a mission. However, Gaochang 高昌 was controlled by the Rouran 柔然 at that time, and had never come to pay tribute. Therefore, it seems impossible that the destination of the first mission of the Northern Wei 魏 was Gaochang 高昌. Since Wang 王 and Xu 許 were sent out after Yanqi 焉耆 and Jushi 車師 had presented tribute in the second month

of the same year, their destination should be Yanqi 焉耆 and Jushi 車師. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), it is recorded that "At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shizu 世祖, [the state of Jushi 車師] first came to pay court. An imperial edict [ordered] the Messengers, Wang Ensheng 王恩生, Xu Gang 許綱 and others to go on the mission", which seems to be evidence.

According to the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 98 (Memoir on Grand Qiequ Mengshun 且渠蒙遜), when Tang Qi 唐契 was killed, his "private troops fled to [Juqu] Wyhui [沮渠]無諱". They were possibly Li Xin 李欣 and others mentioned here.¹⁰ The reference "[Ju] Yiluo [車]伊洛 led his tribal group of over two thousand to attack Gaochang 高昌" in the chapter and the reference "Later, [Tang] He [唐]和 attacked and defeated [Juqu] Anzhou [沮渠]安周 with the king of the tribe of Nearer Jushi 車師, Ju Yiluo 車伊洛, and beheaded three hundred men" in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 43 (Memoir on Tang He 唐和), must denote the same battle. The results of this battle were to behead three hundred men. To capture over two hundred men and women seems to be what resulted when Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 "took the seven towns of the eastern barrier of Yanqi 焉耆". These two must not be lumped together.

In the ninth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 448), according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 43 (Memoir on Tang He 唐和), "Shizu 世祖 sent the Duke of Chengzhou 成周, Wan Dugui 萬度歸 to attack Yanqi 焉耆. An edict was issued which ordered [Tang] He [唐]和 and [Ju]Yiluo [車]伊洛, leading their troops to go to [Wan] Dugui [萬]度歸". From this, we know that Ju Yiluo 車伊洛, following Wan Dugui 萬度歸, attacked Yanqi 焉耆, also to resist the Juqu 沮渠 family. The event in which he "attacked and took the seven towns of the eastern barrier of Yanqi 焉耆" took place in the time when, following Wan Dugui 萬度歸, he attacked Yanqi 焉耆.

In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 30 (Memoir on Ju Yiluo 車伊洛), it is recorded that "When he went on the campaign to Yanqi 焉耆, [Ju] Yiluo 車伊洛 left his son, Xie 歇, to guard the town. And [Juqu] Anzhou [沮渠]安周 took advantage of this weak point to lead the Ruru 蠕蠕 to besiege Xie 歇 by encircling the town three layers deep, and sending envoys, who said to Xie 歇, 'your father has gone to the great Wei 魏 for shelter. If you surrender to me without delay, I will give you the rank of nobility'. Xie 歇 defended tenaciously, and fought with him continuously.

After a long time, the town was occupied by [Juqu] Anzhou [沮渠]安周 because there were no reinforcements. Xie 歇 fled to [Ju] Yiluo 車伊洛. [Ju] Yiluo 車伊洛 called up the remnants of over one thousand households and brought them to return to the Defence Command of Yanqi 焉耆. Emperor Shizu 世祖 praised him. In the first year of the *Zhengping* 正平 reign-period (A.D. 451), issued an edict which said to [Ju] Yiluo [車]伊洛, ‘Xie 歇 is very young, but is able to stand fast in defence of the town, and his loyalty and moral principle are outstanding. It is appropriate to send Xie 歇 to return to the [imperial] palace’. [Ju] Yiluo [車]伊洛 ordered Xie 歇 to go to the capital with his younger brother, Boli 波利 and other men, ten and more”. In my opinion, the town that Anzhou 安周 led the Ruru 蠕蠕 to besiege is the royal court of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師, the town of Jiaohe 交河. The time when the town was destroyed and Xie 歇 fled to [Ju] Yiluo [車]伊洛 must have been in the eleventh year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 450). The period in which “Xie 歇 defended tenaciously, and fought with him continuously” started from the ninth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 448). From beginning to end there are three years in all, that is to say, “a long time” in the reference. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions),

Early on, the brothers of Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 had crossed the flowing sands and gathered those who remained behind to destroy the state of Jushi 車師. In the eleventh year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 450) the king of Jushi 車師, Ju Yiluo 車夷落, sent the envoys, Zhuo Jin 琢進 and Xue Zhi 薛直, to present a memorial saying that “the dead father of your vassal who lived far beyond the frontier, had admired the power and virtue of the Son of Heaven, and sent envoys to present a memorial and present tribute year after year. The Son of Heaven thought very highly of him, and bestowed upon him rich reward. Since your vassal has succeeded (him as king), regular tribute has never been deficient. The Son of Heaven shows sympathy to me as to the former generations. [Your vassal] ventures to state his difficulties relying on the extreme kindness of Your Majesty toward him. Since your vassal’s state suffered the attacks of [Juqu] Wuhui [沮渠]無諱, eight years have gone by, and the people cannot survive

because of famine. Now the traitor intensifies his attacks on your vassal. Your vassal held out by himself, but subsequently gave up his state and fled to the east. A third [of his people] were able to escape and reach the eastern border of Yanqi 焉耆 that very day. They wish to return to the Heavenly palace. It would be very fortunate if Your Majesty brought relief to us”. Thereupon, the emperor issued an edict to conciliate them and opened up the granaries of Yanqi 焉耆 to provide them with food. At the beginning of the *Zhengping* 正平 reign-period (A.D. 451), [Ju Yiluo 車夷落] sent his son to attend at the court. From then on, he often sent envoys to present tribute.

The statement “eight years have gone by” refers to the period from the third year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 442) when Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 occupied Gaochang 高昌 and Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 resisted him until the eleventh year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 450), i.e., the time when Yiluo 伊洛 sent an envoy to present the memorial, the town of Jiaohe 交河 fell, and Xie 歇, the son of Ju Yiluo 車伊洛, “gave up his state and fled to the east”.¹¹ However, it appears that Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 had actually stayed to guard the eastern border of Yanqi 焉耆 and did not return home after he had attacked Yanqi 焉耆 following Wan Dugui 萬度歸 in the ninth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 448). Hence that Xie 歇 went to Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 for shelter from the town of Jiaohe 交河 should be described as “fled to the west”, and we do not know why it here says “fled to the east”. And the statement that “at the beginning of the *Zhengping* 正平 reign-period (A.D. 451), [Ju Yiluo 車夷落] sent his son to attend at the court” as recorded in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), must refer to the same event as that recorded for the first year of the *Zhengping* 正平 reign-period (A.D. 451), “[Ju] Yiluo [車]伊洛 ordered Xie 歇 to go to the capital with his younger brother, Boli 波利 and other men, ten and more” in the “Memoir on Ju Yiluo 車伊洛” of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 30).

The statement from “the dead father of your vassal” to “as to the former generations” is notable. It presumably is true that Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 accounted in his own words that when he was alive his father had “sent envoys to present a memorial and present tribute year after year”, and

that he was given rich rewards by the Northern Wei 魏. The reason why this is not recorded in the primary chronicle of the *Weishu* 魏書 is obviously because the father of Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 was just a small chief of a tribe on the eastern border of Yanqi 焉耆, and not the lord of a state. As mentioned above, Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 probably assumed the title "King of Nearer Jushi 車師" in the middle of the *Yanhe* 延和 reign-period (A.D. 432–434). Before he assumed this title, he had sent envoys to present tribute at court, thus his father's presenting the memorial must have been far earlier than this. As for the statement "from then on, he often sent envoys to present tribute", we have no way to verify it. The formulation had become a polite phrase of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), and it is not worthwhile to examine it.¹²

In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 30 (Memoir on Ju Yiluo 車伊洛), it is also recorded that "In the second year of the *Zhengping* 正平 reign-period (A.D. 452), [Ju] Yiluo [車]伊洛 came to the capital to present tribute. [Emperor Shizu 世祖] gave him wives and concubines, servants, land and houses, oxen and sheep, conferred on him the title First [Ranking] General, and named him King [of Nearer Jushi], as before. [Ju Yiluo 車伊洛] died in the second year of the *Xing'an* 興安 reign-period (A.D. 453). He was given the titles Supreme General of Governing the West, Governor of Qin 秦 Province, and was given the posthumous title of King of Kang 康. [Emperor Shizu 世祖] awarded him silk, floss, thin silk, and five hundred bolts of various coloured silk and twenty-seven suits of clothes. His funeral was as in the former case of Lu Luyuan 盧魯元". Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 reached the capital of Wei 魏 in the second year of the *Zhengping* 正平 reign-period (A.D. 452), and died in the next year. It is obvious that he did not return to the Western Regions. Moreover, according to the same chapter,

Xie 歇 (the son of Ju Yiluo 車伊洛) followed him in the rank of his father. At the end of the *Huangxing* 皇興 reign-period (A.D. 471), the titles Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, General of Pacifying the West, and the Governor of Yu 豫 Province were conferred upon him. He died in the third year of the *Yanxing* 延興 reign-period (A.D. 473), his son, Bozhu 伯主 followed him in his rank. Boli 波利 was given the titles General of Setting Moral Principle and Marquis of Leguan 樂官 in the second year of the *Tianan* 天安 reign-period (A.D. 467), and died in the

third year of the *Huangxing* 皇興 reign-period (A.D. 469), and the son of his elder brother followed him in his rank.

It appears that the family of Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 settled in the hinterlands. “The state of Nearer Jushi 車師” did not appear in the records after the second year of the *Zhengping* 正平 reign-period (A.D. 452). The “state of Jushi 車師”, for nearly twenty years, from the middle of the *Yanhe* 延和 reign-period to the end of the *Zhengping* 正平 reign-period, had served as an instrument with which the Northern Wei 魏 managed the Western Regions. The fact that “his funeral was as in the former case of Lu Luyuan 盧魯元”¹³ shows that the Wei 魏 court certainly regarded Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 as the Wei’s 魏 minister.

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In the preface of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), it is recorded that: “After Liang 涼 Province had been pacified, [the ruler of] the state of Shanshan 鄯善 considered that, if the lips are gone, it is natural that the teeth will be exposed to the cold. Now that Wuwei 武威 had been destroyed by Wei 魏, the next in turn would be his own state. If we let their envoys come and learn the situation of our state, we will court our own ruin. It is better to cut them off and then we can protect our lives for a long time. Thereupon [Shanshan 鄯善] cut off and blockaded the routes. The tributes of the Western Regions were not presented for some years. After Shanshan 鄯善 was pacified, the envoys could pass again”. It has been suggested that Shanshan’s 鄯善 cutting off and blockading the routes was not after the Northern Wei 魏 had occupied the Liang 涼 Province (A.D. 439), and must have been after the Juqu 沮渠 family occupied Shanshan 鄯善 in the third year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 442). This is because, according to the same chapter, when Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 attacked Shanshan 鄯善 in the second year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 441), Wei’s 魏 envoys who had returned to the east met at Shanshan 鄯善, and they exhorted the king of Shanshan 鄯善, Bilong 比龍 to resist Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周. How could this be if the routes were cut off?¹⁴

In my opinion, the above theory is correct. If Shanshan 鄯善 really considered the relationship between its own state and Juqu's 沮渠 northern Liang 涼 to be like that between lips and teeth, and that ruined fortune could be avoided by shutting off the roadways, then it would have acted before the Northern Liang 涼 was conquered. However it still sent out envoys to present tribute down to the fifth year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 439), in the fourth month. This shows that the statement "if the lips are gone, it is natural that the teeth will be exposed to the cold" and so on is only an excuse that some people of Shanshan 鄯善 who were close to the Juqu 沮渠 family had presented to the king of Shanshan 鄯善 before Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍 surrendered to Wei 魏. After the third year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 442) it certainly is possible that the state of Shanshan 鄯善 "cut off and blockaded the routes", because Shanshan 鄯善 was occupied by Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 after Bilong 比龍 had fled to Qiemo 且末 and soon after Juqu Wuhui 無諱 fled to Shanshan 鄯善 from Dunhuang 敦煌. It is possible that the son of Bilong 比龍 still was on the throne, but was just a puppet, who must bow to Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 and others. As the deadly enemy of the Northern Wei 魏 the Juqu 沮渠 family of course was not willing to see alliances formed between the Northern Wei 魏 and the Western Regions. Therefore, those who "cut off and blockaded the routes" are more likely to be Shanshan 鄯善 than the Juqu 沮渠 family itself. After relating how Bilong 比龍 fled west and his son surrendered to Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周, it is recorded in the item on the state of Shanshan 鄯善 of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), that "[After this, when the Wei 魏 sent envoys to the Western Regions by way of that state],¹⁵ the people of Shanshan 鄯善 robbed them of much and would not let them pass", which seems close to reality.

Shanshan 鄯善, located in the communication center, constituted an obstacle to the control of the Western Regions sought by the Northern Wei 魏, and thus Wan Dugui 萬度歸 was sent to make the western expedition. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions),

Emperor Shizu 世祖 issued an edict ordering the Gentleman Cavalier Attendant and Duke of Chengzhou 成周, Wan Dugui 萬度歸, to ride a [four-horse] post-carriage to call up the troops of Liang 涼 Province to attack it (Shanshan 鄯善).

[Wan] Dugui [萬]度歸 arrived at Dunhuang 敦煌, and then, leaving the impedimenta behind him, and leading 5,000 light-horsemen, crossed the Flowing Sands and reached its border. The common people of Shanshan 鄯善 were all over the open country and [Wan] Dugui [萬]度歸 ordered the soldiers not to trespass and rob them. The officers of the border were moved, and all kowtowed and submitted before his flag. The king, Zhenda 真達 appeared with his hands tied behind his back and surrendered. [Wan] Dugui [萬]度歸 untied his hands, and left the troops stationed there to defend it, then returned and arrived in the capital with Zhenda 真達. Emperor Shizu 世祖 was delighted and treated him kindly and generously.

Wan Dugui's 萬度歸 attack on Shanshan 鄯善, on the basis of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4B, was in the sixth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 445), in the fourth month. The whereabouts of Juqu Fengzhou 沮渠豐周, who was left behind to guard Shanshan 鄯善, were unknown at that time, and it is possible that he had got away from Shanshan 鄯善. The king of Shanshan 鄯善, Zhenda 真達, who surrendered to Wan Dugui 萬度歸, may be the prince of Bilong 比龍. After Zhenda 真達 had arrived in the capital, it appears that the state of Shanshan 鄯善 continued as before. This is because, as noted in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4B, [the king of] the state of Shanshan 鄯善 "sent his son to present tribute" in the eighth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 447), in the twelfth month. However, soon after this, it seems that the Northern Wei 魏 determined to guard Shanshan 鄯善. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions),

In this year, [Emperor Shizu 世祖] conferred on Han Ba 韓拔 the titles Commissioner with a Warrant, General of Conquering the West, Concurrent Colonel Protecting the Western Rong 戎, and King of Shanshan 鄯善, to defend Shanshan 鄯善, levy its taxes and work its people, as if it were a prefecture or county.

"This year", according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, should be the year when Wan Dugui 萬度歸 attacked Shanshan 鄯善, namely the sixth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 445). However, this is not so. This is because in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4B, it is recorded that in the ninth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 450), "in the summer, in the fifth month, on the day *jiaxu* 甲戌, [Emperor Shizu 世祖] conferred upon the Duke of Jiaozhi 交趾, Han Ba 韓拔, the titles Commissioned with a Warrant, General of Conquering the West, Concurrent Colonel of Protecting the Western Rong 戎, and King of Shanshan 鄯善, to defend Shanshan 鄯善, levy its taxes and work its people as if it were a prefecture or county".

We know only that Han Ba 韓拔 was not in Shanshan 鄯善 later than the second year of the *Yanxing* 延興 reign-period (A.D. 472) at latest, but we cannot clearly know which year was the last the troops of Wei 魏 were stationed at Shanshan 鄯善.¹⁶ This is because, according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7A, "in the spring [of this year], in the first month, on the day *yimao* 乙卯, the barbarian people in the Defence Command of Tongwan 統萬 rebelled and fled north one by one. An imperial edict was issued, which ordered the General of Stabilizing the South, Duke of Jiaozhi 交趾, Han Ba 韓拔 to go after and destroy them". The possibility that the state of Shanshan 鄯善 once again became independent after the army of Wei 魏 had withdrawn cannot be ruled out.¹⁷

The "Tomb Epitaph on His Honor the Late Minister of Shan 鄯, the Wei 魏 General of Conquering Savages, the Governor of He 河 Province, Marquis Ding 定 of Linze 臨澤" (rubbing) stored in the Beijing 北京 National Library, states, "He was named Qian 乾, came from the Luobin 洛濱 village, Luoyang 洛陽 of Henan 河南, Si 司 Province. He was a grandson of Chong 寵, the Palace Attendant, the General of Governing the West, the King of Shanshan 鄯鄯, and was the eldest son of Shi 視, the General of Pacifying the West, the Governor of the three Provinces of Qing 青, Ping 平 and Liang 涼, the King of Shanshan 鄯鄯, Marquis of Huai 懷 of Linze 臨澤. His late father came to pay court in the sixth year of the [*Taiping*] *Zhenjun* [太平]真君 reign-period (A.D. 445). Ancestors before his grandfather were the lords of the Western Xia 夏 for generations. He originally was appointed as Supernumerary Gentleman Cavalier Attendant as suited his status as the offspring of the nobility, then came into the court and was the Concurrent General of Supporting of the State of the Left and Right and the Colonel of the City

Gate, then was sent to be the General of Conquering Savages, and the Administrator of Anding 安定. He died in the fifth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 512), namely, the year *renchen* 壬辰, in the first month, on the fourth day, when he was aged forty-four, and he was given the titles General of Conquering Savages, the Governor of He 河 Province, and he was given the posthumous title of 'Ding 定'. In the eighth month, on the twenty-sixth day of this year, which was the first year of the *Yanchang* 延昌 reign-period (A.D. 512), as the designation of the imperial reign was changed, it was divined to build his mound at Mang 芒 north of the Luo 洛 River and then to bury him".¹⁸ Of them, the King of Shanshan 鄯鄯 Chong 寵 and Shi 視 must have been the kings of Shanshan 鄯善, Bilong 比龍 and Zhenda 真達 as seen in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions). According to the epitaph, Shi 視 "came to the court in the sixth year of the [*Taiping*] *Zhenjun* [太平]真君 reign-period (A.D. 445)", which refers to the fact that Zhenda 真達 "arrived in the capital" with Wan Dugui 萬度歸 after he surrendered. We cannot know if Shi 視 or Zhenda 真達 returned to the state of Shanshan 鄯善, but it is possible that they stayed in the East. From his official positions and personal details as recorded in the epitaph, we know that he had never ascended the throne of the state of Shanshan 鄯善. And the words of the inscription, "He had moral integrity from childhood as he received the strict family education in his early years. All his friends were wise men like Lian 廉 and Su 蘇, and there was never anyone invited just to make up the number among his guests. He bore the Emperor's love from a child and early took part in the affairs of the imperial palace" and so on also seems to indicate that he grew up at the Wei 魏 capital. If this is true, the king of Shanshan 鄯善, who "sent his son to present tribute" in the eighth year of the [*Taiping*] *Zhenjun* [太平]真君 reign-period (A.D. 447), and who ascended the throne after the northern Wei 魏 had withdrawn, must have been another person.

F

Soon after the Northern Wei 魏 had conferred upon Han Ba 韓拔 the title King of Shanshan 鄯善 who guards Shanshan 鄯善, it also sent Wan Gugui 萬度歸 on an expedition against Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions):

The state of Yanqi 焉耆: it is located to the south of Jushi 車師. Its capital is at the town of Yuanqu 員渠.... Relying on the dangerous terrain, its people robbed much from the envoys from the Middle Kingdom. Emperor Shizu 世祖 was angered and issued an edict ordering the Duke of Chengzhou 成周, Wan Dugui 萬度歸, to attack it. With light packs and a small amount of grain, and procuring food on the way, [Wan] Dugui [萬]度歸 entered the eastern border of Yanqi 焉耆. He attacked the two towns of Zuohui 左回 and Weili 尉犁, which defended its border, and occupied them,¹⁹ Then he marched against the town of Yuanqu 員渠. [Its king], Jiushibeina 鳩尸卑那, leading four or five thousand men, came out from the town and was entrenched in a strategic place to resist the attack. [Wan] Dugui [萬]度歸 mustered brave, strong warriors with short weapons to charge straight at them. Jiushibeina's 鳩尸卑那 troops were routed and all were captured. He rode off all by himself, fleeing into the mountains, while [Wan] Dugui [萬]度歸 went on to butcher his town. [Thereupon], the various barbarians in all four quarters all surrendered.... Thereupon, [Emperor Shizu 世祖] ordered [Wan] Dugui [萬]度歸 to suppress and pacify its people. Originally, Jiushibeina 鳩尸卑那, when he fled into the mountains, still hoped that the town would not be occupied and he could return home. After he saw that all the towns were occupied by [Wan] Dugui [萬]度歸, he fled to Qiuci 龜茲. [The king of] Qiuci 龜茲 gave him special treatment as he was his son-in-law.

It is also recorded,

Emperor Shizu's 世祖 edict ordered Wan Dugui 萬度歸 to lead 1,000 cavalry to attack it. Qiuci 龜茲 sent Wujiemuti 烏羯目提 and others to lead 3,000 troops to resist him. [Wan] Dugui [萬]度歸 defeated them, beheaded over two hundred men, and captured many camels and horses, then returned.... From then on the state often sent envoys to present tribute.

