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A Hypothesis on the Origin of the Yu State

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**A HYPOTHESIS
ON THE ORIGIN OF THE YU STATE
魚國淵源臆說**

The inscription on the memorial table within the tomb of Yu Hong 虞弘, dated from the Sui 隋 dynasty (A.D. 581-618), recently excavated to the south of the Wangguo 王郭 village, Jingyuan 晉源 district, Taiyuan 太原, Shanxi 山西 province, China is of great interest to historians.¹ In this paper, I will offer a brief interpretation of problems related to the stele inscription, especially the origin of "the state of Yu (Fish)", mentioned in Yu Hong's 虞弘 epitaph.

隋虞弘墓誌出土于山西太原晉源區王郭村村南，¹茲就有關問題、特別是墓誌所見“魚國”之淵源略作考釋。

A

The inscription says: "When Gaoyang 高陽 controlled the land under heaven, he removed Fertile Place into After ... had shouldered the mandate of Heaven, he transferred Chixian 赤縣 to Puban 蒲坂. [Their descendants] flourished for many generations. Branches of them went to the Western Regions. Some distinguished persons wandered and gathered...".

誌：“高陽馭運，遷陸海□□□。□□膺錄，徙赤縣於蒲坂。弈葉繁昌，派枝西域，倜儻人物，漂注□□”。

1 It is possible that the three missing characters after 陸海 are 於空桑 (in Kongsang 空桑).

1 “陸海”後所闕三字可能是“於空桑”。

"Gaoyang" must have been Zhuanxu 顓頊. In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1 (Basic Annals of the Five Emperors), "Emperor Zhuanxu 顓頊, [the lord of] Gaoyang 高陽" is mentioned.² Song Zhong's 宋衷 commentary, cited by the *Shiji Suoyin* 史記索隱, says, "Zhuanxu 顓頊 was his name. Gaoyang 高陽 was the name of his state". Zhang Yan's 張晏 commentary, also cited by the same book, says, "Gaoyang 高陽 was the name of

the place in which Zhuangxu 顓頊 was raised". Zhuangxu 顓頊 named the state after the place where he was raised.

“高陽”指顓頊氏。《史記·五帝本紀》：“帝顓頊高陽”；²《索隱》引宋衷曰：“顓頊，名；高陽，有天下號也”；又引張晏云：“高陽者，所興地名也”。顓頊蓋以所興地名為國號。

Also, according to the "Guyue 古樂" chapter of the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, "Emperor Zhuangxu 顓頊 was born in the valley of the Ruo 若 River, and in fact dwelt in Kongsang 空桑". The Ruo 若 River must have been identified with the present river of Yalong 雅礮 in Sichuan province 四川.³ "Kongsang 空桑" was the name of a mountain, which was in the north of Lu 魯.⁴ As for "Luhai 陸海", in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 28B, it is recorded that "There are bamboo forests in Hu 鄆 and Du 杜 (ancient states in what is now Shaanxi, during Xia 夏 times), sandalwoods and three-bristle cudrania in the Southern Mountains [in Qin 秦 state], which were called Luhai 陸海 and were among the most fertile places in the Nine Administrative Divisions". According to Yan Shigu's 顏師古 commentary, "The region is a high land with abundant products, where all sorts of things grow, as fruitful as a sea, thus it is called Land Sea". Therefore, the inscription seems to indicate that Zhuangxu 顓頊 moved his people to Kongsang 空桑 and made them rich and populous.

又據《呂氏春秋·古樂》，“帝顓頊生自若水，實處空桑”。若水即今四川雅礮江；³“空桑”，山名，在魯北。⁴“陸海”，《漢書·地理志下》（卷二八下）：“[秦地]有鄆杜竹林，南山檀柘，號稱陸海，為九州膏腴”。顏注：“言其地高陸而饒物產，如海之無所不出，故云陸海”。因此，志文似乎是說顓頊徙民于空桑，使之富庶。

It is possible that the two missing characters after 膺籙 are 虞舜 (Yu Shun).