According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4B, “The Duke of Chengzhou 成周, Wan Dugui 萬度歸 covered a journey of one thousand *li* 里 on post-horseback and attacked and routed the state of Yanqi 焉耆, and its king Jiushibeina 鳩尸卑那 fled to Qiuci 龜茲”. This took place in the ninth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 448), in the ninth month. And the time that “[Emperor Shizu 世祖] ordered Duke Chengzhou 成周, Wan Dugui 萬度歸, to attack Qiuci 龜茲 westwards from Yanqi 焉耆” was in the twelfth month of the same year.

In addition, according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 43 (Memoir on Tang He 唐和), Wan Dugui 萬度歸 attacked Yanqi 焉耆 when Emperor Shizu 世祖 ordered Tang He 唐和 and Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 to lead the troops on this expedition with him. “According to the edict, [Tang] He [唐]和 met Wan Dugui 度歸, and occupied the six towns east of Liulü 柳驢 by giving explicit directions and thus attacked the town of Bojuluo 波居羅 together [with Wan Dugui 萬度歸] and occupied it. Later, both these peoples attacked Qiuci 龜茲 together. When [Wan] Dugui [萬]度歸 ordered [Tang] He [唐]和 to guard Yanqi 焉耆. The defending general of Liulü 柳驢, Yizhenjia 乙真伽, centering on his town, led some barbarian generals to rebel at that time. [Tang] He [唐]和, leading one hundred light cavalry, entered the town, and captured Yizhenjia 乙真伽 and beheaded him. The various barbarians thus surrendered. In putting down the Western Regions [Tang] He [唐]和 did his part”. This reference can supply the records about Wan Dugui’s 萬度歸 attack on Yanqi 焉耆 as seen in the above-cited *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions). The six towns east of Liulü 柳驢 and the town of Bojuluo 波居羅 must have been “the seven towns of the eastern barrier of Yanqi 焉耆”.

It is notable that after the state of Yanqi 焉耆 had been destroyed, Emperor Shizu 世祖 “ordered [Wan] Dugui [萬]度歸 to suppress and pacify its people”. When he went to attack Qiuci 龜茲, Wan Dugui 萬度歸 ordered Tang He 唐和 to guard Yanqi 焉耆. In the eleventh year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 450), Xie 歇, the son of the king of the state of Nearer Jushi 車師, i.e., Ju Yiluo 車伊洛, gave up his state and fled to the eastern border of Yanqi 焉耆, and Emperor Shizu 世祖 ordered that the storehouse be opened to provide for him. After this, according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 30 (Memoir on Ju Yiluo 車伊洛), Ju Yiluo 車伊洛 collected the remnant scattered households and returned to the Defence Command of Yanqi 焉耆. From this, it can be seen that the Northern Wei 魏 had established the Defence Command of

Yanqi 焉耆 since the ninth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 448). The first commander of the Defence Command of Yanqi 焉耆 was Wan Dugui 萬度歸, and before long Tang He 唐和 held this position. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 43 (Memoir on Tang He 唐和), "In the first year of the *Zhengping* 正平 reign-period (A.D. 451), [Tang] He [唐]和 reached the court. Emperor Shizu 世祖 gave him special treatment and cosseted him, and regarded him as a distinguished guest". This shows that the Defence Command of Yanqi 焉耆 persisted until the first year of the *Zhengping* 正平 reign-period (A.D. 451) at least.

If Wan Dugui 萬度歸 went on an expedition against Shanshan 鄯善 in the sixth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 445) mainly in order to open up the roadways, then Han Ban's 韓拔 being named the King of Shanshan 鄯善, Wan Dugui's 萬度歸 being sent to attack Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲, and the establishment of the Defence Command of Yanqi 焉耆 undoubtedly were significant steps taken by the Northern Wei 魏 to thoroughly carry out the management of the Western Regions. The only way to control the Northern and Southern Routes was to control Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲. And to control the Northern and Southern Routes was the precondition for managing the Western Regions. In addition, Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲, especially the latter two, had been important toeholds from which the Rouran 柔然 controlled the Western Regions.²⁰ Losing these toeholds was undoubtedly a heavy blow to the Rouran's 柔然 influence in the Western Regions. This played a significant supporting role in the northern expedition against the Rouran 柔然.

It should be pointed out that, because of the situation at that time, the Northern Wei 魏 should have first put down Gaochang 高昌, or at least have attacked Gaochang 高昌 after Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲 had been put down, in order to control the Western Regions. However, Emperor Shizu 世祖 did not take this step from beginning to end. This is because Gaochang 高昌 was near to the Rouran 柔然, and the Juqu 沮渠 family itself had sufficient strength to resist. Not for a moment had Emperor Shizu 世祖 of Wei 魏 stopped fighting in the north and south since the ninth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 448). National power was considerably abated, and there was no remaining strength to maintain the management of the Western Regions. Consequently Wan Dugui's 萬度歸 western expedition represents the peak of the Northern Wei's 魏 management of the Western Regions.

G

In order to make a pincer attack on the Rouran 柔然 from east and west the Northern Wei 魏 tried to connect with the powers hostile to the Rouran 柔然, which were located west of the Rouran 柔然, besides the western expedition against Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲. The relationship between the Northern Wei 魏 and the Yueban 悅般 is the best example of this strategy.

Originally, the Yueban 悅般 were probably a tribe of the Northern Xiongnu 匈奴, and were formerly nomads north of Qiuci 龜茲. They may be "the Hu 胡 of Kuai 獐" mentioned in the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 97. Later, the Yueban 悅般 went north and occupied the former land of the Wusun 烏孫, i.e., the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers because the Wusun 烏孫 had suffered the invasion of the Rouran 柔然, and migrated into the Cong 葱 Mountains. The Yueban 悅般, whose population numbered two hundred thousand and whose territory stretched for several thousand *li* 里, opposed the Rouran 柔然. In the third year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437), in the third month, it, with Wusun 烏孫 and others, sent envoys to present tribute to the Wei 魏 court. It was among the earliest states to send envoys to court. We cannot for sure know if Dong Wan 董琬 and Gao Ming 高明 went to the state of Yueban 悅般 when they went on the mission to the Western Regions. However, the possibility that they had contacted the king of Yueban 悅般 cannot be ruled out.²¹ It is possible that Dong 董 and Gao 高 were assigned to connect with the Wusun 烏孫 when they went on their mission to the West. They placed their original hopes for the Wusun 烏孫 in the Yueban 悅般 when they discovered the Wusun 烏孫 had moved west.

According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), "in the ninth year of the [*Taiping*] *Zhenjun* [太平]真君 reign-period (A.D. 448), [Yueban 悅般] sent envoys to present tribute.... [The envoys] also said, 'there are great necromancers, and when the Ruru 蠕蠕 come to rob, the necromancers make continuous heavy rain, fierce winds, heavy snow, and great floods, and the Ruru 蠕蠕 people, in two or three cases out of ten, froze to death or were carried away [by the floods]'. In this year, [Yueban 悅般] once again sent envoys to pay tribute, and they begged leave to attack the Ruru 蠕蠕, cooperating with the government troops from east and west. Emperor Shizu 世祖 praised their suggestion and ordered the various troops inside and

outside to enforce a curfew, and appointed the King of Huainan 淮南, Ta 他, to be the vanguard of a raid against the Ruru 蠕蠕.... From then on they often sent envoys to present tribute”.

According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4B, the incident in which the Yueban 悅般 “once again sent envoys to present tribute” should be in the ninth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 448), in the sixth month. In this month, on the day *dingmao* 丁卯 “the state of Yueban 悅般 sent envoys to beg leave to attack the Ruru 蠕蠕 with the imperial troops, and the Emperor allowed them”. In the same chapter it is also recorded that in this year, in “the eighth month, an edict ordered the various troops inside and outside to enforce a curfew. In the ninth month, on the day *yiyou* 乙酉, the soldiers in the western outskirts were at drill. On the day *bingxue* 丙戌, the emperor went to the Yin 陰 Mountain on a tour of inspection”. In the twelfth month “the crown prince at the temporary imperial palace was granted an audience with the emperor and thus followed the emperor on the northern expedition. [The emperor] arrived at the town of Shouxiang 受降 (Accepting the Surrender), but did not meet the Ruru 蠕蠕, so he accumulated supplies in the town, left the soldiers to guard them and returned”. This shows that the Northern Wei 魏 really acted to some extent in cooperation with the Yueban 悅般. As mentioned above, Emperor Shizu 世祖 ordered Wan Dugui 萬度歸 to attack Yanqi 焉耆 in the ninth year (A.D. 448), the ninth month, specifically after ordering “the various troops inside and outside to enforce a curfew”, which shows that one of the purposes of this western expedition was to beat the Rouran 柔然.²²

The fact that Emperor Shizu 世祖 of Wei 魏 conferred on Han Ba 韓拔 the title King of Shanshan 鄯善 in the ninth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 448), in the fifth month, and ordered him to guard Shanshan 鄯善 was possibly after Yueban 悅般 sent envoys to court for the first time. In other words, Yueban 悅般 had made known its intention to make a pincer attack on the Rouran 柔然 from east and west when they sent envoys to present tribute to Wei 魏 in the ninth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 448). To guard Shanshan 鄯善 was a constituent part of the total plan that led the Northern Wei 魏 to connect with the Yueban 悅般 and make expeditions against the North and the West.

In fact, the united military action of the Northern Wei 魏 and the Yueban 悅般 did not have the expected effect. Because soon the Yueban removed to Europe,²³ and the statement

“from then on they often sent envoys to present tribute” recorded in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), is only a conventional expression.

H

During the reign of Emperor Shizu 世祖, the Northern Wei 魏 ordered the generals successively to attack Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲, but not to assault Gaochang 高昌, which was occupied by the Juqu 沮渠 family. This is probably because the Juqu 沮渠 family was under the Rouran’s 柔然 aegis, and the importance of Gaochang 高昌 for the Rouran 柔然 was not inferior to that of Jushi 車師 for the Xiongnu 匈奴 in Western and Eastern Han 漢 times.

The Juqu’s 沮渠 power was swallowed up by the Rouran 柔然 in the first year of the *Heping* 和平 reign-period (A.D. 460). The Rouran 柔然 established Han Bozhou 闕伯周 as king of Gaochang 高昌. This obviously was a step taken by the Rouran 柔然 in order to further control Gaochang 高昌. After Han Bozhou 闕伯周 died, his son Yicheng 義成 succeeded to the throne. More than a year later, Yicheng 義成 was killed by his elder brother Shougui 首歸. Shougui 首歸 also called himself king. It goes without saying that the Han 闕 family threw in its lot with the Rouran 柔然 more than it did the Juqu 沮渠 family.²⁴

In the eleventh year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 487), the tribe of Fufuluo 副伏羅 of the Gaoche 高車, which originally was subject to the Rouran 柔然, removed west from the north of the Gobi desert and occupied the Dzungaria and the surrounding area. In the fifteenth year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 491), the tribe controlled Gaochang 高昌, killed Han Shougui 闕首歸, and established Zhang Mengming 張孟明, who was from Dunhuang 敦煌, as king.²⁵ In the twentieth year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 496), Zhang Mengming 張孟明 was killed by the countrymen of Gaochang 高昌, and Ma Ru 馬儒 was named king.²⁶

According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 101 (Memoir on Gaochang 高昌), Ma Ru 馬儒 “conferred on Gong Guli 鞏顧禮 and Qu Jia 麴嘉 the titles Chief Official of the Left and chief official of the Right. In the twenty-first year [of the *Taihe* 太和] reign-period (A.D. 497), he sent Wang Tixuan 王體玄, the Major, presenting a memorial, to pay tribute, request to be allowed to move their whole nation toward the center and supplicate the [Wei 魏 court] to send troops to meet them.²⁷ Emperor Gaozu 高祖 accepted their request and sent the General of Propagating

Power, Han Anbao 韓安保, to lead over 1,000 cavalry to go to them and contemplated ceding 500 *li* 里 of the land of Yiwu 伊吾 to have Ma Ru 馬儒 live there. When [Han] Anbao [韓]安保 reached the Yangzhen 羊榛 River, Ma Ru 馬儒 sent infantry and cavalry of 1,500 men to meet him, but [Han] Anbao [韓]安保 still had not arrived when they had gotten to 400 *li* 里 from Gaochang 高昌. [Gong Gu]li [鞏顧]禮 and others returned to Gaochang 高昌, and [Han] Anbao [韓]安保 also returned to Yiwu 伊吾. [Han] Anbao [韓]安保 sent twelve envoys, including Han Xing'an 韓興安 and others, to Gaochang 高昌. Ma Ru 馬儒 also sent [Gong] Guli [鞏]顧禮 with his prince, Yishu 義舒, to meet [Han] Anbao [韓]安保. They reached the town of Baiji 白棘, which was 160 *li* 里 from Gaochang 高昌, but the former people of Gaochang 高昌 were reluctant to leave their former land to remove east, and together they killed Ma Ru 馬儒 and established Qu Jia 麴嘉 as king".

The Northern Wei 魏 planned to cede five hundred *li* 里 land of Yiwu 伊吾 to have Ma Ru 馬儒 live there when the latter entreated to be allowed to move their whole nation toward the center. This shows that Yiwu 伊吾 was controlled by the Northern Wei 魏 at that time. It is possible that the Rouran 柔然 had controlled Yiwu 伊吾 by means of supporting such puppets as the Tang 唐 brothers and others as soon as they arose. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5, in the second year of the reign-period *Taian* 太安 (A.D. 456), in the eighth month, "the General of Pacifying the West, Duke of Yuyang 漁陽, Wei Juan 尉眷, attacked Yiwu 伊吾 in the north, occupied the town, made many captures, and returned". However, after Wei Juan 尉眷 had returned, Yiwu 伊吾 again attached itself to the Rouran 柔然. In the second year (A.D. 472) and the fourth year of the *Yanxing* 延興 reign-period (A.D. 474), the Rouran 柔然 invaded Dunhuang 敦煌 twice, but both times were beaten back by the defending general, Wei Duohou 尉多侯. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 26 (Memoir on Wei Douhou 尉多侯), Wei Duohou 尉多侯 "then presented a memorial asking for taking Yiwu 伊吾 in the north to cut off the route that the Rouran 柔然 took to the Western Regions. Emperor Gaozu 高祖 considered his plan was good, but felt uneasy because the initiative in the east had just began". After this, according to the same book, ch. 7B, in the twelfth year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 488), in the twelfth month, "the defending chief of Yiwu 伊吾 of the Rouran 柔然, Gao Gaozi 高羔子, led three thousand men, together with his town to pay allegiance to the court". From then on, Yiwu 伊吾 subjected

itself to the Northern Wei 魏. If Yiwu 伊吾 could be kept then the Northern Wei 魏 both could cut off the Rouran 柔然 route to the Western Regions in one direction and could defend Dunhuang 敦煌 in the other. This is the reason why Emperor Gaozu 高祖 wanted to put the people of Gaochang 高昌 who moved toward the center in the land of Yiwu 伊吾.

According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 101 (Memoir on Gaochang 高昌), after having ascended the throne, Qu Jia 麴嘉 swore fealty to the Rouran 柔然 and Gaoche 高車 successively. In the first year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 508), "[Qu] Jia [麴]嘉 sent the son of his elder brother, on whom was conferred the titles General of the Guards of the Left in Private, and Administrator of Tiandi 田地, Xiaoliang 孝亮 to pay court at the capital, and still begged leave to remove inwards, supplicating the [Wei 魏 court] to send troops to meet and help him. Thereupon, [the emperor] sent the General of Dragon-like Cavalry, Meng Wei 孟威, to call up troops of 3,000 men of Liang 涼 Province to meet them. They reached Yiwu 伊吾, but returned because they missed the appointed date.²⁸ After this, Qu Jia 麴嘉 sent envoys more than ten times, presenting pearls, elephants, white and black ermine, fine horses, [whistling] salt pillows, and other things, paying high fealty to court, but [the emperor] gave them only the edict of preferential treatment, and did not send troops to meet them in the end. When, in the third year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 510), [Qu] Jia [麴]嘉 sent envoys to pay court, Emperor Shizong 世宗 sent Meng Wei 孟威 on a mission to read out the edict in recognition of their services.²⁹ During the *Yanchang* 延昌 reign-period (A.D. 512–515), [the emperor] conferred on [Qu] Jia [麴]嘉 the titles Commissioner with Special Powers, General Who Pacifying the West, Governor of Gua 瓜 Province, and Earl of Kaiguo 開國 (Founding Nation) of Tailin 泰臨 County. [Qu Jia 麴嘉] was named King [of Gaochang 高昌] in private as before.³⁰ At the beginning of the *Xiping* 熙平 reign-period (A.D. 516), [Qu Jia 麴嘉] sent his envoys to pay court.³¹ An imperial edict was issued, saying, 'Your land is separated by mountains and passes, and the border is close to deserts, but you frequently begged leave to pay court and for us to send troops to help your whole nation to move toward the center. Though your sincerity to attach yourself is worthy of praise, it is not fit and proper according to reason. Why? The people there are the survivors of the Han 漢 and Wei 魏 dynasties. Since the Jin 晉 Dynasty has become lax about rules, they have been forced to leave home and wander about in suffering. They have

gotten married and established states there for generations, therefore they all are weary of migrations and yearn for the past. Now, if you remove them, dissent would come from those closest to you. Therefore, it is not proper to act in accordance with the petition of your memorial'. In the first year of the *Shengui* 神龜 reign-period (A.D. 518), in the winter, Xiaoliang 孝亮 also presented a memorial begging for help to move inwards, but the imperial court did not allow it.³² In the first year of the *Zhengguang* 正光 reign-period (A.D. 522), Emperor Ming 明 sent the Acting Supernumerary General, Zhao Yi 趙義, on a mission to [Qu] Jia [麴]嘉.³³ [Qu] Jia [麴]嘉 continuously presented tribute, and also sent envoys to present a memorial, saying there was no one among his people who studied ancient codes and records because they were on the remote borders. So they begged to borrow the Five Classics and various historical books, and wished to invite the Instructor of the National University, Liu Xie 劉燮, to serve as Erudite. Emperor Ming 明 allowed the request".³⁴ What caused Qu Jia 麴嘉 and his predecessor, Ma Ru 馬儒, to send envoys to beg help again and again in moving their whole nation, in my opinion, is quite impenetrable.

It has been suggested that the reason why Gaochang 高昌 begged leave to moved toward the center is that it could not bear the pressure of its powerful northern neighbours, Rouran 柔然 and Gaoche 高車.³⁵ However, it is obvious that Ma Ru 馬儒 was killed by "the former people of Gaochang 高昌" who did not wish to be moved toward the center. The "former people", as referred to in Emperor Suzong's 肅宗 edict, were all "the survivors of the Han 漢 and Wei 魏 dynasties" who had removed west to Gaochang 高昌 in the troubled times of the Western Jin 晉. With regard to oppression from the northern tribes, these people could not keep aloof from the problem, even if they were not the first to suffer the impact. Why did they object so strenuously to moving toward the center? After Qu Jia 麴嘉 had ascended the throne and presented a memorial to beg leave for the first time to move toward the center, the Wei 魏 Emperor sent Meng Wei 孟威 to call up the troops of Liang 涼 Province to meet them, but they returned because the deadline was missed. This is obviously because "the former people of Gaochang 高昌" stood in the way. It may have been suggested that Ma Ru 馬儒, Qu Jia 麴嘉, and others wished to move toward the center because they were Han 漢 people, and they missed their native land or admired the Han 漢 culture. However, this also cannot explain the issue away. Even if we do not think

that "the former people of Gaochang 高昌" were also Han 漢 people, they could miss their native land the same as Ma 馬 and Qu 麴, and their culture was not necessarily barbarian. If Ma 馬 and Qu 麴 really adored Han 漢 culture, they themselves could have gone to the Northern Wei 魏 for shelter, and it indeed was not necessary "to move their whole nation toward the center". In addition, the Northern Wei 魏 would do nothing more than put the Gaochang 高昌 people in Yiwu 伊吾. Yiwu 伊吾 was itself located beyond the barrier and there was no essential difference between it and Gaochang 高昌 with regard to accepting the Han 漢 culture.

Therefore, the only explanation of the acts by which Ma Ru 馬儒 or Qu Jia 麴嘉 tried to move inwards with their whole nation had something to do with the struggle of the higher groups within Gaochang 高昌. It is difficult to know the details and we have to infer them from what we know because the related material is lacking: Ma Ru 馬儒 was killed by "the former people of Gaochang 高昌" because he wanted to move inwards with the whole nation. This fact seems to show that the group headed by Ma Ru 馬儒 (or "the new people of Gaochang 高昌") wanted to throw itself in with the Northern Wei 魏, to keep its own rule and to diminish the influence of "the former people of Gaochang 高昌" through migration with the whole nation. After Ma Ru 馬儒 had been killed "the former people of Gaochang 高昌" supported and established Qu Jia 麴嘉 who was originally the Chief Official of the Right of Ma Ru 馬儒, as king. This shows that Qu Jia 麴嘉 could be accepted by both Ma Ru's 馬儒 group and "the former people of Gaochang". After he had risen to power, Qu Jia 麴嘉 disobeyed their wishes and presented the memorial to beg help in moving toward the center again and again, which shows he depended very much on "the new people", and as well considered, like Ma Ru 馬儒, that the only way to keep his own position was to more closely put himself into the protection of the Northern Wei 魏. As for the Northern Wei 魏, at first it was receptive to Gaochang's 高昌 moving toward the center. This was mainly because a facade of peace and stability could be maintained by the event. Later it issued an edict to admonish caution when it gradually became cognizant of the plan's unreasonableness, and eventually refused the plan. The voice for moving toward the center with the whole nation disappeared at last because Qu's 麴 group solidified its own rule step by step.³⁶

According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 101 (Memoir on Gaochang 高昌), "When he died, [Qu] Jia [麴]嘉 was posthumously given the titles General of Governing the West and Governor

of Liang 涼 Province. His son, Jian 堅, succeeded him. Afterwards, there were rebellions in Guanzhong 關中 (central Shanxi 陝西 plain), and the missions were thus cut off. At the beginning of the *Putai* 普泰 reign-period (A.D. 531), [Qu] Jian [麴]堅 sent envoys to present tribute, and was given the titles General Who Pacifies the West, Governor of Gua 瓜 Province, and Earl of Tailin 泰臨 County. As before, he was King [of Gaochang 高昌] and the title General of the Guards was also conferred upon.³⁷ In the middle of the *Yongxi* 永熙 reign-period (A.D. 532–534), [Qu Jian 麴嘉] was especially given the title Unequaled in Honor, and was promoted to Prefectural Duke.³⁸ After this, [both sides] were completely cut off". According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 10, in the first year of the *Jianyi* 建義 reign-period (A.D. 528), in the sixth month, on the day *guimao* 癸卯, "the crown prince of the King of Gaochang 高昌, [Qu] Guang [麴]光, was given the titles General of Pacifying the West and Governor of Gua 瓜 Province, and succeeded to the rank of nobility of Earl of Founding Nation of Tailin 泰臨 County, and King of Gaochang 高昌". From this, it can be seen that, the prince who succeeded to the throne was Qu Guang 麴光, not Qu Jian 麴堅, after Qu Jia 麴嘉 had died. Qu Jian 麴堅 ascended the throne in the first year of the *Putai* 普泰 reign-period (A.D. 531), and thus presented tribute in this year.

I

Gaochang's 高昌 close contact with the Northern Wei 魏 in fact started after the Gaochang 高昌 political power that had been affiliated with the Rouran 柔然 was destroyed by the tribe of Fufuluo 副伏羅 of the Gaoche 高車, which moved west. The Gaoche 高車 must have joined with the Northern Wei 魏 in order to resist the Rouran 柔然, and therefore they sent envoys to pay tribute as soon as they founded their state in the Dzungaria. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 103 (Memoir on the Gaoche 高車), it is recorded:

In the fourteenth year [of the *Taihe* 太和] reign-period (A.D. 490), Afuzhiluo 阿伏至羅 sent a barbarian merchant, Yuezhe 越者 to the capital, who paid two arrows as tribute, and said, "The Ruru 蠕蠕 were rebels against the Son of Heaven. Your vassal admonished them but was not followed, and thus deviated from them and comes here and to stand alone. We will attack and get rid of the

Ruru 蠕蠕 for the Son of Heaven".³⁹ Emperor Gaozu 高祖 did not believe them, and sent the envoy Yu Ti 于提, to see the actual situation. Afuzhiluo 阿伏至羅 and Qiongqi 窮奇 sent the envoy, Baojie 薄頡, following Yu Ti 于提, to pay court and present their local products.⁴⁰ An imperial edict ordered the supernumerary Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, Kezuhun Changsheng 可足渾長生, also to go on the mission to Gaoche 高車 with Yu Ti 于提, and respectively gave them both (Afuzhiluo 阿伏至羅 and Qiongqi 窮奇) a suit of embroidered cavalry clothes and one hundred bolts of various coloured silk.⁴¹

Since the Gaoche 高車 opposed the Rouran 柔然 they certainly wanted to make friends with the Northern Wei 魏, and the Northern Wei 魏 also wished to connect with the Gaoche 高車 in order to beat the Rouran 柔然. Therefore, the two parties agreed easily. In the same chapter, it is also recorded that:

Afterwards, Qiongqi 窮奇 was killed by the Yeda 噉嗟, and his son, Mi'etu 彌俄突 and others were captured. His cohort scattered, some of them coming to attach to us, and some went to the Ruru 蠕蠕 for shelter. An imperial edict ordered the General of Propagating Power and the Supervisor of the Palace Guard, Meng Wei 孟威 to comfort and accept those who had surrendered and put them in the Defence Command of Gaoping 高平.

In my opinion, according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4B, in the fourth year of the *Zhengshi* 正始 reign-period (A.D. 507), in the twelfth month, on the day *jiazi* 甲子, "Tamogu 他莫孤, a man of the Gaoche 高車 from the Ruru 蠕蠕, leading his tribe, came to surrender". Tamogu 他莫孤 was called "a man of the Gaoche 高車 from the Ruru 蠕蠕", probably because he originally was of a tribal people of Qiongqi 窮奇, and had gone "to the Ruru 蠕蠕 for shelter" before he "came to surrender" to the Northern Wei 魏.

In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 103 (Memoir on the Gaoche 高車) it is also recorded that "Afuzhiluo 阿伏至羅 very much lost the will of the people because of the atrocities he committed. The crowd killed him, and established one of his clansmen, Baliyan 跋利延 as lord.

Over a year later, the Yeda 嚙嗟 attacked the Gaoche 高車, and wanted to make Mi'etu 彌俄突 the lord, so the people of Gaoche 高車 killed Baliyan 跋利延 and met with Mi'etu 彌俄突 to established him as lord. After he was established, Mi'etu 彌俄突 also sent envoys to present tribute. He presented a memorial and gave one golden square, one silver square, two golden sticks, two horses and ten camels. An imperial edict ordered the envoy, Morong Tan 慕容坦, to award Mi'etu 彌俄突 sixty bolts of various coloured silk. Emperor Shizong's 世宗 edict said, 'You live beyond the far desert, but state frequently your fealty. Inspecting and accepting your loyalty, We especially commend you. The communications among the Ruru 蠕蠕, Yeda 嚙嗟 and Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 all go by the way of Gaochang 高昌, because all these lands touch at one corner. Now Gaochang 高昌 has attached inwards and [We] have sent envoys to meet it. Since the route by which the [Ruru 蠕蠕 and Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 have contact has been cut off, their treacherous influence is suffocated. This situation is advantageous to your state. It ought to supply and serve us when our envoys go through.] Don't allow various villains to insult and interfere. To impede imperial envoys is a capital crime".⁴² In my opinion, the fact that "Gaochang 高昌 has attached inwards and [We] have sent envoys to meet it" was in the first year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 508). Therefore, Mi'etu's 彌俄突 sending envoys to present tribute after he had ascended the throne must be in the fourth month of this year.⁴³ The purpose for which Emperor Shizong 世宗 issued the edict was to order the Gaoche 高車 to control the throat of Gaochang 高昌, and replace the Qu 麴 family to keep the trade route smooth and supply the envoys of the Northern Wei 魏.

In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 103 (Memoir on the Gaoche 高車), it is also recorded that "Soon Mi'etu 彌俄突 fought with the lord of the Ruru 蠕蠕, Futu 伏圖, to the north of the Pulei 蒲類 Sea, and was defeated by Futu 伏圖 and fled west for over three hundred *li* 里. Futu 伏圖 was stationed in the mountains north of Yiwu 伊吾. Before this, the king of Gaochang 高昌, Qu Jia 麴嘉, has presented a memorial to beg aid in moving toward the center, and Emperor Shizong 世宗 sent Meng Wei 孟威 to meet them, and the latter arrived at Yiwu 伊吾. When they saw [Meng] Wei's [孟]威 troops the Ruru 蠕蠕 fled because of fear. Hearing of their being scattered and frightened Mi'etu 彌俄突 pursued and attacked and routed them, and killed Futu 伏圖 north of the Pulei 蒲類 Sea. Mi'etu 彌俄突 cut off his hair, which was sent to Meng Wei 孟威. Mi'etu 彌

俄突 also sent envoys to present five dragon horses, golden, silver, marten and various local products. An imperial edict ordered the Viscount of Dongcheng 東城, Yu Liang 于亮, to acknowledge him and award him one set of musical instruments, eighty musicians, ten bolts of red coarse silk fabric, and sixty bolts of various coloured silk. Mi'etu 彌俄突 sent his *Mohequfen* 莫何去汾, Woyin Chihezhen 屋引叱賀真, to give their local products". The above mentioned matters all took place in the first year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 508). Mi'etu's 彌俄突 sending the dragon horses and other gifts was in the sixth month, and Woyin Chihezhen's 屋引叱賀真 giving their local products was in the seventh month.⁴⁴

About A.D. 516, Mi'etu 彌俄突 was killed by the *Khan* of the Rouran 柔然, Chounu 醜奴. The Yeda 噉嗟 also helped Yifu 伊匐, the younger brother of Mi'etu 彌俄突, to recover his power. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 103 (Memoir on the Gaoche 高車),

After he had recovered power, Yifu 伊匐 sent envoys to present a memorial. Thereupon, an imperial edict sent the envoys, Gu Kai 谷楷 and others, to confer upon Yifu 伊匐 the titles General of Governing the West, Duke of Founding Nation of Xihai 西海 Prefecture, and King of Gaoche 高車. Yifu 伊匐 again attacked and routed the Ruru 蠕蠕. The lord of the Ruru 蠕蠕 fled to Liang 涼 Province. In the middle of the *Zhengguang* 正光 reign-period (A.D. 520–525), Yifu 伊匐 sent envoys to pay tribute and then begged one man-drawn carriage with red paintings with heavy curtain and mattress, a pair of bridles, one umbrella, one fan, five blue crank-umbrellas, five red lacquer fans, and drum and horn amounting to ten in all. An imperial edict was issued, which allowed his request.

In my opinion, in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9, it is recorded that in the first year of the *Shengui* 神龜 reign-period (A.D. 518), in the fifth month, the Gaoche 高車 "sent envoys to present tribute". This must have been the first time of paying tribute to Wei 魏 after Yifu 伊匐 had recovered power. "The middle of the *Zhengguang* 正光 reign-period (A.D. 520–525)" noted in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 103, should be the third year of the *Zhengguang* 正光 reign-period (A.D. 522). According to ch. 9, in this year, "in the fourth month, on the day *gengchen* 庚辰, [the Emperor] conferred on the lord of Gaoche 高車, Fuluo Yifu 覆羅伊匐, the titles General of Governing the

West, Duke of Founding Nation of Xihai 西海 Prefecture, and King of Gaoche 高車". After this, civil strife occurred frequently in the Northern Wei 魏 Dynasty, as described in the *Beiqishu* 北齊書, ch. 1: "the savage of Azhiluo 阿至羅 often swore fealty before the *Zhengguang* 正光 reign-period (A.D. 520–525). When the Wei 魏 Dynasty came to troubled times, they all rebelled". This shows that relations between the Northern Wei 魏 and Gaoche 高車 had already ended in the third year of the *Zhengguang* 正光 reign-period (A.D. 522).

Also, in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 69 (Memoir on Yuan Fan 袁翻), it is recorded that "at the end of the *Shengui* 神龜 reign-period (A.D. 520), [Yuan Fan 袁翻] was promoted to be the General of Commanding the Army and the Governor of Liang 涼 Province, when both the lord of the Ruru 蠕蠕, Anagui 阿那瓌 and the later lord, Poluomen 婆羅門 came to surrender because their state was in disorder, and the imperial court asked [Yuan] Fan [袁]翻 where should they be put". Yuan Fan 袁翻 presented a memorial which said,

If the Ruru 蠕蠕 were unable to rise again, enabling the Gaoche 高車 to dominate the northern border exclusively, then the worry of overseeing the West will be imminent. I consider that the two lords of the Ruru 蠕蠕 should both be allowed to live. Have Anagui 阿那瓌 live in the eastern borderland, and Poluomen 婆羅門, the western borderland, the people who surrendered should be divided and attached to their respective lords.... [I] beg leave to rebuild the former town of Xihai 西海 to house Poluomen 婆羅門.... This is an act to put the Ruru 蠕蠕 outside and a plan to watch out for the Gaoche 高車 inside.

From this can be seen the essence of the relationship between the Northern Wei 魏 and the Gaoche 高車.

In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 103 (Memoir on the Gaoche 高車), the last record is that "Afterwards, Yifu 伊匐 fought with the Ruru 蠕蠕, and was defeated and retreated. His younger brother, Yueju 越居, killed Yifu 伊匐 and established himself as lord. In the middle of the *Tianping* 天平 reign-period (A.D. 534–537), Yueju 越居 also was destroyed by the Ruru 蠕蠕. Bishi 比適, the son of Yifu 伊匐, killed Yueju 越居 and established himself as lord. In the middle of the *Xinghe* 興和 reign-period (A.D. 539–542), Bishi 比適 also was destroyed by the

Ruru 蠕蠕. Qubin 去賓, the son of Yueju 越居, came from the Ruru 蠕蠕 to attach himself to us. King Xianwu 獻武 of Qi 齊 wanted to call on and accept the people who lived far away, and he presented a memorial [to the emperor], conferring on Qubin 去賓, the titles King of Gaoche 高車, the General of Conquering the North, and Governor of Si 肆 Province. Thereafter, Qubin 去賓 died in his bed". In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 11, it is recorded that in the second year of the *Yongxi* 永熙 reign-period (A.D. 533), in the third month, "on the day *xinmao* 辛卯, an imperial edict conferring on the King of Xianwu 獻武 of Qi 齊 the title Director of the Department of State Affairs and ordering him to handle events according to circumstances, because now the various tribes of the Azhiluo 阿至羅 surrendered one after another and all the Branch Departments of State Affairs had been disbanded in former days". According to the *Beishi* 北史, ch. 5, "one hundred thousand households of the Azhiluo 阿至羅 came to attach themselves toward the center" at that time. This probably was the result of the confusion caused by the fact that Yueju 越居 killed Yifu 伊匐, who was destroyed by the Rouran 柔然.

In the *Beishi* 北史, ch. 5, in the third year of the *Yongxi* 永熙 reign-period (A.D. 534), the twelfth month, on the day *guisi* 癸巳, at night, "The emperor entertained the Azhiluo 阿至羅 in the Xiaoyao 逍遙 Park". The so-called "Azhiluo 阿至羅" refers to the chief of the Gaoche 高車 tribe which had paid allegiance to the court as mentioned above. According to the *Beiqishu* 北齊書, ch. 1, to men who paid allegiance to the court, "Emperor Shenwu 神武 often gave millet and silk. The consultants considered that it would be a futile effort. Emperor Shenwu 神武 did not agree with them and his appeasement was as before. Their chiefs, such as Tuchen 吐陳 and others, all followed the royal command, because they owed a debt of gratitude. [Emperor Shenwu 神武] gained their help when he rescued Cao Ni 曹泥 and took Moqi Shouluogan 万俟受洛幹".⁴⁵

Also, in the *Beiqishu* 北齊書, ch. 2, it is recorded that in the second year of the *Xinghe* 興和 reign-period (A.D. 540), "in the twelfth month, a separated tribe of Azhiluo 阿至羅 sent an envoy to surrender, and Emperor Shenwu 神武 led a crowd to meet them. However, he did not see those who came to surrender when he went out of the barrier of Wuzhou 武州, hunted a great deal and then returned". And according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 12, in the next year, the second month, on the day *jiachen* 甲辰, "Chutu Banahun 出吐拔那渾 of the Azhiluo 阿至羅 led his

tribe and came to surrender". These who came to surrender might be the men of the tribe of Bishi 比適, who were defeated by the Rouran 柔然.

According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 12, "Qubin 去賓, the son of Fufuluo Yueju 副伏羅越居, lord of the state of Azhiluo 阿至羅, came to surrender, and he was given the title King of Gaoche 高車". The time is the third year of the *Xinghe* 興和 reign-period (A.D. 541), the fourth month, on the day *wushen* 戊申.⁴⁶

J

The Northern Wei's 魏 management of the Western Regions started during the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period of Emperor Shizu 世祖 (A.D. 435–440). At the beginning, only the missions came and went. Wan Dugui 萬度歸 was not sent on a campaign against Shanshan 鄯善 until the sixth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 445). After this, in the ninth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 448), Han Ba 韓拔 was given the titles Concurrent Colonel of Protecting the Western Rong 戎 and King of Shanshan 鄯善, and guarded Shanshan 鄯善. Wan Dugui 萬度歸 was ordered to attack Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲. When he attacked Qiuci 龜茲, Wan Dugui 萬度歸 did not occupy its capital, but only captured camels and horses, and then returned. When he attacked Yanqi 焉耆, he occupied its capital, and ordered Tang He 唐和 to guard it, but Tang He 唐和 reached the Wei 魏 capital in the first year of the *Zhengping* 正平 reign-period (A.D. 451), and Ju Yiluo 車伊洛, who guarded the eastern border of Yanqi 焉耆, also reached the Dai 代 in the next year, and after this nobody was appointed as general of Yanqi 焉耆. Therefore, it is very possible that the troops of the Northern Wei 魏 had withdrawn from Yanqi 焉耆 in the first or second year of the *Zhengping* 正平 reign-period (A.D. 451 or 452).⁴⁷

The Defence Command of Shanshan 鄯善 frequently appears in the historical books, but, besides one citation of the Defence Command of Shanshan 鄯善 in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 30 (Memoir on Wang Jian 王建), which can be regarded as referring to the one that was established in the former government seat of the state of Shanshan 鄯善, the others all must refer to the Defence Command of Shanshan 鄯善 which was established in Xiping 西平 Prefecture.⁴⁸ According to the item "Shan Zhou 鄯州 (Shan 鄯 Province)" in the "Longyou Dao 隴右道 A"

chapter of the *Yuanhe Junxian Tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志, "The Later Wei 魏 established Xiping 西平 Prefecture as the Defence Command of Shanshan 鄯善. In the second year of the *Xiaochang* 孝昌 reign-period (A.D. 526) it changed the Defence Command into Shan 鄯 Province". Since it would be difficult to name a new defence command "Shanshan 鄯善" without foundation, there is no harm in considering that the new defence command was established just when the old defence command was abandoned. Since Han Ba 韓拔 had got away from Shanshan 鄯善 at the beginning of the second year of the *Yanxing* 延興 reign-period (A.D. 472) at the latest, and there are no sources to prove the old defence command existed after this, there is no harm in considering that the old defence command was abandoned before the second year of the *Yanxing* 延興 reign-period (A.D. 472).⁴⁹ It is possible that the earliest time when the Defence Command of Shanshan 鄯善 was abandoned was the same as that of the Defence Command of Yanqi 焉耆.

The Defence Command of Yanqi 焉耆 and the Defence Command of Shanshan 鄯善 existed for a short time then. From then on, the Northern Wei 魏 did not have a similar organization in the Western Regions. After Han Ba 韓拔, no station of those on whom was conferred the title Concurrent Colonel of Protecting the Western Regions (or Western Rong 戎) was to the west of Dunhuang 敦煌. From this, it can be seen that after Emperor Shizu 世祖, the management of the Western Regions of the Northern Wei 魏 became inactive and passive, and rested only on the coming and going of the envoys.

On the another hand, the Rouran 柔然 soon staged a comeback, though their control of the Western Regions was interrupted by the western expedition of Wan Dugui 萬度歸 for a time. As mentioned above, Emperor Shizu 世祖 of Wei 魏 was unable to put down the Juqu 沮渠 family who occupied Gaochang 高昌, and the main reason is that the Juqu 沮渠 family was supported by the Rouran 柔然. The Rouran 柔然 wiped out the Juqus' 沮渠 power in the first year of the *Heping* 和平 reign-period (A.D. 460), and established Han Bozhou 闕伯周, who was closer to the Rouran 柔然, and was made king obviously in order to further control Gaochang 高昌. Following this, it also is quite possible that the Rouran 柔然 once again controlled Yanqi 焉耆, Qiuci 龜茲 and Shanshan 鄯善. At the same time, through the Northern Route, the Rouran 柔然 started up to attack Yutian 于闐. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), it is recorded that:

At the end of the reign of Xianzu 顯祖, the Ruru 蠕蠕 invaded Yutian 于闐. Yutian 于闐 became worried and sent an envoy, Sumujia 素目伽, to present a memorial, that said, "All the states in the West have already become subject to the Ruru 蠕蠕, but your vassal has esteemed the Great State for generations and has not changed to this day. Now the chargers of the Ruru 蠕蠕 have reached our town gate, and your vassal has called up soldiers to defend ourselves. Now we have sent our envoy to present tribute, and we eagerly look forward to rescue". Emperor Xianzu 顯祖 ordered the senior ministers to discuss the matter. The senior ministers presented a memorial to the emperor and said, "Yutian 于闐 is a distance of several tens of thousands of *li* 里 from the capital. The nature of the Ruru 蠕蠕 is that they are used to robbing in the wilderness and are unable to attack towns. Once they suffer resistance, they should retreat. Even if we wanted to dispatch troops, it certainly would be too late". Emperor Xianzu 顯祖 showed the memorial of the senior ministers to the envoy, who also considered it was correct. Thereupon an imperial edict was issued saying "We put everything on earth in order according to God's will, and we wish that each place has a role to play. It is proper to order the various troops to rescue you from disaster. However, because your state is at a remote distance, even if the reinforcements were sent, it would be difficult to help you in your most pressing need. Thus our troops have stopped and do not advance. You should know this. Now We will drill and build up the army, and We'll personally lead valiant generals within one or two years to get rid of the danger for you. Do you guard carefully and wait to carry out warfare on a large scale".