2 “膺籙”前所闕二字可能是“虞舜”。

First, in the "Luyu 魯語 A" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語, it is recorded that "Youyu 有虞 performed the sacrifice called *di* 禘 to the Yellow Emperor and the sacrifice called *zu* 祖 to Zhuangxu 顓頊". And in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1 (Basic Annals of the Five Emperors), it is recorded that "Yu Shun's 虞舜 name was Zhonghua 重華. Zhonghua's 重華 father was Gu Sou 瞽叟; Gu Sou's 瞽叟 father was Qiaoniu 橋牛; Qiaoniu's 橋牛 father was Gouwang 句望; Gouwang's 句望 father was Jingkang 敬康; Jingkang's 敬康 father was Qiongchan 窮蟬; Qiongchan's 窮蟬 father was Emperor Zhuangxu 顓頊. Zhuangxu's 顓頊 father was Changyi 昌意, from whom [back] to Shun 舜 had been seven generations". Since Yu Shun 虞舜 was a descendant of Emperor Zhuangxu 顓頊, the statement "Yu Shun 虞舜 had shouldered the mandate of Heaven" corresponds precisely with "Gaoyang 高陽 controlled the land under heaven" and so on.

一則，《國語·魯語上》：“有虞氏禘黃帝而祖顓頊”。《史記·五帝本紀》：“虞舜者，名曰重華。重華父曰瞽叟，瞽叟父曰橋牛，橋牛父曰句望，句望父曰敬

康，敬康父曰窮蟬，窮蟬父曰帝顓頊。顓頊父曰昌意：以至舜七世矣”。虞舜乃帝高陽顓頊氏之後，與前文“馭運”云云正相呼應。

Second, in the *Kuodi Zhi* 括地志, cited by *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 1 (Basic Annals of the Five Emperors), it is recorded that "According to the *Diji* 地記, the capital of Shun 舜 was located in the old town of Puban 蒲阪, which is distant by two *li* 里 from Hedong 河東 County. In the town there was a Shun 舜 temple and there was [also] a Shun 舜 house and an altar for his two concubines outside of the town". This shows that Puban 蒲阪 was the capital of Shun 舜. The statement "[Yu Shun 虞舜] transferred Chixian 赤縣 to Puban 蒲坂" and so on therefore can be considered to mean that Yu Shun 虞舜 removed the ruling centre to Puban 蒲坂 (or 蒲阪).

二則，《史記·五帝本紀》“正義”引《括地志》：“《地記》云“河東縣二里故蒲阪城，舜所都也。城中有舜廟，城外有舜宅及二妃壇”。這表明蒲阪乃舜都，“徙赤縣于蒲坂”云云乃指虞舜將統治中心遷往蒲坂即蒲阪。

3 The statement "[His descendants] flourished for many generations" and so on shows clearly that Yu Hong 虞弘 was a descendant of the branches of Gaoyang 高陽 and Yu Shun 虞舜 that flourished in the Western Regions.

3 “弈葉繁昌”云云，明言自己是高陽、虞舜枝裔之繁昌於西域者。

On the other hand, the above four sentences – "[His descendants] flourished for many generations" and so on – follow closely the sentence "[Yu Shun 虞舜] transferred Chixian 赤縣 to Puban 蒲坂" shows that the ancestors of Yu Hong 虞弘 went to the Western Regions not long after they had reached Puban 蒲阪, and indicates unambiguously that his family and surname had a distant, long-lasting heritage.

又，“弈葉”四句緊接“徙赤縣於蒲阪”之後，意在表明墓主虞弘之先在遷蒲阪後不久便去了西域；亦極言其族姓之源遠流長。

To sum up, the above-cited inscription shows that the ancestor of Yu Hong 虞弘 was Yu Shun 虞舜, who, following Yu Shun 虞舜, moved to Puban 蒲阪, and soon thereafter travelled the vast distance to the Western Regions.

要之，以上誌文旨在表明墓主虞弘之先為虞舜，曾隨虞舜徙蒲阪，旋即遠赴西域。

B

The inscription says further: "His name is Hong 弘, and he styled himself Mopan 莫潘. He came from the town of Helin 紇麟 in the state of Yu 魚. ...Nuqi 奴栖 was the Leading People Chief of the state of Yu 魚. His father Juntuo 君陀 was the official Mohequfen 莫賀去汾 of the state of Ruru 茹茹".

誌：“公諱弘，字莫潘，魚國紇麟城人也。……□□奴栖，魚國領民酋長。父君陀，茹茹國莫賀去汾”。

It is possible that the two missing characters are 曾祖 (great-grandfather). Of course, it is also possible that it is 祖□奴栖 (His grandfather was ...nuqi □奴栖).