The statement that "all the states in the West have already become subject to the Ruru 蠕蠕" refers to the various states in the Tarim Basin all of which were subject to the Rouran 柔然.⁵⁰ The state of Yutian 于闐 lay secluded in the southwest, but it was a matter of course that it also would be controlled. Thus it presented the memorial to report the emergency. The disaster of

Yutian 于闐 was an inevitable result of the way that the Northern Wei 魏 mismanaged the Western Regions.

Naturally, to the recourse of Yutian 于闐, the Northern Wei 魏 was not inclined to promise, thus prevaricated with the envoy of Yutian 于闐 on the pretext that "Yutian 于闐 is a distance of several tens of thousands of *li* 里 from the capital". The reference "We'll personally lead valiant generals within one or two years" and so on is mere empty talk. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 26 (Memoir on Wei Duohou 尉多侯) it is recorded,

During the reign of Emperor Xianzu 顯祖, he was given the titles Commissioner with a Warrant, General of Conquering the West, Concurrent Colonel of Protecting the Qiang 羌 and Rong 戎, and Commander of the Defence Command of Dunhuang 敦煌. Arriving at the defence command, he presented a memorial begging to be allowed to lead five thousand light cavalry to advance west and enter Yutian 于闐 and concurrently pacify all the various states, the necessary expenses to cope with the enemy, and declaring that he would prove effective with the pacification. The Emperor did not allow his request.

Wei Duohou 尉多侯 made up his mind to render meritorious service in the foreign lands. Taking aim at the situation that the various states in the Western Regions mostly were subject to the Rouran 柔然 and the state of Yutian 于闐 also suffered this threat, he presented a memorial begging permission to "advance west and enter Yutian 于闐 and concurrently pacify the various states". He asserted that "expenses to cope with the enemy", and he merely was in need of "five thousand light cavalry" because he feared the imperial court would disagree with him, but even this was not granted. According to the same chapter, at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Gaozu 高祖, Wei Duohou 尉多侯 also presented a memorial begging to be allowed to take Yiwu 伊吾 in the north. His request was still not approved. Even taking Yiwu 伊吾 in the north was considered to be very difficult, thus advancing west and entering Yutian 于闐 of course would not be allowed.

It should be pointed out that the relations between Yutian 于闐 and the Northern Wei 魏 were quite unusual. Before Sumujia 素目伽 presented the memorial, according to the *Weishu* 魏

書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), "the imperial court had sent its envoy, Han Yangpi 韓羊皮, on a mission to Bosi 波斯. The king of Bosi 波斯 sent envoys to present a trained elephant and rare goods. When [the envoys] went through the state of Yutian 于闐, the king of Yutian 于闐, Qiuren 秋仁, always detained them.⁵¹ The king lied and said, this was because of concern that they would not arrive on account of bandits. When [Han] Yangpi [韓]羊皮 reported the case, Emperor Xianzu 顯祖, was enraged and sent [Han] Yangpi [韓]羊皮 back to accuse him". It seemed that the two parties were not in accordance, but, according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5, as early as the third year of the *Tai'an* 太安 reign-period (A.D. 457), the state of Yutian 于闐 had already sent envoys to present tribute. In addition, it is possible that in this year, according to the "epitaph on Yu 于, the Lady of Great Wei's 魏 Emperor Wencheng 文成" (version of rubbings), a princess of the king of the state of Yutian 于闐, whose name was Xianji 仙姬 (fairy maiden) wed Emperor Gaozong 高宗 of Wei 魏. This princess lived to a ripe old age. She did not die until the second year of the *Xiaochang* 孝昌 reign-period (A.D. 526), when she was "ninety years old".⁵² In the year when Sumujia 素目伽 presented the memorial this lady was still living and in good health. The king of Yutian 于闐 sent envoys to report the emergency and had recourse to the Emperor probably because of just this relationship.

As for the time when Yutian 于闐 sent Sumujia 素目伽 to present the memorial, there is no clear record in the historical books, but there is no harm in supposing it took place in A.D. 466–468. This is because according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 6, Yutian 于闐 sent envoys to pay court four times between the first year of the *Tian'an* 天安 reign-period (A.D. 466) and the second year of the *Huangxing* 皇興 reign-period (A.D. 468). Of course, the fact that Sumujia 素目伽 presented the memorial may be omitted by the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 6. In other words, it could be later than the second year of the *Huangxing* 皇興 reign-period (A.D. 468).⁵³ In addition, the time at which Wei Duohou 尉多侯 presented his memorial begging to be allowed to "advance west and enter Yutian 于闐" should have been after Sumujia 素目伽 presented his memorial.

After Emperor Gaozu 高祖 ascended the throne, the Northern Wei's 魏 management of the Western Regions became more inactive, and not only did it not take Yiwu 伊吾 in the north, it even planned to abandon Dunhuang 敦煌. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 42 (Memoir on Han Xiu 韓秀) it is recorded:

In the middle of the *Yanxing* 延興 reign-period (A.D. 471–476), the Imperial Secretaries presented a memorial to the emperor, which said that they considered that the Defence Command of Dunhuang 敦煌 was isolated and located in the northwestern distance, and was the main artery of invaders and savages. Thinking that it probably was not strong, they wanted to move the defence command into Liang 涼 Province. The officials assembled to discuss this, and all believed it was correct. Only [Han] Xiu [韓]秀 considered it was incorrect and said, "This is an act which would make our nation weak and does not help us open up territory. I consider that Dunhuang 敦煌 has been established for a long time. Its land neighbours some strong enemies, but its soldiers and people are well trained. Even if there are villains, these are unable to bring disaster. It will be able to save itself by setting up garrisons in the usual way. Going a step further, it can cut off the roads that the Northern Di 狄 covet. On second thought, it can even wall up the route that the Western Yi 夷 have set their eyes upon. If we remove the defence command to Guzang 姑臧, we would be anxious that the people harbour disloyalty. They want to stay behind and are reluctant to migrate; their feelings are such that they are not ready to be removed. If they induce the enemy to invade, it would become a very grave disaster for our nation. In addition, Dunhuang 敦煌 is at a distance of over one thousand *li* 里 from Liang 涼 Province. If we abandon the remote defence and rely only on the near, and the remote defences are deficient, once they are abandoned the ambition of the barbarians will be aroused. If various barbarians collude with each other, the evildoers among them will agree to invade the land of Liang 涼 Province and the nearby barbarian lands, and everything west of the [Tong 潼] Barrier will be laid waste and disrupted. Beacons will not be extinguished, the corvees for the border will frequently be mobilized, and the hardship will follow". Thereupon [the Emperor] followed [Han] Xiu's [韓]秀 opinion.⁵⁴

What Han Xiu 韓秀, who alone had objections to retrenchment, strongly advocated was merely a defensive plan, just enough to continue the *status quo*.

In sum, the Northern Wei's 魏 management of the Western Regions was inactive. The primary cause is that the Northern Wei 魏 merely occupied the valley of the Yellow River, and there was a hostile regime both north and south of it, therefore it was unable to pour much strength into the Western Regions.

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The Northern Wei's 魏 management of the Western Regions can be roughly divided into four stages:

The first stage is from the first of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period of Emperor Shizu 世祖 (A.D. 435) to the sixth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 445). This stage can be termed the initial period. During this period the Northern Wei 魏 and the various states in the Western Regions start to send envoys to each other.

The second stage is from the sixth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period of Emperor Shizu 世祖 (A.D. 445) to the first or second year of the *Zhengping* 正平 reign-period (A.D. 451 or 452). This stage can be termed its acme. During this period the Northern Wei 魏 not only conquered Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲, but also established the Defence Commands of Shanshan 鄯善 and Yanqi 焉耆, ordered the generals to guard them, and replaced the Rouran 柔然 in control of the various states on the Southern and Northern Routes to a certain extent.

The third stage is from Emperor Gaozong's 高宗 accession (A.D. 452) to the eleventh year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period of Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (A.D. 487). During this period the Rouran 柔然 made a comeback, and once again dominated the Western Regions because the Wei 魏 troops evacuated from the Western Regions. However, the contacts between the Northern Wei 魏 and the various states in the Western Regions were not maintained as before.

The fourth stage is from the eleventh year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period of Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (A.D. 487) until the Northern Wei 魏 died out. During this period the contacts

between the Northern Wei 魏 and the various states in the Western Regions developed sequentially.

The purpose of the Northern Wei's 魏 management of the Western Regions was approximately like that of the Western and Eastern Han 漢. According to the officials' language in the preface of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, it was to "show Wei's 魏 power and virtue to the wild and distant domains" and "attract rare goods into the Heavenly repository".

In Western Han 漢 and Eastern Han 漢 times, to "attract rare goods" was to show "power and virtue" in the final analysis. Generally, the Northern Wei 魏 also was like that. However, in its earlier period to "attract rare goods" was also intended to accumulate wealth. This was related to the nomadic nature of the Northern Wei 魏 regime at that time.

Emperor Taizu 太祖 would not allow the opening up of the Western Regions. This, of course, was owing to the limitations of the conditions. However, he criticized the Han 漢 Dynasty for not defending its borders and pacifying the common people, and he called the officials to account: "How can there be any benefit"? From this, one can see that the rulers of the Xianbei 鮮卑 not only had no desire to show "power and virtue", but also did not realize that opening up the Western Regions would be profitable. This must be the subjective reason that Emperors Taizu 太祖 and Taizong 太宗 did not open up the Western Regions. Besides Emperors Taizu 太祖 and Taizong 太宗, Emperor Shizu 世祖 originally also did not want to send envoys on a mission to the Western Regions because he considered that communications with the Western Regions were not profitable after all. Afterwards, Emperor Shizu 世祖 developed the management of the Western Regions, but it seems that he still had concrete benefit in mind.

During the reign of Emperor Shizu 世祖, Wan Dugui 萬度歸 went on a campaign against Yanqi 焉耆. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), "[He] gained possession of its rare objects and exotic curios, its cleverly crafted hitherto unrecognized objects from distant places, and myriads of camels, horses, oxen, and miscellaneous animals". In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 110, it is also recorded that "its king, Jiushibeina 鳩尸卑那 rode off all by himself, fleeing into Qiuci 龜茲. The officials and people of the whole state, carrying their money on their backs and embracing their goods, surrendered at the same time. [Wan Dugui 萬度歸] got possession of their rare treasures and exotic curios which were worth an enormous

amount, and camels, horses, and miscellaneous animals, which was boundless". When Wan Dugui 萬度歸 attacked Qiuci 龜茲, according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), he "got possession of many camels and horses and returned"; according to the same book, ch. 110, he "got possession of his unique things from distant places which were worth over hundreds of millions". Such a way to "attract rare goods" is no different from stealing.

In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), it is also recorded that "The memorial reporting [Wan] Dugui's [萬]度歸 defeat of Yanqi 焉耆 arrived when Emperor Shizu 世祖 was staying at the Northern Palace in the Yin 陰 Mountains. After Emperor Shizu 世祖 had read it, he gave the Minister of Education, Cui Hao 崔浩, a letter, which said, "[Wan] Dugui [萬]度歸, leading five thousand cavalry and crossing more than 10,000 *li* 里, occupied three towns of Yanqi 焉耆, and obtained their rare treasures and exotic things, as well as their reserve grain, which was boundless. Monarchs of earlier generations claimed to have reduced the Western Rong 戎 to order, but pointing one's finger at something does not mean being able to control it. Now We, holding them in hand, have taken possession of it. What do you think"? Cui Hao 崔浩 sent a written message to the emperor admiring the achievement. Thereupon, [Emperor Shizu 世祖] ordered [Wan] Dugui [萬]度歸 to suppress and pacify its people". The Emperor Shizu's 世祖 words "We, holding them in hand, have taken possession of it" refer not only to "three towns of Yanqi 焉耆" but also to rare goods.⁵⁵

After Emperor Shizu 世祖, the Northern Wei 魏 attracted "rare goods" through sending missions. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 110, it is recorded that "Since the Wei's 魏 virtue had expanded, the Western Regions and the Eastern Yi 夷 came to present their rare goods, which were the furnishing of the residences of princes.... During the reign-periods of *Shengui* 神龜 and *Zhengguang* 正光 (A.D. 518–520 and 520–525), the treasuries were filled with rare goods", which can be regarded as evidence. These rare goods not only were a vital luxury of the royal court, but also played a role in demonstrating peace and tranquility. Therefore, along with showing that the degree of their sinicization had been deepened, the Northern Wei's 魏 rulers increasingly attached importance to these rare goods, and as a result, as said in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 65:

Since the beginning of the *Jingming* 景明 reign-period (A.D. 500), carrying forward the cause of peace and prosperity, the four seas are clear and tranquil, and [the people] everywhere tend to be the same. Therefore the barbarian tributes follow each other on the roads, and the merchants enter by turns. The tribute and goods are twice as much as usual. Losses in a year still are valued by the tens of thousands, though expenses have been cut down. The rare goods often show a surplus, and national expenditure usually is not enough. If we do not limit this, there might be nothing to defray the state expenditure in another year.

An important symbol of the situation that "the four seas are clear and tranquil, and [the people] everywhere tend to be the same" is the fact that "the barbarian tribute follow each other on the roads, and the merchants enter by turns", and the rare goods collected were "twice as much as usual". The cost is that "losses in a year still are valued by the tens of thousands". This had become exactly the same as that of the Western and Eastern Han 漢.

Of course, the Northern Wei 魏 managed the Western Regions in order to defeat the Rouran 柔然. However, in fact they had little affect. In the ninth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 448), the Northern Wei 魏 sent Han Ba 韓拔 to guard Shanshan 鄯善, and Wan Dugui 萬度歸 went on a campaign against Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲, but he was unable to advance and occupy Gaochang 高昌. After all this, it was out of the question to cooperate the northern expedition against the Rouran 柔然 in word and deed. This obviously is because the Northern Wei's 魏 ability was not equal to its ambition, and not because it did not understand the value of cutting off the right arm of the Rouran 柔然.

The method of the Northern Wei's 魏 management of the Western Regions was quite different from that of the Western and Eastern Han 漢 simply because its ability was not equal to its ambition. In other words, it gave priority to sending the missions and not to military conquest and public administration.

The scale of the missions' frequency between the Northern Wei 魏 and the various states in the Western Regions is unprecedented. This contact had not been interrupted even though the

situation had changed. This can be regarded as a main feature of the Northern Wei's 魏 management of the Western Regions.⁵⁶

In the second stage of the Northern Wei's 魏 management of the Western Regions, Shanshan 鄯善, Yanqi 焉耆 and Qiuci 龜茲 were conquered successively. In the fourth stage, Gaochang 高昌 offered fealty to the court, and the Gaoche 高車 strove to make friends with Wei 魏. Under these conditions, it goes without saying that the envoys' coming and going between the Northern Wei 魏 and the various states in the Western Regions was quite convenient. It is worth mentioning that even in the first and second stages, the Northern Wei 魏 maintained frequent contacts with the various states in the Western Regions. Some small states on the Northern and Southern Routes, such as Yanqi 焉耆, Qiuci 龜茲, Shanshan 鄯善 sent envoys to the Wei 魏 court again and again even while they were subject to the Rouran 柔然.⁵⁷ Since *Khan* Wuti 吳提 detained Wang Ensheng 王恩生 and Xu Gang 許剛 from completing their mission to the West, it is clear that the Rouran 柔然 did not want to see the Northern Wei 魏 contact the various states in the Western Regions. The fact that Yanqi 焉耆 and others sent envoys to the Wei 魏 court during the period when the Rouran 柔然 dominated the Western Regions shows that its strength could not prevent these contacts. In other words, the Rouran 柔然 control of the Western Regions was not complete. If the state of Yanqi 焉耆 and others east of the Cong 葱 Mountains (the Pamirs) were so, one can well imagine what the various states to the west of the Cong 葱 Mountains (the Pamirs) would have been like.

Corresponding to the fact that the various states in the Western Regions frequently sent envoys to the Wei 魏 court, the Northern Wei 魏 also frequently sent envoys on missions to the various states in the Western Regions. In the first year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435) alone, the missions sent to the Western Regions by the Northern Wei 魏 amounted to upwards of twenty. In the next year there were also six missions sent out. The most famous envoys are Wang Ensheng 王恩生, Xu Gang 許綱, Dong Wan 董琬 and Gan Ming 高明. In addition, the envoys who carved their names in history are Gao Hui 高徽, who was sent to the state of Yeda 嚙噠 (see the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 32),⁵⁸ Han Yangpi 韓羊皮 who was sent to the state of Bosi 波斯 (see the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102), Zhang Daoyi 張道義 who was sent to Bosi 波斯 (see *Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 36) and Gu Weilong 谷巍龍 who was sent to Mimi 迷密,⁵⁹ and others.

Besides envoys, according to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), "during the *Xiping* 熙平 reign-period (A.D. 516–518), Emperor Suzong 肅宗 sent the Sub-Supervisor of Valets, Song Yun 宋雲, and the *śramaṇa*, Fali 法力, and others on a mission to the Western Regions to search for Buddhist sutras. At that time, *śramaṇa* Huisheng 慧生 also went with them, and then returned home in the middle of the *Zhengguang* 正光 reign-period (A.D. 520–525)".⁶⁰ From this, one can see that the Northern Wei 魏 also sent officials and monks west to search for the *dharma*. And according to the *Luoyang Qielanji* 洛陽伽藍記, vol. 5, Song Yun 宋雲 and others "came to the town of Hanmo 捍摩, fifteen *li* 里 to the south of which was a large monastery which had over three hundred monks and a golden statue one *zhang* 丈 6 *chi* 尺 high. This is of such exceptional magnificence that it seems to glow. It always faces east and will never look towards the west.... Later generations erected thousands of statues one *zhang* 丈 6 *chi* 尺 high with *sāpas* beside it, and tens of thousands of coloured banners and parasols were hung on them. Most of the banners were from the country of Wei 魏, on many of which was written in the clerkly script 'nineteenth year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 495), 'second year of the *Jingming* 景明 reign-period (A. D. 501), or 'second year of the *Yanchang* 延昌 reign-period (A.D. 513)'"⁶¹ This shows that those who searched for the *dharma*, such as Song Yun 宋雲 and Huisheng 慧生, were quite a number.

In the *Luoyang Qielanji* 洛陽伽藍記, vol. 3, it is recorded that "the eastern barbarians who came to submit were put in the Fashuang 扶桑 Hostel and [later] given houses in the Muhua 慕化 ward. Western barbarians who came over were put in Yazi 崦嵫 Hostel and given houses in the Muyi 慕義 ward. From the Cong 葱 Mountains (the Pamirs) westwards to Da Qin 大秦 one hundred states and one thousand towns all gladly attached themselves to us; foreign traders and merchants came hurrying in though 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 the atmosphere of the Middle Kingdom was beyond counting; there were ten thousand families of those who had come over to our way of life. The gates and lanes were neatly arranged and the entrances packed tight together. Dark locust-trees gave shade and green willows hung down over the courtyards. All the rare goods of the world were concentrated there". From this, it can be seen that there were many people from the Western Regions who lived in

Luoyang 洛陽 at that time. The government of the Northern Wei 魏 properly put them there. This also played an important role in forming the situation that "one hundred states and one thousand towns all gladly attached themselves to us".

L

The Western Wei 魏 Dynasty and the Northern Zhou 周 Dynasty, which took the place of the former, did not station military troops or establish administration in the Western Regions from beginning to end. Their communications with the various states in the Western Regions also were not so frequent as those of the Northern Wei 魏.

According to the *Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 37 (Memoir on Han Bao 韓褒), "In the twelfth year of the [*Datong* 大統] reign-period (A.D. 446), [Han Bao 韓褒] was given the titles Commander-in-chief and Governor of Western Liang 涼 Province. The custom of the barbarians of Qiang 羌 is to despise the poor and weak, esteem the rich and powerful. The rich and powerful families harass and loot the common people as if they were servants. Therefore, the poor people grow weaker day by day, the powerful families richer and richer. [Han] Bao [韓]褒 thus collected all the poor people to serve as soldiers, and gave their houses preferential treatment, exempting them from forced labour and taxes, and transferring the property of the rich to relieve them. Whenever merchants came from the Western Regions he also let the poor exchange with them in advance. Thereupon wealth between the rich and the poor gradually became less uneven, and a number of households and individuals became better off". From this, we know that the trade between the Western Wei 魏 and the Western Regions exerted considerable influence on the economic development of the Zhangye 張掖 area.

According to the *Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 39 (Memoir on Wei Zhen 韋瑱), "In the third year [of the reign of Emperor Gong 恭 of Wei 魏] (A.D. 556), [Wei Zhen 韋瑱] he was given the titles [Commander-in-chief of] Military Operations of Gua 瓜 Province and Governor of Gua 瓜 Province. The province leads to the Western Regions. Owing to contacts with the barbarians, most of the previous governors had accepted bribes. When the barbarian bandits invaded the borders they also were unable to resist. The nature of [Wei] Zhen [韋]瑱 was clean and frugal, and he also knew military strategy. None of the gifts presented by the barbarians were taken by

him. The barbarians feared his impressive manner and did not dare to invade. The officials and the common people were quiet, the barbarians and Chinese all attached themselves to him". From this, one can see a part of the activity of the merchants from the Western Regions in the Dunhuang 敦煌 area at the end of Wei 魏 and the beginning of Zhou 周 dynasties.

Down to the middle period of the sixth century A.D., the fortunes of the Rouran 柔然 and the Yeda 嚙噠 sank to a low ebb. The burgeoning Türks finally replaced both and controlled the north of the Gobi desert and the Western Regions. Because the Northern Zhou 周 and the Northern Qi 齊 confronted each other, the Northern Zhou 周 lacked strength to contend for the Western Regions with the Türks and had to associate with them to maintain foreign relations with the various states in the Western Regions. According to the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. 7, "The Latter Zhou 周 wanted to attract the Western Regions, and again established the system of doing obeisance to the barbarian Heavenly Deities, when the emperor made a personal appearance. Its ceremonials all followed the custom of the barbarians, which were so licentious that they cannot be recorded". From this, it can be seen, how important "to attract the Western Regions" was to the Northern Zhou 周.

M

Here are the records of tribute paid by the various states in the Western Regions during the Northern Wei 魏, Western Wei 魏 and Northern Zhou 周 Dynesties, as seen in the *Weishu* 魏書 and *Zhoushu* 周書, with a minimum textual research to aid in further investigation.

1. In the first year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435), in the second month, on the day *gengzi* 庚子, "the states of ... Yanqi 焉耆, Jushi 車師 respectively sent envoys to present tribute".⁶² (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A)

In the sixth month, on the day *bingwu* 丙午, "the states of ... Shanshan 鄯善 all sent envoys to present tribute".⁶³ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A)

In the eighth month, on the day *bingxu* 丙戌, "the state of Sute 粟特 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A)

2. In the third year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 437), in the third month, on the day *guiji* 癸巳, "the states of Qiuci 龜茲, Yueban 悅般, Yanqi 焉耆, Jushi 車師, Sute 粟特,

Shule 疏勒, Wusun 烏孫, Kepantuo 渴槃陁 and Shanshan 鄯善 respectively sent envoys to present tribute ". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A)

In the eleventh month, on the day *jiashen* 甲申, "the states of Poluona 破洛那 and Zheshe 者舌 respectively sent envoys to present tribute and give blood-sweating horses".⁶⁴ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A)

3. In the fourth year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 438), in the third month, on the day *gengchen* 庚辰, "the younger brother of the king of Shanshan 鄯善, Suyanqi 素延耆, came to pay court".⁶⁵ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A)

4. In the fifth year of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 439), in the fourth month, on the day *dingyou* 丁酉, "the states of Shanshan 鄯善, Qiuci 龜茲, Shule 疏勒 and Yanqi 焉耆 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A)

In the fifth month, on the day *guiwei* 癸未, "the state of Zheyi 遮逸 presented blood-sweating horses".⁶⁶ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A)

In the eleventh month, "Sute 粟特, Kepantuo 渴槃陁, Poluona 破洛那 and Xijuban 悉居半 respectively sent envoys to present tribute".⁶⁷ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A)

5. In the fifth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 444), in the twelfth month, "the state of Sute 粟特 sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4B)

6. In the eighth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 447), in the twelfth month, "[the king of] the states of Shanshan 鄯善 and Zheyi 遮逸 all sent their sons to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4B)

7. In the ninth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 448), in the sixth month, on the day *dingmao* 丁卯, "the state of Yueban 悅般 sent envoys to ask for help in attacking the Ruru 蠕蠕 from the imperial army. The Emperor allowed it".⁶⁸ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4B)

8. In the tenth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 449), in the seventh month, "the state of Futusha 浮圖沙 sent envoys to present tribute".⁶⁹ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4B)

In the eleventh month, "the states of Qiuci 龜茲, Shule 疏勒, Poluona 破洛那 ... respectively sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4B)

9. In the eleventh year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 450), "the king of Jushi 車師, Ju Yiluo 車夷落, sent the envoys, Zhuo Jin 琢進 and Xue Zhi 薛直, to present a memorial".⁷⁰ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102)

10. In the fifth year of the *Zhengping* 正平 reign-period (A.D. 451), in the first month, "the states of Poluona 破洛那, Jibin 罽賓, and Mimi 迷密 respectively sent envoys to present tribute".⁷¹ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4B)

In the sixth month, on the day *renxu* 壬戌, "the king of the state of Jushi 車師 sent his son to attend at court".⁷² (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4B)

11. In the second year of the *Zhengping* 正平 reign-period (A.D. 452), in the first month, "[the king of Jushi 車師], [Ju] Yiluo [車]伊洛, came to the capital to pay tribute".⁷³ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 30)

12. "Formerly, most of the merchants [of the state of Sute 粟特] came to the land of Liang 涼 Province to sell goods, but when Guzang 姑臧 was occupied, all were captured. At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Gaozong 高宗, the king of Sute 粟特 sent envoys to request their redemption. An imperial edict complied with his request".⁷⁴ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102)

13. In the second year of the Xing'an 興安 reign-period (A.D. 453), in the third month, on the day *yiwei* 乙未, "the state of Shule 疏勒 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5)

In the eighth month, on the day *xinwei* 辛未, "the state of Kepantuo 渴槃陁 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5)

In the twelfth month, on the day *jiawu* 甲午, "over ten states, such as ... Jibin 罽賓 and others, respectively sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5)

14. In the first year of the *Taian* 太安 reign-period (A.D. 455), in the sixth month, "the state of Zheyi 遮逸 sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5)

In the tenth month, "the states of Bosi 波斯 and Shule 疏勒 all sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5)

15. In the second year of the *Taian* 太安 reign-period (A.D. 456), in the eleventh month, "the states of Yeda 嚙噠 and Pilan 普嵐 all sent envoys to present tribute".⁷⁵ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5)

16. In the third year of the *Taian* 太安 reign-period (A.D. 457), in the first month, on the day *wuchen* 戊辰, "the states of Sute 粟特 and Yutian 于闐 respectively sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5)

In the twelfth month, "over fifty states, including Yutian 于闐 ... respectively sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5)

17. In the fifth year of the *Taian* 太安 reign-period (A.D. 459), in the fifth month, "the state of Juchang 居常 sent envoys to present tribute".⁷⁶ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5)

18. In the first year of the *Heping* 和平 reign-period (A.D. 460), in the tenth month, "the king of the state of Juchang 居常 presented three tame elephants". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5)

19. In the second year of the *Heping* 和平 reign-period (A.D. 461), in the eighth month, on the day *wuchen* 戊辰, "the state of Bosi 波斯 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5)

20. In the third year of the *Heping* 和平 reign-period (A.D. 462), in the third month, on the day *jiashen* 甲申, "the states of ... Shule 疏勒, Shina 石那, Xijuban 悉居半, Kepantuo 渴槃陲 respectively sent envoys to present tribute".⁷⁷ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5)

21. In the fifth year of the *Heping* 和平 reign-period (A.D. 464), in the twelfth month, "the state of Tuhuluo 吐呼羅 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5)

22. In the sixth year of the *Heping* 和平 reign-period (A.D. 465), in the fourth month, "the state of Poluona 破洛那 presented blood-sweating horses and the state of Pulan 普嵐 presented a double-edged sword". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5)

23. In the first year of the *Tian'an* 天安 reign-period (A.D. 466), in the third month, on the day *xinhai* 辛亥, "the states of ... Bosi 波斯, Yutian 于闐 ... sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 6)

In the tenth month, "the states of Caoli 曹利 ... respectively sent envoy to present tribute".⁷⁸ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 6)

24. In the first year of the *Huangxing* 皇興 reign-period (A.D. 467), in the second month, "the states of ... Yutian 于闐 respectively sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 6)

In the ninth month, on the day *renzi* 壬子, "the states of ... Yutian 于闐, Pulan 普嵐, Sute 粟特 respectively sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 6)

25. In the second year of the *Huangxing* 皇興 reign-period (A.D. 468), in the fourth month, on the day *xinchou* 辛丑, "the states of ... Yutian 于闐, Bosi 波斯 respectively sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 6)

26. In the third year of the *Yanxing* 延興 reign-period (A.D. 473), in the tenth month, "the state of Xiwanjin 悉萬斤 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7A)

27. In the fourth year of the *Yanxing* 延興 reign-period (A.D. 474), in the first month, on the day *xinsi* 辛巳, "the state of Sute 粟特 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7A)

In the third month, on the day *dinghai* 丁亥, "the states of ... Caoli 曹利 respectively sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7A)

In the sixth month, on the day *yimao* 乙卯, "the state of Kuoxi 闊悉 sent envoys to pay tribute".⁷⁹ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7A)

28. In the fifth year of the *Yanxing* 延興 reign-period (A.D. 475), in the fourth month, on the day *dingchou* 丁丑, "the state of Qiuci 龜茲 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7A)

29. In the first year of the *Chengming* 承明 reign-period (A.D. 476), in the second month, "the states of ... Bosi 波斯 all sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7A)

In the ninth month, on the day *guichou* 癸丑, "the states of ... Xiwanjin 悉萬斤 all sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7A)

30. In the first year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 477), in the ninth month, on the day *gengzi* 庚子, "the states of Juduoluo 車多羅, Western Tianzhu 天竺, Shewei 舍衛 and Diefuluo 疊伏羅 respectively sent envoys to pay tribute".⁸⁰ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7A)

In the tenth month, "the state of Qiuci 龜茲 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7A)

31. In the second year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 478), in the seventh month, on the day *wuchen* 戊辰, "the state of Qiuci 龜茲 sent envoys to present seventy famous camels". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7A)

In the ninth month, on the day *bingchen* 丙辰, "the state of Qiuci 龜茲 sent envoys to present big horses, famous camels and many treasures". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7A)

32. In the third year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 479), in the ninth month, on the day *gengshen* 庚申, "the states of ... Qiuci 龜茲 respectively sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7A)

In the twelfth month, "the states of Sute 粟特, Zhouyi 州逸 ... Diefuluo 疊伏羅 ... Xiwanjin 悉萬斤 respectively sent envoys to pay tribute".⁸¹ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7A)

33. In the fourth year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 480), in the seventh month, on the day *renzi* 壬子, "the state of Xiwanjin 悉萬斤 sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7A)

34. In the eleventh year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 487), in the eighth month, on the day *xinsi* 辛巳, "the state of Xiwanjin 悉萬斤 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7B)

35. In the fourteenth year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 490), "Afuzhiluo 阿伏至羅 sent a barbarian merchant, Yuezhe 越者, to come to the capital to present two arrows as tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 103)

36. In the fifteenth year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 491), in the third month, on the day *jiyou* 己酉 "the five states of Xiwanjin 悉萬斤 and others sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7B)

37. In the seventeenth year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 493), "Anfuzhiluo 阿伏至羅 and Xiongqi 窮奇 sent the envoy, Baoji 薄頡 to court following Yu Ti 于提, and presented their local products".⁸² (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 103)

38. In the twenty-first year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 497), in the twelfth month, on the day *jimao* 己卯, "the state of Gaochang 高昌 sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7B)

39. In the third year of the *Jingming* 景明 reign-period (A.D. 502), in the seventh month, on the day *guiyou* 癸酉, "the state of Yutian 于闐 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

"During this year the states of Shule 疏勒, Jibin 罽賓, Poluona 婆羅捺, Wuchang 烏菴, Ayutuo 阿喻陀 ... Bulun 不崙, Tuobaluo 陁拔羅 ... Siluo 斯羅, Dashe 嚩舍 ... Luopan 羅槃,

Wuqi 烏稽, Xiwanjin 悉萬斤, Zhujupan 朱居槃, Hepantuo 訶槃陁, Bojin 撥斤, Yanwei 厭味 ... Southern Tianzhu 天竺 all sent envoys to pay tribute".⁸³ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

40. In the fourth year of the *Jingming* 景明 reign-period (A.D. 503), in the fourth month, on the day *gengyin* 庚寅, "the state of Southern Tianzhu 天竺 sent envoys to present Pratyeka-Buddha's tooth". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

41. In the fourth year of the *Zhengshi* 正始 reign-period (A.D. 507), in the third month, on the day *bingzi* 丙子, "the state of Diefuluo 疊伏羅 sent envoys to pay tribute".⁸⁴ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the fourth month, on the day *renyin* 壬寅 "the states of ... Xiwanjin 悉萬斤 all sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the sixth month, on the day *dingwei* 丁未, "the states of ... Shemi 舍彌 ... all sent envoys to present tribute".⁸⁵ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the ninth month, on the day *jiazi* 甲子, "the states of Shule 疏勒 ... Southern Tiazhu 天竺, Poluo 婆羅 and others all sent envoys to present tribute".⁸⁶ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the tenth month, on the day *dingsi* 丁巳, "the states of ... Xiwanjin 悉萬斤, Keliusha 可流伽, Bisha 比沙, Shule 疏勒, Yutian 于闐 and others all sent envoys to present tribute".⁸⁷ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the tenth month, on the day *wuchen* 戊辰, "the state of Shule 疏勒 sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the tenth month, on the day *xinwei* 辛未, "the states of Yeda 嚧嗟, Bosi 波斯, Kepantuo 渴槃陁 ... and others all sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the eleventh month, on the day *jiyou* 己酉, "the states of Ayutuo 阿與陁, Heluopan 呵羅槃 and Tubatuluo 陀跋吐羅 all sent envoys to present tribute".⁸⁸ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the twelfth month, on the day *dingchou* 丁丑, "the states of Bolun 鉢崙 ... Qianda 乾達 sent envoys to pay tribute".⁸⁹ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

42. In the first year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 508), in the second month, on the day *xinwei* 辛未, "the states of ... Southern Tianzhu 天竺 all sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the third month, on the day *jihai* 己亥, "the states of Siluo 斯羅 ... Yutian 于闐 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the fourth month, "the state of Afuzhiluo 阿伏至羅 sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the sixth month, on the day *guiyou* 癸酉, "the state of Gaoche 高車 sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the seventh month, on the day *xinyou* 辛卯, "the states of Gaoche 高車 ... Jibin 罽賓 all sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In this year, Qu Jia 麴嘉, the king of the state of Gaochang 高昌, sent the son of his elder brother, Xiaoliang 孝亮, who was given the title General of the Guards of the Left in private, to submit a memorial to court to beg that the state be moved toward the center of the empire and asked for the army to meet them". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

43. In the second year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 509), in the first month, on the day *dinghai* 丁亥, "the states of Humi 胡密 ... Niumi 忸密 ... Xiwanjin 悉萬斤 ... all sent envoys to present tribute".⁹⁰ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the first month, on the day *renchen* 壬辰, "the states of Yeda 噉嗟 and Baozhi 薄知 sent envoys who come to court and presented a white elephant".⁹¹ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the first month, on the day *yiwei* 乙未, "the state of Gaochang 高昌 sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the third month, on the day *guiwei* 癸未, "the states of ... Difuluo 地伏羅 all sent envoys to present tribute".⁹² (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the sixth month, "the state of Gaochang 高昌 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the eighth month, on the day *wushen* 戊申, "the states of Gaochang 高昌 ... all sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the twelfth month, "the states of Diefuluo 疊伏羅 ... Boluo 波羅 all sent envoys to present tribute".⁹³ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

44. In the third year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 510), in the second month, on the day *bingwu* 丙午, "the states of Gaochang 高昌 ... all sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the ninth month, on the day *renyin* 壬寅, "the states of Wuchang 烏菴 and Jiaxiushani 伽秀沙尼 all sent envoys to present tribute".⁹⁴ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the tenth month, on the day *wuxu* 戊戌, "the states of Gaoche 高車, Qiuci 龜茲 ... Najie 那竭 ... and others all sent envoys to present tribute".⁹⁵ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

45. In the fourth year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 511), in the first month, on the day *jiazi* 甲子, "the states of Ayuetuo 阿悅陁 ... all sent envoys to present tribute".⁹⁶ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the third month, on the day *guimao* 癸卯, "states of ... Wuchang 烏菴 ... Qianda 乾達 and others all sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the sixth month, on the day *yihai* 乙亥, "the states of Qianda 乾達 ... Dashe 達舍 ... Buluocha 不流沙 all sent envoys to present tribute".⁹⁷ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the eighth month, on the day *xinwei* 辛未, "the states of ... Dashe 達舍 ... Buluocha 不流沙 and others all sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the ninth month, on the day *jiayin* 甲寅, "the states of Yeda 嚧達, Zhujupan 朱居槃, Boluo 波羅, Mojiatuo 莫伽陁 ... Jusaluo 俱薩羅, Shemi 舍彌 ... and others all sent envoys to present tribute".⁹⁸ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the tenth month, on the day *dingchou* 丁丑, "the states of ... Wuchang 烏菴 ... Qianda 乾達 and others all sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the eleventh month, on the day *wushen* 戊申, "the state of ... Fuluo 伏羅 sent envoys to present tribute".⁹⁹ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the twelfth month, on the day *wuzi* 戊子, "the state of ... Polaijia 婆來伽 sent envoys to present tribute".¹⁰⁰ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

46. In the first year of the *Yanchang* 延昌 reign-period (A.D. 512), in the first month, on the day *wushen* 戊申, "the state of Shule 疏勒 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the third month, on the day *xinmao* 辛卯, "the state of Kepantuo 渴槃陁 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the fifth month, on the day *xinmao* 辛卯, "the states of Shule 疏勒 ... all sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the tenth month, "the states of Yeda 嚙嗟, Yutian 于闐, Gaochnag 高昌 ... and others all sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

47. In the second year of the *Yanchang* 延昌 reign-period (A.D. 513), in the third month, on the day *bingyin* 丙寅, "the state of Gaochang 高昌 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

In the eighth month, on the day *gengxu* 庚戌, "the states of Yeda 嚙嗟, Yutian 于闐, Pantuo 槃陁 ... and others all sent envoys to present tribute".¹⁰¹ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

48. In the third year of the *Yanchang* 延昌 reign-period (A.D. 514), in the eleventh month, on the day *gengxu* 庚戌, "the states of Southern Tianzu 天竺 ... all sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8)

49. In the middle of the *Yanchang* 延昌 reign-period, Gao Hui 高徽, as an envoy, was sent to Yeda 嚙嗟. All the various states in the Western Regions respected and feared him, and Poluohou 破洛侯 and Wusun 烏孫 presented famous horses through him.¹⁰² (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 32)

50. In the fourth year of the *Yanchang* 延昌 reign-period (A.D. 515), in the first month, on the day *jisi* 己巳, "the states of ... Jiabadan 伽拔但 ... and others sent envoys to present tribute".¹⁰³ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

In the ninth month, on the day *gengshen* 庚申, "the states of Gaochang 高昌 ... and others all sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

In the twelfth month, on the day *dingmao* 丁卯, "the state of Gaoche 高車 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

51. In the first year of the *Xiping* 熙平 reign-period (A.D. 516), in the fourth month, on the day *wuxu* 戊戌, "the states of Gaochang 高昌 ... and others all sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

In the seventh month, on the day *yiyou* 乙酉, "the state of Gaochnag 高昌 sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

52. In the second year of the *Xiping* 熙平 reign-period (A.D. 517), in the first month, on the day *guichou* 癸丑, "the states of Difuluo 地伏羅 and Jibin 罽賓 all sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

In the fourth month, on the day *jiawu* 甲午, "the states of ... Bosi 波斯, Shule 疏勒 and Yeda 嚙噠 all sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

In the seventh month, on the day *yichou* 乙丑, "the states of Difuluo 地伏羅 and Jibin 罽賓 all sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

53. In the first year of the *Shengui* 神龜 reign-period (A.D. 518), in the second month, on the day *wushen* 戊申, "the states of Yeda 嚙噠 ... Shule 疏勒, Jiumotuo 久末陁, Moqiuban 末久半 all sent envoys to present tribute".¹⁰⁴ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

In the fourth month, on the day *xinhai* 辛亥, "the state of Shemo 舍摩 sent envoys to present tribute".¹⁰⁵ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

In the fifth month, "the states of ... Gaoche 高車, Gaochang 高昌 and others sent envoys to present tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

In the intercalary seventh month, on the day *dingwei* 丁未, "the states of Bosi 波斯, Shule 疏勒, Wuchang 烏菴, Qiuci 龜茲 and others all sent envoys to present tribute".¹⁰⁶ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

In the winter of this year, Gaochang 高昌 sent envoys to present "a memorial concerning recourse for moving toward the center". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 101)

54. In the second year of the *Shengui* 神龜 reign-period (A.D. 519), the fourth month, on the day *yichou* 乙丑, "the state of Yeda 嚙噠 sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

55. In the second year of the *Zhengguang* 正光 reign-period (A.D. 521), in the fifth month, on the day *yiyou* 乙酉, "the state of Wuchang 烏菴 sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

In the intercalary fifth month, on the day *dingsi* 丁巳, "the states of Jumi 居密 and Bosi 波斯 all sent envoys to pay tribute".¹⁰⁷ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

In the sixth month, on the day *jisi* 己巳, "the state of Gaochang 高昌 sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

In the eighth month, on the day *jisi* 己巳, "the state of Fuluo 伏羅 sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

In the eleventh month, on the day *yiwei* 乙未, "the state of Gaochang 高昌 sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

56. In the third year of the *Zhengguang* 正光 reign-period (A.D. 522), in the seventh month, on the day *renzi* 壬子, "the states of Bosi 波斯, Buhan 不漢, Qiuci 龜茲 and others sent envoys to pay tribute".¹⁰⁸ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

57. In the fifth year of the *Zhengguang* 正光 reign-period (A.D. 524), in the intercalary second month, on the day *guisi* 癸巳, "the state of Yeda 嚙嚙 sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

In the twelfth month, on the day *renchen* 壬辰, "the states of Yeda 嚙嚙 ... and others all sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

58. In the second year of the *Xiaochang* 孝昌 reign-period (A.D. 526), in the second month, "the state of Diefuluo 疊伏羅 sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9)

59. In the third year of the *Yongan* 永安 reign-period (A.D. 530), in the sixth month, on the day *wuwu* 戊午, "the state of Yeda 嚙嚙 presented a lion".¹⁰⁹ (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 10)

60. In the first year of the *Putai* 普泰 reign-period (A.D. 531), Jian 堅, the king of Gaochang 高昌, "sent the envoy to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 101)

61. In the first year of the *Taichang* 太昌 reign-period (A.D. 532), in the sixth month, on the day *bingyin* 丙寅, "... Yeda 嚙嚙 ... sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 11)

In the sixth month, on the day *guiyou* 癸酉, "the state of Yeda 嚙嚙 sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 11)

六月癸酉，”嚙嚙國遣使朝貢”。(同上)

In the ninth month, on the day *bingchen* 丙辰, "the states of ... Gaochang 高昌 sent envoys to pay tribute". (*Weishu* 魏書, ch. 11)

[The above was during the Northern Wei 魏 Dynasty.]

62. In the second year of the *Datong* 大統 reign-period (A.D. 542), “leading his people, the elder brother of the king [of Shanshan 鄯善], Shanmi 鄯米, submitted to the imperial court”. (*Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 50B)

63. In the twelfth year of the *Datong* 大統 reign-period (A.D. 546), the Yanda 嚙嗟 “sent envoys to present its local products”. (*Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 50B)

64. In the second year of the reign of Emperor Fei 廢 (A.D. 553), the king of Bosi 波斯 “sent envoys to present its local products”. (*Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 50B)

In the same year, the state of Yanda 嚙嗟 “sent an envoy to present tribute”. (*Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 50B)

[The above was during the Western Wei 魏 Dynasty.]

65. In the second year of the reign of Emperor Ming 明 (A.D. 558), in the sixth month, on the day *guihai* 癸亥, the king of Yanda 嚙嗟 “sent envoys to present its local products “. (*Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 4)

66. In the first year of the *Wucheng* 武成 reign-period (A.D. 559), in the intercalary fifth month, on the day *gengshen* 庚申, “Gaochang sent envoys to present their local products”. (*Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 4)

67. In the first year of the *Baoding* 保定 reign-period (A.D. 561), in the first month, on the day *guiyou* 癸酉, “the states of ... Gaochang 高昌 all sent envoys to present their local products”. (*Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 5)

In the fifth month, on the day *wuchen* 戊辰, “the states of ... Qiuci 龜茲 sent envoys to present their local products”. (*Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 5)

68. In the fourth year of the *Baoding* 保定 reign-period (A.D. 564), in the seventh month, on the day *wuwu* 戊午, “Sute 粟特 sent envoys to present their local products”. (*Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 5)

In the seventh month, on the day *wuyin* 戊寅, “Yanqi 焉耆 sent envoys to present famous horses”. (*Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 5)

69. In the second year of the *Tainhe* 天和 reign-period (A.D. 567), in the fifth month, on the day *renshen* 壬申, “the states of ... Anxi 安息 all sent envoys to present their local products”. (*Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 5)

70. In the third year of the *Jiande* 建德 reign-period (A.D. 574), in the eleventh month, on the day *wuwu* 戊午, "Yutian 于闐 sent envoys to present famous horses". (*Zhoushu* 周書, ch. 5)

[The above was during the Northern Zhou 周 Dynasty]

Notes

1. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, it is recorded that "At the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shizu 世祖, [the state of Jushi 車師] first came to pay court. An imperial edict [ordered] the Messengers, Wang Ensheng 王恩生, Xu Gang 許綱 and others to go on the mission. [Wang] Ensheng [王]恩生 and the others first crossed the flowing sands and were captured by the Ruru 蠕蠕". This can also be regarded as evidence that Wang 王 and Xu 許 were the first mission to the Western Regions in Northern Wei 魏. From the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 4A, we know that the records of the state of Jushi's 車師 first coming to pay court at "the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shizu 世祖 is inexact. The time should be "the beginning of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period of Emperor Shizu 世祖 (A.D. 435).
2. Cf. Tang Ch. (1981); Yu, T. (1986), pp. 217–244.
3. Cf. Tang Ch. (1981); Yu, T. (1986), pp. 217–244.
4. On this section, see Yu, T. (1986), pp. 217–244.
5. "Four regions" is noted as "three regions" in the "A General Preface of the Western Rong 戎" to the "Bianfang Dian 邊防典" chapter of the *Tongdian* 通典: "East of the Cong 葱 Mountains and west of the flowing sands was one region, south of Gumo 姑墨 and north of Yuezhi 月氏 was another, and between the two seas and south of the marsh was the third". In my opinion, "three regions" is incorrect. Cf. Yu, T. (1986), pp. 217–244.
6. Cf. Yu, T. (1986), pp. 193–216.
7. Cf. Shimazaki (1977-3).
8. This theory see Tang Ch. (1981).
9. In the *Jinshu* 晉書, ch. 95 (Memoir on Fotucheng 佛圖澄), it is recorded that "Fotucheng 佛圖澄 was a countryman of Tianzhu 天竺. His surname originally was 帛 Bo". The fact that a countryman of Tianzhu 天竺 was surnamed Bo 帛 is probably because he removed to Qiuci 龜茲. This also can be regarded as evidence.
10. Cf. Tang Ch. (1981).

11. Cf. Tang Ch. (1981).
12. The statement "from then on they often sent envoys to present tribute" as seen at the end of the item of "Yueban 悅般" of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), is also like this.
13. For the achievement of Lu Luyuan 盧魯元, see the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 34.
14. On this theory see Tang Ch. (1981).
15. The twelve characters of 其後魏遣使使西域道出其國 (After this, the Latter Wei 魏 sent envoys to the Western Regions by way of the state) are restored on the basis of the "Siyi 四夷 C" chapter of the *Tongzhi* 通志. On this theory see the collated records of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions) in the punctuated edition by Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局.
16. Cf. Tang Ch. (1983).
17. Cf. Yu, T. (1986), pp. 217–244.
18. See Zhao, p. 66.
19. Huang Wenbi 黃文弼 considers that Zuohui 左回 must have been Weixu 危須. See Huang W. (1989-2).
20. Cf. Yu, T. (1986), pp. 217–244.
21. Cf. Yu, T. (1986), pp. 193–216.
22. Cf. Ise, p. 122.
23. On the western migration of the Yueban 悅般, cf. Yu, T. (1986), pp. 153–192. The Northern Wei 魏 had certainly made a northern expedition against the Rouran 柔然 and defeated them utterly in the tenth year of the *Taiping Zhenjun* 太平真君 reign-period (A.D. 449), but there is no record that the Yuban 悅般 dispatched troops to reinforce them. It is quite possible that the Rouran 柔然 strengthened their press against the Yueban 悅般 after they suffered this severe defeat and finally forced the Yueban 悅般 to move westwards.
24. Both Yicheng 義成 and Shougui 首歸 pursued the reign title of "Yongkang 永康", which was the title of the reign of Yucheng 予成, the *Khan* of the Rouran 柔然. An imperfect document from Turfan, dated from the seventeenth year of the *Yongkang* 永康 reign-period (A.D. 482), can be regarded as evidence. (*TLFWS* vol. II, p. 4.)
25. Cf. Yu, T. (1986), pp. 193–216.
26. See *Yuanhe Junxiantuzhi*, p.1031.
27. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7A, this took place in the twenty-first year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 497), in the twelfth month.

28. Cf. *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8.
29. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8, this was in the third year of the *Yongping* 永平 reign-period (A.D. 510), in the second month, on the day *bingwu* 丙午.
30. This record does not appear in the primary chronicles of the *Weishu* 魏書.
31. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9, in the first year of the *Xiping* 熙平 reign-period (A.D. 516), the state of Gaochang 高昌 came to pay tribute to the Wei 魏 court two times, in the fourth month, on the day *wixue* 戊戌, and in the seventh month, on the day *yiyou* 乙酉. We cannot know in which time Emperor Suzong 肅宗 issued the edict.
32. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9, this was in the first year of the *Shengui* 神龜 reign-period (A.D. 518), in the fifth month.
33. This record does not appear in the primary chronicles of the *Weishu* 魏書.
34. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 9, in the second year of the *Zhengguang* 正光 reign-period (A.D. 521), in the sixth month, on the day *jisi* 己巳, and in the eleventh month, on the day *yiwei* 乙未, the state of Gaochang 高昌 also sent envoys to pay court. However, we cannot know in which time they "begged to borrow the Five Classics".
35. Feng (1976-2).
36. Gu, pp. 41–44, holds another theory about this that one may consult.
37. This record does not appear in the primary chronicles of the *Weishu* 魏書.
38. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 11, it is recorded that in the second year of the *Yongxi* 永熙 reign-period (A.D. 533), "in the winter, the tenth month, on the day *guiwei* 癸未, the emperor appointed the General of the Guards, the Governor of Gua 瓜 Province, Earl of Founding Nation of Tailin 泰臨 County, the King of Gaochang 高昌, Qu Zijian 鞠子堅 as Unequaled in Honor, and promoted him to Prefecture Prince". The official position is noted as "Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, Cavalry Supreme General, Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary, Commander-in-Chief of Military Operations of Gua 瓜 Province, Governor of Gua 瓜 Province, Duke of the Founding Nation of Hexi 河西 Prefecture, Unequaled in Honor and King of Gaochang 高昌" in the *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54 (Memoir on Gaochang 高昌). "Duke of Founding Nation of Hexi 河西 Prefecture" is noted as "Prefecture Duke of Xiping 西平" in the *Nanshi* 南史, ch. 79. Also, "子" in "鞠子堅", as seen in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 11, is a redundancy.
39. This record does not appear in the primary chronicles of the *Weishu* 魏書.
40. This record does not appear in the primary chronicles of the *Weishu* 魏書.
41. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 87 (Memoir on Zhu Changsheng 朱長生), it is recorded that "Both Zhu

Changsheng 朱長生 and Yu Ti 于提 came from Dai 代. During the reign of Emperor Gaozu 高祖, [Zhu] Changsheng [朱]長生 was appointed as Supernumerary Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary and was sent on a mission to the Gaoche 高車 with [Yu] Ti [于]提. When they reached their court, Afuzhiluo 阿伏至羅, the lord of Gaoche 高車, asked [Zhu] Changsheng [朱]長生 and others to do obeisance. [Zhu] Changsheng [朱]長生 refused and said, ‘I am an envoy of the Son of Heaven, how would I do obeisance to a prince in the barbarous wilderness’! Afuzhiluo 阿伏至羅 then did not treat him with due respect. [Zhu] Changsheng [朱]長生 presented the valuable golden and silver articles, and said, ‘You, as a subject who has attached inwards, must observe all the possible formalities of a subject, how could you speak of making repeated obeisances alone but in fact not do obeisance’! when [Afu]zhiluo 阿伏至羅 accepted the tribute. Then [Zhu] Changsheng [朱]長生 called him to come out of his tent and ordered him to do obeisance in public. Afuzhiluo 阿伏至羅 who was ashamed before his subjects, became furious and said, ‘Why not order me to do obeisance in the tent, instead of disgracing me in public’! He snatched the tribute of [Zhu] Changsheng [朱]長生, hemmed him in with stones, and intimidated him with weapons, saying, ‘If you will be my subject, you will live. If you do not surrender, I will kill you’! [Zhu] Changsheng [朱]長生 and Yu Ti 于提, fiercely staring, scolded him in a stern voice, and said, ‘How would an envoy of the Son of Heaven do obeisance to a barbarian [lord]! Better I be a ghost of Wei 魏 than be your subject’! [Afu]zhiluo [阿伏]至羅 became even more angry, and cut off his water and food. Thirty men who had followed him all surrendered. [Afu]zhiluo [阿伏]至羅 gave them meat and butter. Only [Zhu] Changsheng [朱]長生 and [Yu] Ti [于]提 did not obey him, and thus were sent away. Three years later they were able to return”. According to this, it was in the seventeenth year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 493) that Afuzhiluo 阿伏至羅 and Qionggi 窮奇 sent Baojie 薄頡, following Yu Ti 于提, to pay court to the Wei 魏, and Emperor Gaozu 高祖 ordered Kezuhun Changsheng 可足渾長生, with Yu Ti 于提 to go on a mission to Gaoche 高車 once again.

42. The statement within the square brackets is completed and revised on the basis of the “Bianfang Dian 邊防典 M” chapter of the *Tongdian* 通典 (under the item “Gaoche 高車”). See Shirasu.
43. See the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8.
44. See the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8. In my opinion, Yifu 伊匐 was in Yiwu 伊吾 at that time, therefore the envoys’ being sent to reply was quite convenient.
45. In the *Bei Qishu* 北齊書, ch. 2, it is recorded that in the third year of the *Tianping* 天平 reign-period (A.D. 536), in the first month, the Governor of Liang 靈 Province of the Western Wei 魏, Cao Ni 曹泥, and his son-in-law, the Governor of Liang 涼 Province, Liu Feng 劉豐, sent envoys to beg leave to pay allegiance to the court. Emperor Wen 文 of Zhou 周 besieged [Cao] Ni [曹]泥, and poured water into [the wall of the town]; only buildings over four *chi* 尺 high were not flooded. Emperor Shenwu 神武 ordered the Azhiluo 阿至羅 to call out thirty thousand cavalymen to cross straight over Ling 靈 Province, make a turn, and appear at the back of the western army. [The Azhiluo 阿至羅] gained fifty horses, thus the western army

- withdrew". In the second month of the same year, "Emperor Shenwu 神武 ordered the Azhiluo 阿至羅 to force the Governor of Qin 秦 Province and King of Jianzhong 建忠 of the Western Wei 魏, Moqi Pubo 万俟普撥, and Emperor Shenwu 神武 led his people to reinforce them. In the sixth month, on the day *jiawu* 甲午, [Moqi] Pubo [万俟]普撥, with his son, the Great Steward, Shouluogan 受洛干, the Governor of Bin 豳 Province, Chigan Baole 叱干寶樂, and the General of the Guards of the Right, Poliu Hanchang 破六韓常, and over three hundred Commanders, called up his tribes to surrender".
46. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 27, it is recorded that "Fuluo Yueju 副羅越居, the lord of the state of Azhiluo 阿至羅, was destroyed by the Ruru 蠕蠕. His son, Qubin 去賓, come to submit to the court. King of Xianwu 獻武 of Qi 齊 presented a memorial to the Emperor begging to confer on Qubin 去賓 the titles General of Pacifying the North, Governor of Si 肆 Province and King of Gaoche 高車, and [order him to] attract and pacify the barbarian savage".
47. It is quite possible that Yanqi 焉耆 was once again subject to the Rouran 柔然 after the army of Wei 魏 withdrew, and was also subject to the Gaoche 高車 after the Gaoche 高車 moved west. The Gaoche 高車 filled it up with barbarians from the tribe of Nearer [Jushi 車師]. The state of Wuqi 烏稽, which came to pay court in the third year of the *Jingming* 景明 reign-period (A.D. 502), as seen in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 8, must have been the state of Yanqi 焉耆 which was subject to the Gaoche 高車. Before long the state of Yanqi 焉耆 was destroyed by the Yeda 嚙噠 that advanced eastwards. The people dispersed and could not support themselves, and had to beg Qu Jia 鞠嘉 to sent a lord for them. [Qu] Jia [鞠]嘉 sent his second son to be the king of Yanqi 焉耆. Of course, the possibility that the state of Wuqi 烏稽 which sent envoys to pay Wei 魏 court in the third year of the *Jingming* 景明 reign-period (A.D. 502) is the state of Yanqi 焉耆 whose king was the second son of Qu Jia 鞠嘉 cannot be ruled out. In other words, the Yeda 嚙噠 destroyed Yanqi 焉耆 before the third year of the *Jingming* 景明 reign-period (A.D. 502).
48. The Defence Command of Shanshan 鄯善 appears in the *Weishu* 魏書, not only in ch. 30 (Memoir on Wang Jian 王建 and Lou Fulian 樓伏連傳), but also in ch. 32, 86 and 112A, B.
49. Cf. Tang Ch. (1983).
50. Cf. Yu, T. (1986), pp. 193–216.
51. The statement "經于闐于闐中于王秋仁輒留之" is not intelligible. It may be "經于闐中于闐王秋仁輒留之" (When [envoys] went through the state of Yutian 于闐, the king of Yutian 于闐, Qiuren 秋仁 always arrested them). See the collated records in the punctuated edition by Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局.
52. See Zhao, p. 180. "Xianji 仙姬", according to the epitaph, was a daughter of the lord of the state of Yutian 于闐 in the Xicheng 西城". "Xicheng 西城" is a textual error for "Xiyu 西域" (the Western Regions), and 于闐 is undoubtedly 于闐.
53. According to the "Songji 宋紀" of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, Sumujia 素目伽 presented his memorial

in the sixth year of the *Taishi* 泰始 reign-period of Emperor Ming 明 (the fourth year of the *Huangxing* 皇興 reign-period of Xianzu 顯祖 in Northern Wei 魏, i.e., A.D. 470).

54. The words of Han Xiu 韓秀 in the “Songji 宋紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑 are little different from this, and one may consult it also.
55. On the rapacity of the management of the Western Regions of the Northern Wei 魏, cf. Ise, pp. 139–143. Ise considers that this rapacity appears in the management of the Western Regions of all dynasties before the Northern Wei 魏. This theory is inadequate. For example, Li Guangli 李廣利 selected only some of the best horses, numbered by the tens, and over three thousand stallions and mares of the medium grades and below, which cannot be mentioned in the same breath with what Wan Dugui 萬度歸 had done.
56. Generally speaking, during Western Han 漢, Eastern Han 漢, Wei 魏, and Jin 晉 times the various states in the Western Regions came to pay court only when the dynasties of the Central Plains garrisoned troops there or established administration.
57. On the relationship between the Rouran 柔然 and the Western Regions, see Yu, T. (1986), pp. 193–216.
58. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 32 (Memoir on Gao Hu 高湖) it is recorded that Gao Jiong 高香 “went on a mission to the Western Regions together with his uncle, [Gao] Hui [高]徽”.
59. See Ma (1990-6).
60. The time that Song Yun 宋雲 and Huisheng 惠生 went off on the mission to the Western Regions, according to the *Luoyang Qielanji* 洛陽伽藍記, was “the first year of the Shengui 神龜 reign-period (A.D. 518), in the eleventh month”. For textual researches about related problems see Nagasawa. It has been suggested that the official position of Song Yun 宋雲 should be Zhuyi Zitong 主衣子統 (the Sub-Supervisor of Valet), which was mistakenly noted as “王伏子統” in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, and his mission was not to beg the Buddhist scripture. Cf. Uchida.
61. The *Luoyang Qielanji* 洛陽伽藍記 cited here from Zhou Zumo’s 周祖謨 collated and annotated edition.
62. Cf. note 1.
63. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, it is recorded that the state of Shanshan 鄯善 “did not come to pay tribute until the beginning of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435)”.
64. Cf. the above-cited preface of the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102. Also, in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (under the item “Poluona 破洛那”), it is recorded that “in the third year of the *Taihe* 太和 reign-period (A.D. 479), it sent envoys to present blood-sweating horses. From then on it often sent envoys to offer tribute”. “*Taihe* 太和” must have been a textual error for “*Taiyan* 太延”. See the collated records in the punctuated edition by Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局.
65. This also is recorded in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102.

66. “Zheyi 遮逸” may be “Zheshe 者舌”.
67. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (under the item of “Xijuban 悉居半”), it is recorded that “At the beginning of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 435), it sent envoys to pay tribute. From then on it has presented tribute continually”. The reference “the beginning of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period” is incorrect, and should be “the end of the *Taiyan* 太延 reign-period (A.D. 440)”.
68. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, the Yueban 悅般 came to the Wei 魏 court twice. The visit in the sixth month, on the day *dingmao* 丁卯, should be the second time.
69. “Futusha 浮圖沙” may be “Fudisha 弗敵沙” as seen in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102.
70. This record does not appear in the primary chronicles of the *Weishu* 魏書.
71. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (under the item “Mimi 迷密”) it is recorded that “in the first year of the *Zhengping* 正平 reign-period (A.D. 451), [Mimi 迷密] sent envoys to present a black one-humped camel”.
72. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, the name of the prince was Xie 歇.
73. This record does not appear in the primary chronicles of the *Weishu* 魏書.
74. This record does not appear in the primary chronicles of the *Weishu* 魏書. After Guzang 姑臧 had been occupied, the state of Sute 粟特 sent envoys to present tribute to the Wei 魏 court, but nobody heard that they had begged to atone for their merchants. It is possible that they did not know their merchants were captive until the end of the reign of Emperor Shizu 世祖. Also, the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (under the item of Sute 粟特) says that at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Gaozong 高宗 the king of Sute 粟特 sent envoys to Wei 魏 and goes on to say “from then on there were no envoys to pay tribute”, which does not square with the facts.
75. “Pulan 普嵐” may be “Fuluni 伏盧尼” as noted in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102.
76. “Juchang 居常” is a transcription of “Kushan”. This is the state of Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏 which was founded by the son of the Da Yuezhi’s 大月氏 king as noted in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102.
77. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (under the item Shule 疏勒) it is recorded that “at the end of the reign of Emperor Gaozong 高宗, its king sent envoys to present a cassock of Sakyamuni over two *zhang* 丈 long”. This might have taken place in the third year of the *Heping* 和平 reign-period (A.D. 462). “Shina 石那” may be “Shihanna 石汗那” as noted in the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, ch. 221A.
78. “Caoli 曹利” may refer to the state of Dulandaluo 闐爛達羅 as seen in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, ch. 4.
79. “Kuoxi 闐悉” may refer to the state of Kuoxiduo 闐悉多 as seen in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, ch. 12.
80. “Juduoluo 車多羅” must have been a different transcription of “Jiduoluo 寄多羅” as seen in the *Weishu* 魏

- 書, ch. 102 (under the item Da Yuezhi 大月氏). Here it refers to the state of Xiao Yuezhi 小月氏, which was founded by the son of Jiduoluo 寄多羅, the king of Da Yuezhi 大月氏. It also is “Juchang 居常” as seen in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 5.
81. “Zhouyi 州逸” may be a different transcription of “Zheyi 遮逸”.
82. Yuti 于提 was an envoy of the Northern Wei 魏, who was on a mission to Gaoche 高車. Cf. the above-mentioned *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 103 (Memoir on the Gaoche 高車).
83. “Poluonai 婆羅捺” must have been the “Poluonisi 婆羅泥斯” noted in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, vol. 7. “Ayutuo 阿論陀” must have been the “Ayutuo 阿論陀” in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, vol. 5. “Bulun 不崙” must have been the “Bolu 波路” noted in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102. “Tuobaluo 陁拔羅” must have been the “Tuobasidan 陀拔斯單” noted in the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, ch. 221B. “Dashe 嗒舍” may be the “Dachen 達嘸” noted in the *Faxianzhuan* 法顯傳. “Luopan 羅槃” may be the “Heluopan 呵羅盤” noted in the same chapter (under the fourth year of the *Zhengshi* 正始 reign-period, [A.D. 507]). It is possible that both “Heluopan 呵羅槃” and “He pantuo 訶槃陁” in the following text are two different transcriptions of “Kepantuo 渴槃陁” as seen in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102. It can be regarded as evidence that in the “Dunakuduo Zhuan 闍那崛多傳” of the *Xu Gaosengzhuan* 續高僧傳, “Kepantuo 渴槃陁” is called “Keluopantuo 渴羅槃陁”. It is possible that Kepantuo 渴槃陁 sent envoys to the Wei 魏 court twice in the third year of the reign period *Jingming* 景明 (A.D. 502), and was mistakenly noted as two states because translated names were different. “Wuqi 烏稽” must have been “Yanqi 焉耆”. “Zhujuan 朱居槃” must have been “Xijuban 悉居半” and “Zhuju 朱居” in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102. “Bojin 撥斤” may be “Bohan 撥汗” as seen in the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. 83, probably because “han 汗” was noted mistakenly as “jin 斤”. “Yanwei 厭味” may be a textual error of “Yeda 嘸嗒”. For the above-mentioned, see the collated records in the punctuated edition by Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局. Also, in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (under the item of the Southern Tianzhu 天竺), it is recorded that “During the reign of Emperor Shizong 世宗, its king Poluohua 婆羅化 sent envoys to present fine horses and gold and silver. Thenceforth, it often sent envoys to pay court”.
84. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (under the item “Diefuluo 疊伏羅”), it is said, “During the reign of Emperor Shizong 世宗 its king Futuomoduo 伏陀末多 sent envoys to present its local products. From then on it often sent envoys to present tribute”.
85. “Shemi 舍彌” may be the “Shemi 賒彌” noted in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102.
86. “Poluo 婆羅” may be “Poluonai 婆羅捺”.
87. “Keluojia 可流伽” may be the “Jilingjia 罽陵伽” noted in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102. “[Jia]bisha [伽]比沙” may be the “Jiabishi 迦畢試” noted in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, vol. 1.
88. “Ayutuo 阿與陁” must have been “Ayutuo 阿喻陁”. “Tuobatulo 陁拔吐羅” may be “Tuobaluo 陁拔羅”.

89. “Bolun 鉢崙” may be the “Bolu 波路” noted in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102. “Qianda 乾達” may be “Qiantuo 乾陀” in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102.
90. “Humi 胡密” must have been the “Bohe 鉢和” noted in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102.
91. Baozhi 薄知 was subject to Yeda 嚙嗟 at that time, and its envoys, following the envoys of Yeda 嚙嗟, came to present the Wei 魏 court. Therefore, both states “pay a white elephant together”. Also, in the *Luoyang Qielanji* 洛陽伽藍記, vol. 3, it is recorded that “East of the route to the south of Eternal Bridge were the White Elephant and Lion Quarters. A white elephant was presented by the king of Qiantuoluo 乾陀羅 (Gandhāra) in the second year of *Yongping* 永平 (A.D. 509)”.
92. “Difuluo 地伏羅” must have been “Diefuluo 疊伏羅”.
93. “Boluo 波羅” must have been the “Nuoseboluo 諾色波羅” noted in the *Weishu* 魏書. Of course, “Boluo 波羅” also can be “Poluonai 婆羅捺”.
94. “Jiaxiushani 伽秀沙尼” must have been the “Jiaseni 伽色尼” noted in *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102.
95. “Najie 那竭” must have been the “Najie 那竭” noted in the *Faxianzhuan* 法顯傳.
96. “Ayuetuo 阿悅陀” must have been “Ayutuo 阿喻陀”.
97. “Buluosha 不流沙” must have been the “Fulousha 富樓沙” noted in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102.
98. “Mojiatuo 莫伽陁 and “Jusaluo 俱薩羅” must have been respectively the “Mojieti 摩竭提” and the “Jusaluo 拘薩羅” as noted in the *Faxianzhuan* 法顯傳.
99. “Fuluo 伏羅” must have been “Diefuluo 疊伏羅”.
100. “Polaijia 婆來伽” must have been the “Balujia 跋祿迦” noted in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, vol. 1.
101. “Pantuo 槃陁” must have been “Kepantuo 渴槃陁”.
102. “Poluohou 破洛侯” must have been the “[Po]luona [破]洛那” noted in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102.
103. “Jiabadan 伽拔但” must have been the “Jiabudan 伽不單” noted in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102.
104. “Jiumotuo 久末陁” must have been the “Jumituo 拘謎陁” noted in the *Datang Xiyuji* 大唐西域記, ch. 1. Also, “Mojjuban 末久半” must have been the “Xijuban 悉居半” and the “Zhuju 朱居” noted in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102. The character of “mo 末” could be a textual error for “xi 悉” or “zhu 朱”. For this theory see the collated records in the punctuated edition by Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局.
105. “Shemo 舍摩” may be the “Shemi 賒彌” noted in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102.
106. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102, it is recorded (under the item “Bosi 波斯”) that “During the *Shogui* 神龜 reign-period (A.D. 518–520) the state [of Bosi 波斯] sent envoys to offer tribute and present a memorial, which said, ‘the Son of Heaven of the great nation, whom Heaven begat, may Your Majesty always be the

Son of Heaven in the Han 漢 land over which the sun rises! The king of Bosi 波斯, Juheduo 居和多 (Kav~d I, A.D. 488–496) salutes innumerable times in respect'. The imperial court accepted this with praise. From then on it often sent envoys to present tribute" Therefore, who "from then on it often sent envoys to present tribute" may refer to Juheduo 居和多.

107. "Jumi 居密" must have been a different transcription of "Jiumotuo 久末陶".
108. "Buhan 不漢" may be the "Bohan 鏹汗" noted in the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. 83.
109. In the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 102 (Memoir on the Western Regions), it is recorded that Yeda 嚙噠 "at the end of the *Zhengguang* 正光 reign-period (A.D. 525) it sent envoys to present a lion. The envoys met the rebel Moqi Chounu 万俟醜奴 when they reached Gaoping 高平, and thus were detained. The lion was not sent to the capital until [Moqi] Chounu [万俟]醜奴 was put down". Also, in the *Luoyang Qielanji* 洛陽伽藍記, vol. 3, it is recorded that "East of the route to the south of Eternal Bridge were the White Elephant and Lion Quarters.... The lion was presented by the king of Bosi 波斯 (Persia). It was captured by the rebel Moqi Chounu 万俟醜奴 who was defeated at the end of *Yong'an* 永安 (A.D. 530) when it finally reached the capital". From this, it can be seen that the lion was presented to Yeda 嚙噠 by the king of Bosi 波斯 and then was presented to the Northern Wei 魏 by Yeda 嚙噠 as tribute.

Chapter 9

The Liu Song, Xiao Qi, Xiao Liang Dynasties and the Western Regions

A

Of the communications between Liu Song 劉宋 and the Western Regions, the most notable is the former's relations with the Juqu 沮渠 regime at Gaochang 高昌. According to the available records, the brothers Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 and Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 sent envoys to Liu Song 劉宋 four times in all.¹

1. According to the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 5, in the nineteenth year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 442), "in the sixth month, on the day *renwu* 壬午, the titles conferred on Da Juqu Wuhui 大沮渠無諱 were Supreme General of Conquering the West and the Governor of Liang 涼 Province". After the records concerning [Juqu] Wuhui's [沮渠]無諱 occupation of Gaochang 高昌, in the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 98 (Memoir on Grand Qiequ Mengxun 且渠蒙遜), it is recorded that

[Qiequ Mengxun 且渠蒙遜] sent the Attendant-in-Ordinary, Si Jun 汜儁, to submit a memorial to the capital and offer their local products. Emperor Taizu's 太祖 edict said, 'In former years, the crafty savages were unrestrained and invaded the land of Liang 涼 Province. The King of Hexi 河西, [Qiequ] Maojian [且渠]茂虔, eventually was unable to defend [his land] and was captured by the rebels. Since his family has been celebrated for faithfulness generation after generation, We would take pity upon him. Now the younger brother, Wuhui 無諱, who can carry on his remaining career, has safeguarded the border area, united the neighbouring countries outside and caused the common people to be contented inside, and has submitted to the imperial court, and has fulfilled his obligation to present tribute. So it will be proper to give him an imperial appointment to praise his outstanding feat. He will be the Commissioner with Special Powers, the Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, the Commander-in-chief of Military Operations of the three Provinces of Liang 涼, He 河, and Sha 沙, the Supreme General of

Governing the West, the Concurrent Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace of Protecting the Xiongnu 匈奴, the Colonel of the Western Yi 夷, the Governor of Liang 涼 Province and the King of Hexi 河西.

The time when Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 occupied Gaochang 高昌 was the nineteenth year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 442), in the ninth month. The reference that says Emperor Taizu's 太祖 edict was issued in the sixth month of the same year, seems to disagree with this. In fact, from the reference "can carry on his remaining career, has safeguarded the border area" and so on, one can see that Si Jun's 汜儁 being sent on a mission was in the fourth month of this year, before Wuhui 無諱 abandoned Dunhuang 敦煌 and fled to Shanshan 鄯善. Therefore, the time when he arrived at Jiankang 建康 and the Song 宋 court issued the edict is the sixth month, and the date when Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 received the edict and the Song 宋 envoy returned to report is after Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 had occupied Gaochang 高昌 in the ninth month.

2. According to the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 5, in the twenty year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 443), "The states of Hexi 河西 ... all sent envoys to present their local products". This must mean that Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 sent envoys to express appreciation after his being given the titles. The envoys must have set off from Gaochang 高昌.

3. According to the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 5, in the twenty-first year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 444), "in the ninth month, on the day *jiachen* 甲辰, the emperor conferred on Da Juqu Anzhou 大沮渠安周 the titles Supreme General of Conquering the West and Governor of Liang 涼 Province, King of Hexi 河西". An edict concerning the conferment of his official position occurs in the 98th chapter (Memoir on Grand Qiequ Mengxun 且渠蒙遜) of the same book:

Anzhou 安周, the younger brother of the former Supreme General of Conquering the West and the King of Hexi 河西, Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱, has ability and sagacity, and his family has been extremely faithful for generations. He has carried on his remaining career, ruling the populations turned over to him. The territory was annexed and the army was lost and isolated in a place far away from home, but he can call up and lead the remnants and resist the bandits from now on.

So it will be proper to give him an honourable appointment to set a standard for the ancestral achievement. He may be the Commissioner with Extraordinary Powers, the Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, Commander-in-chief of Military Operations of the three provinces, Liang 涼, He 河 and Sha 沙, the Concurrent *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of the Western Regions, the Governor of Liang 涼 Province, and the King of Hexi 河西.

In this year, Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 died, and his younger brother, Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周, sent a messenger to inform the Song 宋 court of his death and beg to succeed to the throne. The Song 宋 court therefore issued this edict. The replacement of "Leader of the Gentlemen of the Palace of Protecting the Xiongnu 匈奴, Colonel of the Western Yi 夷" with "Concurrent *Wuji* 戊己 Colonel of the Western Regions" is because of the actual situation that the Juqu 沮渠 family occupied Gaochang 高昌 at that time.

4. According to the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 6, in the third year of the *Daming* 大明 reign-period (A.D. 459), in the tenth month, "on the day *wushen* 戊申, the state of Hexi 河西 sent envoys to present their local products. On the day *gengxu* 庚戌, the court conferred on the King of Hexi 河西, Da Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 the titles General of Conquering Savages and Governor of Liang 涼 Province". In my opinion, having sent envoys to Liu Song 劉宋 in the twenty-first year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 444), Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 once again sent envoys to the Song 宋 court after an interval of fourteen years. This is mainly because the so-called "Henan 河南 Route" (Gaochang 高昌 - Shanshan 鄯善 - Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 - Yi 益 Province) was the only way that the Juqu 沮渠 family at Gaochang 高昌 could make contact with the Liu 劉 Song 宋 and on which they sent envoys to each other.² However, from the twenty-second year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 444), the Northern Wei 魏 resorted to arms in the Western Regions, occupied Shanshan 鄯善 and Yanqi 焉耆 successively, established the Defence Commands of Shanshan 鄯善 and Yanqi 焉耆, and ordered the generals to guard them. Since this was antagonistic to the Juqu 沮渠 family at Gaochang 高昌 and Liu Song 劉宋, it is certain that the Northern Wei 魏 would not want to see the two parties collude. And once the Northern Wei 魏 controlled Shanshan 鄯善 and Yanqi 焉耆, the Henan 河南 Route would be

blocked up with regard to the Juqu 沮渠 family at Gaochang 高昌 and Liu Song 劉宋. The Northern Wei 魏 were stationed at Yanqi 焉耆 up to the end of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 453). It is not known clearly until when its station at Shanshan 鄯善 lasted, but there is no harm in considering that the time was not far from that of its abandoning Yanqi 焉耆. Juqu Anzhou 沮渠安周 sent envoys to the Song 宋 court in the third year of the *Daming* 大明 reign-period (A.D. 459), and this seems to show that the Northern Wei 魏 were garrisoned at Shanshan 鄯善 until some time before this year. Of course, there must have been other reasons why Anzhou 安周 once again paid tribute to the Song 宋 court after an interval of fourteen years. First, there is no evidence to prove that the Northern Wei 魏 were stationed at Shanshan 鄯善 until the beginning of the *Daming* 大明 reign-period (A.D. 457) after all. Secondly, even if the Northern Wei 魏 had controlled Shanshan 鄯善 and Yanqi 焉耆, there were some bypaths to Song 宋,³ which cannot be known clearly because of the scarcity of sources.

5. According to the “Biposha Jing Xu 毗婆沙經序 (A Preface on the *Vibhāṣā sūtra*)” by Dao Yan 道挺, cited by the *Chu Sanzang Jiji* 出三藏記集 (*A Collection of the Records of Translations of Tripitaka*), vol. 10, the Sanskrit text of this Buddhist sutra was brought by *śramaṇa*, Dao Tai 道泰, who brought it with him to the Northern Liang 涼 from the Western Regions. The Juqu 沮渠 family invited a *śramaṇa* from Tianzhu 天竺 (India), Futuo Bamo 浮陀跋摩 (Buddhavarman), to preside over its translation “in the year *yichou* 乙丑, in the middle ten days of the fourth month”. “All were translated [into Chinese] before the year *dingmao* 丁卯, the first ten days of the seventh month. There were one hundred volumes in all. It happened that the capital of Liang 涼 was wiped out and [the Sanskrit text] fell into the hands of a distant territory, and the translated Buddhist sutras almost were scattered. The present king of Liang 涼 believed from the bottom of his heart, and he probed deeply into hidden meanings. Thus he frequently arrived in novel realms and admired strange anecdotes. At the beginning of the year, he recopied this version, which was sixty volumes in all, and ordered [envoys] to take it to the Song 宋 court, and to declaring that this version had never been heard before”. In my opinion, the statement “the capital of Liang 涼 was wiped out” refers to the Northern Wei’s 魏 destroying the Northern Liang 涼, and “the translated Buddhist sutras almost were scattered” refers to the fact that the translation wandered about the Gaochang 高昌 area. From this, it can be seen that what “the

present king of Liang 涼”, i.e., the Juqu 沮渠 regime at Gaochang 高昌 offered to Liu Song 劉宋 was likely this Buddhist sutra, as a local product. It is difficult to conclusively prove who was “the present king of Liang 涼”, Wuhui 無諱 or Anzhou 安周.

Also, in the *Chu Sanzang Jiji* 出三藏記集, vol. 2, the *Abitan Biposha* 阿毗曇毗婆沙 (*Abhidharma Vibhāṣā śāstra*) in sixty volumes is recorded, and the notes say, “this was translated [into Chinese] in the year *dingchou* 丁丑, in the fourth month, was completed in the year *jimao* 己卯, in the seventh month”. “The year *jimao* 己卯” refers to the sixteenth year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 439). In this year, in the eighth month, Wei’s 魏 troops besieged Guzang 姑臧. In the ninth, Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍 surrendered. This conforms to the Dao Yan’s 道撻 preface, which says, that “it happened that the capital of Liang 涼 was wiped out” and so on. The age as seen in the preface possibly is incorrect.

After the Juqu 沮渠 family died out, it seems that Liu Song 劉宋 still maintained contact with Gaochang 高昌. On fragmentary leaves of a Buddhist sutra which was unearthed from Turfan, there are two short annotations, to which were affixed his official titles by Xiao Daocheng 蕭道成. Though the date was not marked but, according to the official titles of Xiao Daocheng 蕭道成 – “Commissioned with Extraordinary Powers, Palace Attendant, Commander-in-chief of Military Operations of the Six Provinces of Southern Xu 徐, Yan 兗, Northern Xu 徐, Southern Yan 兗, Qing 青 and Ji 冀, Cavalry Supreme General, Commander Unequaled in Honor, Intendant of Affairs of the Imperial Secretary, Governor of Southern Xu 徐 Province, Duke of Founding the Nation of Jingling 竟陵 Prefecture”,⁴ one can see that the Buddhist sutra was translated in the first year of the *Shengming* 昇明 reign-period (A.D. 477), from the eighth month to the ninth month.⁵ We cannot know when the Buddhist sutra was transmitted to Gaochang 高昌. However, in the *Nan Qishu* 南齊書, ch. 59, it is recorded that “in the second year of the *Shengming* 昇明 reign-period (A.D. 478), Emperor Taizhu 太祖 served as Prime Minister, and he sent the Courageous Cavalry General, Wang Hongfan 王洪範, as envoy to the Ruirui 芮芮 to set a date for attacking the Wei 魏 savages together with them”. The “Qiji 齊紀” of the *Zizhi Tongjian* 資治通鑑, says that “leaving from Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 via Shu 蜀, through the Western Regions, [Wang] Hongfan [王]洪範 arrived [in the Ruirui 芮芮]”. It is quite possible that the above-mentioned two copies were brought by Wang Hongfan 王洪範 to Gaochang 高昌.

Besides Gaochang 高昌, of the states in the Western Regions those that came to present tribute to Liu Song 劉宋 were the state of Sute 粟特 (or 肅特). According to the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 5, in the eighteenth year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period (A.D. 441), "The states of Sute 肅特 ... all sent envoys to present their local products".⁶ In the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 95, it is recorded that "Sute 粟特 sent envoys to present living lions, fire-washed cloths, and blood-sweating horses, which were lost owing to meeting bandits midway".⁷

In the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 6, it is recorded that in the third year of the *Daming* 大明 reign-period (A.D. 459), in the eleventh month, on the day *jisi* 己巳, "the Western Regions presented a dancing horse". We cannot know which state presented it. However, according to the 96th chapter of the same book (Memoir on the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾), "In the fifth year of the *Daming* 大明 reign-period of Emperor Shizu 世祖 (A.D. 461), Shiyin 拾寅 sent envoys to present a dancing horse and a sheep with four corners. Twenty-seven 'Songs of Dancing Horse' were submitted by officers, including the crown prince, princes, dukes and lesser nobles". From this, we see that it is possible that the state which presented the dancing horses in the third year of the *Daming* 大明 reign-period (A.D. 459) was also Tuyuhun 吐谷渾. Otherwise, "五年 (the fifth year)" in the Memoir on the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 may be a textual error for "三年 (the third year)".

B

On the relation between Xiao Qi 蕭齊 Dynasty and the Western Regions there is a record in the *Nan Qishu* 南齊書, ch. 59:

Previous to this time, the Governor of Yi 益 Province, Liu Xun 劉悛, sent Jiang Jingxuan 江景玄 as an envoy to the Dingling 丁零 to publicize national power and virtue. There were Shanshan 鄯善 and Yutian 于闐 on his way. Shanshan 鄯善 was destroyed by the Dingling 丁零, and the people were all scattered. Yutian 于闐 especially believed in the power of Buddha. The Dingling 丁零, which adopted illegally the title of Heaven's Son, received [Jiang] Jingxuan [江]景玄, requiting him with gifts, and had him report on the completion of his task.

“Dingling 丁零” here refers to the tribe of Fufuluo 副伏羅 from Gaoche 高車 which removed westwards in the fifth year of the *Yongming* 永明 reign-period of Emperor Wu 武 of Qi 齊 (A.D. 487). The so-called “previous to this time” refers to a time before the eighth month of the tenth year of the *Yongming* 永明 reign-period (A.D. 492). This is because in the same chapter, before the above-cited reference, it is recorded:

The Ruirui 芮芮 occupied the former royal court of the Xiongnu 匈奴. In the tenth year (A.D. 492), the Hu 胡 of Dingling 丁零 attacked southwards the Ruirui 芮芮 and occupied their former lands. The Ruirui 芮芮 removed slightly southwards. Because of the invasion and pressure, the lord of Wei 魏 savage, Yuanhong 元宏, sent the illegitimate King of Yuanping 平元, Jialuhun 駕鹿渾, and the General of Dragon-like Cavalry, Yang Yan 楊延, leading cavalries of several hundreds of thousands, to attack the Ruirui 芮芮. Because it happened to be icy weather, it snowed, and many soldiers and horses died.

The above-mentioned fact that the Northern Wei 魏 attacked the Rouran 柔然 also appears in the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 7B: in the sixteenth year (A.D. 492), in the eighth month, on the day *yiwei* 乙未, “King of Yangping 陽平, [Yuan] Yi [元]頤, the Left Supervisor, Lu Rui 陸叡, superintending twelve generals and cavalries of seventy thousand, went north to attack the Ruru 蠕蠕”. “Jialuhun 駕陸渾” noted in the *Nan Qishu* 南齊書, ch. 59, is Lu Rui 陸叡, and “Yang Yan 楊延” is “Yang Bo 楊播”, which is because there is a missed character of “zhi 之” after the character of “yan 延”. “Yanzhi 延之” was another name [derived from the meaning of his original name] of Yang Bo 楊播. According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 58 (Memoir on Yang Bo 楊播), “Soon after, [Yang Bo 楊播] was appointed as General of Dragon-like Cavalry, ... together with the King of Yangping 陽平, he came out north of the desert to attack the Ruru 蠕蠕, captured much booty and returned”. Yang Bo 楊播 must have been one of twelve generals whom Lu Rui 陸叡 superintended. From this, we know that “the tenth year” refers to “the tenth year of the *Yongming* 永明 reign-period (A.D. 492)”. The matter recorded under this year is the northern expedition of Yuan Wei 元魏. “The Hu 胡 of Dingling 丁零” and so on, states the background of the northern expedition, which must have been before the tenth year of the *Yongming* 永明 reign-period (A.D.

492). If this is correct, Jiang Jingxuan's 江景玄 mission to Gaoche 高車 undoubtedly was earlier than the eighth month of the tenth year of the *Yongming* 永明 reign-period (A.D. 492).⁸

In the *Nan Qishu* 南齊書, ch. 3, it is recorded that in the ninth year of the *Yongming* 永明 reign-period (A.D. 491), in the first month, on the day *jiawu* 甲午, "the General of Commanding the Army, Liu Xun 劉俊, was appointed as Governor of Yi 益 Province". Since the *Nan Qishu* 南齊書, ch. 59, says that Jiang Jingxuan 江景玄 was sent on the mission to Gaoche 高車 by the "Governor of Yi 益 Province, Liu Xun 劉俊", his mission must have been during Liu Xun's 劉俊 term as Governor of Yi 益 Province.⁹ This is to say, the time would be earlier than the first month of the ninth year of the *Yongming* 永明 reign-period (A.D. 491). Since, in the *Nan Qishu* 南齊書, ch. 3, it is recorded that in the eleventh year of the *Yongming* 永明 reign-period (A.D. 493), in the second month, "on the day *bingwu* 丙午, the General of Commanding the Army Wang Wenhe 王文和 was appointed as Governor of Yi 益 Province", Liu Xun 劉俊 might have been Governor of Yi 益 Province until the second month of the eleventh year (A.D. 493). In other words, the earliest limit of the date of Jiang Jingxuan's 江景玄 mission to Gaoche 高車 is the first month of the ninth year (A.D. 491), and the latest limit is the eighth month of the tenth year (A.D. 492).

The aim of Jiang Jingxuan's 江景玄 mission was nothing but to win over the Gaoche 高車, which had become independent only a short while earlier, to resist the Northern Wei 魏. However, the Gaoche 高車 had sent envoys to present tribute in the eighth year of the *Yongming* 永明 reign-period (A.D. 490) because they took the Rouran 柔然 to be an enemy and thus were impatient to ally with the Northern Wei 魏. Therefore, Jiang Jingxuan's 江景玄 mission must have failed in its the main points.

Since Jiang Jingxuan 江景玄 was sent on the mission to the Gaoche 高車 from Yi 益 Province he must have gone to Shanshan 鄯善 "on his way". The reason why Yutian 于闐 was also there "on his way" is probably because he turned west from Shanshan 鄯善 and made a detour to go north after he discovered that Shanshan 鄯善 was difficult of access because it was destroyed and its people all scattered.

C

The frequency with which Xiao Liang 蕭梁 made contact with the various states in the Western Regions seems to exceed that of Liu Song 劉宋 and Xiao Qi 蕭齊. On the tribute paid to the Liang 梁 court by the various states in the Western Regions there are the following records in the *Liangshu* 梁書.

1. In the second year of the *Tianjian* 天監 reign-period (A.D. 503), in the seventh month, "the states of ... Qiuci 龜茲 ... respectively sent their envoys to present their local products". (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 2)

2. In the third year of the *Tianjian* 天監 reign-period (A.D. 504), in the ninth month, on the day *renzi* 壬子, "The state of Northern Tianzhu 天竺 sent envoys to present their local products". (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 2)

3. In the ninth year of the *Tianjian* 天監 reign-period (A.D. 510), in the third month, on the day *yiwei* 乙未, "The state of Yutian 于闐 sent envoys to present their local products".¹⁰ (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 2)

4. In the thirteenth year of the *Tianjian* 天監 reign-period (A.D. 514), in the eighth month, on the day *guimao* 癸卯, "the states of ... Yutian 于闐 respectively sent envoys to present their local products".¹¹ (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 2)

5. In the fifteenth year of the *Tianjian* 天監 reign-period (A.D. 516), the king of Hua 滑, "Yedaiyilituo 厭帶夷栗陁 first sent envoys to present its local products".¹² (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54)

6. In the eighteenth year of the *Tianjian* 天監 reign-period (A.D. 519), in the seventh month, on the day *jiashen* 甲申, "the states of Yutian 于闐 ... respectively sent envoys to present their local products".¹³ (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 2)

7. In the first year of the *Putong* 普通 reign-period (A.D. 520), in the third month, on the day *bingxu* 丙戌, "The state of Hua 滑 sent envoys to present their local products".¹⁴ (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 2)

The state of Zhouguke 周古柯 "sent envoys, following [the envoys] of Hua 滑, to present its local products".¹⁵ (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54)

The state of Hebatan 呵跋檀 "sent envoys, following the envoys of Hua 滑, to present their local products".¹⁶ (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54)

The state of Hebatan 胡蜜丹 "sent the envoys, following the envoys of Hua 滑, to present their local products".¹⁷ (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54)

8. In the second year of the *Putong* 普通 reign-period (A.D. 521), the king of Qiuci 龜茲, "Niruimozhunasheng 尼瑞摩珠那勝, sent envoys to offer a memorial and present its local products".¹⁸ (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54)

9. In the third year of the *Putong* 普通 reign-period (A.D. 522), in the eighth month, on the day *jiazi* 甲子, "the states of ... Baiti 白題 respectively sent envoys to present their local products".¹⁹ (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 3)

10. In the fifth year of the *Putong* 普通 reign-period (A.D. 524), the king of the state of Mo 末, Anmoshengpan 安末深盤, "sent envoys to present tribute".²⁰ (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54)

11. In the seventh year of the *Putong* 普通 reign-period (A.D. 526), in the first month, on the day *dingmao* 丁卯, "the state of Hua 滑 sent envoys to present their local products".²¹ (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 3)

12. In the second year of the *Zhongdatong* 中大通 reign-period (A.D. 530), the state of Bosi 波斯 "sent envoys to present a Buddha's tooth".²² (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54)

13. In the fifth year of the *Zhongdatong* 中大通 reign-period (A.D. 533), in the eighth month, on the day *jiazi* 甲子, "the state of Bosi 波斯 sent envoys to present their local products". (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 3)

14. In the first year of the *Datong* 大同 reign-period (A.D. 535), in the third month, on the day *xinwei* 辛未, "the king of the state of Hua 滑, Anlesadan 安樂薩丹 sent envoys to present their local products". (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 3)

In the fourth month, on the day *gengzi* 庚子, "the state of Bosi 波斯 [sent envoys to] present their local products". (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 3)

15 In the seventh year of the *Datong* 大同 reign-period (A.D. 541), in the third month, on the day *yihai* 乙亥, "the states of ... Hua 滑 respectively sent envoys to present their local products". (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 3)

The state of Yutian 于闐 "presented a jade Buddha carved abroad".²³ (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54)

16. During the *Datong* 大同 reign-period, the king of Gaochang 高昌, Qu Jian 麴堅, "sent envoys to present whistling salt pillows, grapes, fine horses, *qushu* 氍毹 (wool carpets), and other goods".²⁴ (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54)

17. In the first year of the *Zhongdatong* 中大同 reign-period (A.D. 546), in the eighth month, on the day *jiawu* 甲午, "the state of Kepantuo 渴槃陁 sent the envoys to present their local products". (*Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 3)

In the *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 30 (Memoir on Pei Ziyè 裴子野), it is recorded that "At the time, envoys came via the Mianshan 岷山 (the Mian 岷 Mountain) Route from the states of Baiti 白題 and Hua 滑, both of which existed outside the northwestern frontier, to present tribute". From this, it can be seen that the various states in the Western Regions came to present tribute to the Liang 梁 court also by the "Henan 河南 Route", which is the same as in Liu Song 劉宋 times. And according to the *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54, "the various states south of the sea, generally speaking, are in the Great Sea Continent to the south and southwest of Jiao 交 Province. From them to the capital of Liang 梁, the nearer route is three to five thousand *li* 里, and the farther is twenty to thirty thousand *li* 里. To the west they adjoin the various states in the Western Regions". Therefore, the possibility cannot be ruled out that envoys from the various states in the Western Regions, such as Bosi 波斯 and others, also came to pay court by the sea routes.

In the *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 30 (Memoir on Pei Ziyè 裴子野), "The people admired his wide knowledge, and the emperor therefore ordered him to compile a picture entitled "Fanguo Shi Tu 方國使圖" (the Painting of the Portraits of Envoys from the Local States), which described twenty states in all, from the *Yaofu* 要服 (the domain within the bounds of the emperor's restraint) to overseas, in order to describe the many states that came to [the Liang 梁] to pay respect". These "twenty states" were obviously those states that actually came to the Liang 梁 court, and some states from the Western Regions were undoubtedly included. The reference "to describe the many states that came to [the Liang 梁] to pay respect" not only shows Pei Ziyè's 裴子野 purpose in composing this painting, but also shows that, with regard to Xiao Liang 蕭梁, the significance of the various states' coming to pay court was mainly political.

A remnant of the painting, of which a facsimile was made in Song 宋 times, is kept in storage in the Nanjing 南京 Palace Museum. Of the portraits in this painting, only those of the envoys of twelve states have been kept. Among them are eight states that were in the Western Regions: Hua 滑, Bosi 波斯, Qiuci 龜茲, Zhouguke 周古柯, Hebatan 呵跋檀, Humidan 胡蜜丹, Baiti 白題 and Mo 末. There is a short annotation at the end of each portrait of an envoy. The annotation on the state of Mo 末 is fragmentary. The matters narrated in these annotations mostly are identical with the records as seen in the *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54. With regard to the contents which are identical to each other, the former is frequently more detailed than the latter. From this, it can be seen that this painting is a memoir, and thus forms the foundation of the related records in the *Liangshu* 梁書.²⁵

In addition, according to the *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 5, Emperor Yuan 元 of Liang 梁, Xiao Yi 蕭繹 had composed the "Gongzhi Tu 貢職圖"(Painting of Tribute-Paying to the Liang 梁 Court) in one volume.²⁶ "A Preface to 'Zhigong Tu 職貢圖'" by Xiao Yi 蕭繹, cited by the *Yiwen Leiju* 藝文類聚, vol. 55, says, "Your vassal, who is a man of no ability, was appointed to guard the upper reaches [of the Yangtze River], where the songs of the Yi 夷 people flow as if from the pen of a master, and the Hu 胡 people collect from the distant places. [They] sincerely submit to [Your Majesty], coming and going at Jingmen 荊門 along the river. [I] observe their appearance and have them tell their customs. If someone goes [straight] to the capital to present tribute and does not arrive in Hannan 漢南, I will gather informations separately to widen the knowledge, which is named 'Gongzhi Tu 貢職圖'". The statement "appointed to guard the upper reaches" refers to Xiao Yi 蕭繹 who was sent out to be the Governor of Jing 荊 Province. On the basis of the *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 3, this took place in the seventh year of the *Putong* 普通 reign-period (A.D. 526), in the tenth month. This must be the earliest limit of the time when Xiao Yi 蕭繹 composed his "Zhigong Tu 職貢圖".

It is self-evident that Xiao Yi 蕭繹 composed this painting not only "to widen the knowledge" but also in order to play up the idea that Xiao Liang 蕭梁 "cherishes the distant with virtue". This does not disagree with the purpose for which Pei Ziye 裴子野 composed the "Fanguo Shi Tu 方國使圖".

Notes

1. Most of the citations in this section are taken from Tang Ch. (1983).
2. On the “Henan 河南 Route”, cf. Matsuda (1937).
3. The Rouran 柔然 communicated with Liu Song 劉宋 also via the “Henan 河南 Route”, which was the same as that used by the Juqu 沮渠 family. They had stolen across it successfully when the Northern Wei 魏 was controlling Yanqi 焉耆 and Shanshan 鄯善. In the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 95, it is recorded that in the twenty-seventh year of the *Yuanjia* 元嘉 reign-period of Emperor Wen 文 (A.D. 450), a northern expedition was carried out on a large scale, an edict was issued, which said, “... By the time [the savages, i.e., the Northern Wei] occupied He 河, Shuo 朔, Qin 秦 and Yong 雍, and the Chinese and the Rong 戎 were estranged. It was difficult to proclaim allegiance, so all they could do was anxiously look forward in secret save them for the royal army to come save them. They also state that in the spring, the Ruirui 芮芮 tribes and stock mostly have been lost because of the savages’ coming to plunder and raid their den. The two parties have confronted one another year after year and are not resolved. They distrust and treat savagely each other and their relatives and acquaintances are killed, their foundations are in danger of ruin, and [the situation is] dog-eat-dog. It happens that the secret envoy of the Ruirui 芮芮 has arrived, and what he said agrees with this. [He] has offered the faithfulness of his distant tribe, and swears to lock horns with [the savages]...”. This can be taken as evidence.
4. For the two short annotations, see Schmitt & Thilo, Abb. 13, Abb. 46–47. The official titles of Xiao Daocheng 蕭道成, which were long incomplete, are brought to completeness on the basis of the textual researches in Tang Ch. (1983). In addition, see Fujieda & Thilo.
5. For details of this theory see Tang Ch. (1983).
6. In the *Songshu* 宋書, ch. 95, it is recorded that “There also is the state of Sute 粟特, which, presenting a memorial, paid tribute during the reign of Emperor Taizu 太祖”.
7. This record does not appear in the primary chronicle of the *Liangshu* 梁書.
8. Cf. Yu, T. (1986), pp. 208–210.
9. Cf. Feng (1976-1).
10. In the *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54, it is recorded that in the ninth year of the *Tianjian* 天監 reign-period (A.D. 510) the state of Yutian 于闐 “sent envoys to present its local products”.
11. In the *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54, it is recorded that in the thirteenth year of the *Tianjian* 天監 reign-period (A.D. 514) the state of Yutian 于闐 “presented a *prabha buzhang* 步鄣 (*buzhang* 步鄣 was a portable large silk screen sheltering court ladies from public view)”.

12. This record does not appear in the primary chronicles of the *Liangshu* 梁書. The annotation on the portraiture of the envoy of the state of Hua 滑 in the “Gongzhi Tu 貢職圖” says that “In the fifteenth year of the *Tianjian* 天監 reign-period (A.D. 516), the king of the state of Hua 滑, whose surname was Yandai 厭帶 and personal name was Yilituo 夷栗陀, started sending the envoy, Puduoda 蒲多達, to present [延?] 寘口滂名纈杯 (*sic*)”.
13. In the *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54, it is recorded that in the eighteenth year of the *Tianjian* 天監 reign-period (A.D. 519) the state of Yutian 于闐 “also presented glazed small-mouthed jars”.
14. In the *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54, it is recorded that in the first year of the *Putong* 普通 reign-period (A.D. 520) the state of Hua 滑 “also sent envoys to present yellow lions, white marten coats, Persian brocade, and other gifts”. The annotation on the portraiture of the envoy of the state of Hua 滑 in the “Gongzhi Tu 貢職圖” says that “In the first year of the *Putong* 普通 reign-period (A.D. 520) [the king of the state of Hua 滑] also sent Fuheliao(liao) 富何了(了) to present yellow lions, white marten coat, Persian [pleated?] brocade. The king’s wife, ..., also sent the envoy, Kang Fuzhen 康符真, to present tribute in company”.
15. This record does not appear in the primary chronicles of the *Liangshu* 梁書. The annotation on the portrait of the envoy of the state of Zhouguke 周古柯 in the “Gongzhi Tu 貢職圖” says that “In the first year of the *Putong* 普通 reign-period (A.D. 520), following the embassy of the state of Hua 滑, the envoy paid tribute. In the memorial presented by him, it is said, ‘everything is respectful, and every auspiciousness is amply provided. Like the cloudless clear sky, like a bright full moon, the Son of Heaven himself is peaceful and quiet and is perfect like this. Your great aspiration is to serve as a sail in the four seas. Jambu-dvīpa in Yangzhou 揚州, the greatest nation in the word, in which people are fully everywhere, is gay and grand and like heaven. The king of Zhouguke 周古柯, kneeling and bowing in worship, greeted the Son of Heaven with his palms put together [innumerable times]. Now I present a golden ..., a glazed bowl, and a horse”.
16. This record does not appear in the primary chronicles of the *Liangshu* 梁書. The annotation on the portraiture of the envoy of the state of Hebatan 呵跋檀 in the “Gongzhi Tu 貢職圖” says that “In the first year of the *Putong* 普通 reign-period (A.D. 520), following the envoys of the state of Hua 滑, the envoy paid tribute. In the memorial presented by him it was said, ‘... The most honourable, lucky Son of Heaven, who rules the eastern earth, the king of Hebatan 呵跋檀 greets him with his palms put together innumerable times to wish the son of Heaven quiet and peace. Now I send the envoy, who brings this letter I have sent with my own hand. In order to show it is not empty, I present a horse and a silver object”.
17. This record does not appear in the primary chronicles of the *Liangshu* 梁書. The annotation on the portrait of the envoy of the state of Humidan 胡蜜丹 in the “Gongzhi Tu 貢職圖” says that “In the first year of the *Putong* 普通 reign-period (A.D. 520), [the king] sent an envoy, following the envoys of the state of Hua 滑, to present tribute. In the memorial presented by him it is said, ‘The Son of Heaven in Yangzhou 揚州, the Holy Lord of the great nation, in which the sun rises, king of Humi[dan] 胡偃[丹], whose name is ... 僕

- (*sic*), falling on his knees and holding his palms together in the distance, salutes innumerable times. Now the envoy of the state of Hua 滑 will arrive at the holy country, and with him we present a letter, and a horse is sent too. If the Holy Lord orders me I daren't disobey".
18. This record does not appear in the primary chronicles of the *Liangshu* 梁書. The annotation on the portrait of the envoy of the state of Qiuci 龜茲 in the "Gongzhi Tu 貢職圖" says that "In the second year of the *Putong* 普通 reign-period (A.D. 521), [his king] sent the envoys, Kang Shiyi 康石憶 and Qiubona 丘波那, presenting a memorial, to pay court".
 19. In the *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54, it is recorded that in the third year of the *Putong* 普通 reign-period (A.D. 522) the state of Baiti 白題 "sent envoys to present their local products". The annotation on the portrait of the envoy of the state of Baiti 白題 in the "Gongzhi Tu 貢職圖" says that "In the third year of the *Putong* 普通 reign-period (A.D. 522), Baiti 白題 sent a Buddhist, Zhanduhuo 穩獨活, and the envoy, An Yuanlianjia 安遠憐伽, to the capital to present tribute".
 20. This record does not appear in the primary chronicles of the *Liangshu* 梁書.
 21. In the *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54, it is recorded that in the seventh year of the *Putong* 普通 reign-period (A.D. 526) the state of Hua 滑 "also, presenting a memorial, paid tribute".
 22. This record does not appear in the primary chronicles of the *Liangshu* 梁書. The annotation on the portrait of the envoy of the state of Bosi 波斯 in the "Gongzhi Tu 貢職圖" says that "In the second year of the *Datong* 大通 reign-period (A.D. 528) his king sent the envoy, An ... yue 安瑤越 (*sic*), presenting a memorial, to present Buddha's tooth". In my opinion, "the second year of the *Datong* 大通 reign-period (A.D. 528)" in the "Gongzhi Tu 貢職圖" is different from "the second year of the *Zhongdatong* 中大通 reign-period (A.D. 530)" in the *Liangshu* 梁書, ch. 54. The latter may be correct. Since the extant incomplete "Gongzhi Tu 貢職圖" is not the original, it is possible that there are some errors and omissions of characters in the text owing to its being copied.
 23. This record does not appear in the primary chronicles of the *Liangshu* 梁書.
 24. This record does not appear in the primary chronicles of the *Liangshu* 梁書.
 25. Yu, T. (1998).
 26. On the "Gongzhi Tu 貢職圖", cf. Jin and Enoki (1963).

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