“奴栖”前所缺二字可能是“曾祖”。當然，也可能是“祖□奴栖”。

According to research, the title "Leading People Chief" was conferred only upon the chiefs of the different races who submitted to the Tuoba Xianbei 拓跋鮮卑, but who were not recorded in the census register.⁵ Thus it can be seen that the grandfather or great-grand father of Yu Hong 虞弘, the occupant of the tomb, was a chief of the state of Yu 魚, who submitted to the Tuoba Xianbei 拓跋鮮卑. Here, the following three-points deserve to be noted:

據研究，領民酋長一職授予歸附拓跋鮮卑而不在編戶的各異族酋帥。⁵由此可見，墓主虞弘之祖或曾祖是歸附拓跋鮮卑的魚國部落之酋帥。在此，應該指出以下三點：

1 According to the *Weishu* 魏書, ch. 74 (Memoir on Erzhu Rong 尔朱榮), [Erzhu] Rong 尔朱榮 "was a native of the northern Xiurong 秀容 prefecture. His ancestors lived along the Erzhu 尔朱 River, thus he took Erzhu 尔朱 as his surname. His ancestors often led tribes, and were chiefs for many generations. His great-great-grandfather, Yujian 羽健, was the Leading People Chief at the beginning of the Dengguo 登國 reign-period (A.D. 386-396). Leading 1,700 cavalry of Qihu 契胡, he followed the imperial carriage to conquer Jinyang 晉陽 and Zhongshan 中山". From this, it can be seen that the ancestors of Yu Hong 虞弘, the occupant of the tomb, had probably been the chiefs of the Yu 魚 state for many generations before they submitted to the Tuoba Xianbei 拓跋鮮卑 and received the title "Leading People Chief".

1 據《魏書·尔朱榮傳》(卷七四)：榮，“北秀容人也。其先居於尔朱川，因爲氏焉。常領部落，世爲酋帥。高祖羽健，登國初爲領民酋長，率契胡武士千七百人從駕平晉陽、定中山”。由此可知，墓主虞弘之先在歸附拓跋鮮卑而成爲領民酋長之前，有可能世爲魚國酋帥。

2 According to the *Beishi* 北史, ch. 61 (Memoir on Chile Fugui 叱列伏龜), [Chilie] Fugui [叱列]伏龜 "was a native of Western Dai 代 prefecture. One of his ancestors was the chief of the tribe, who paid allegiance to the court at the beginning of the Wei 魏 dynasty. Hence he was the First Leading People Chief for many generations. From him to [Chilie Fu]gui [叱列伏]龜 it had been five generations". This suggests that Nuqi 奴栖 (or ...nuqi □奴栖) was not necessarily the Leading People Chief for the first generation. In other words, it is possible that the branch of Nuqi 奴栖 submitted to the Tuoba Xianbei 拓跋鮮卑 as early as "the beginning of the Wei 魏 dynasty".

2 據《北史·叱列伏龜傳》(卷六一)：伏龜，“代郡西部人也。其先爲部落大人，魏初入附，遂世爲第一領人酋長，至龜五世”。由此可知，奴栖(或□奴栖)

未必是第一代領民酋長，也就是說，奴婁一枝入附拓跋鮮卑的時間可能早至“魏初”。

3 The above-cited records about Erzhu Rong 尒朱榮 and Chilie Fugui 叱列伏龜 also show that the people who were led by Nuqi 奴栖 or his ancestors and submitted to the Tuoba Xianbei 拓跋鮮卑 were only a part of the Yu 魚 state.

3 以上有關尒朱榮和叱列伏龜的記載，還說明奴婁或其先人所率入附拓跋鮮卑者不過魚國之一部。

C

The epitaph says: "When the virtue of water decided the destiny, an odd lord appeared who had double-pupilled eyes. He made the foundation prosperous and administered government affairs. The branches [of his family] procreated abundantly. One of them won honour for Anxi 安息, and another brought glitter to Yuezhi 月支. They wore headgear and ribbons, and also had bonnets, [chariot] coverings, and flags decorated with feathers (which indicates high-ranking officials)".

銘：“水行馭曆，重瞳號奇，隆基布政，派流雲馳，潤光安息，輝臨月支。簪纓組綬，冠蓋羽儀”。

Traditionally, Zhuanyu 顓頊 was known as a king of the virtue of water.⁶ The man who had "double-pupilled eyes" was Shun 舜.⁷ Here the epitaph reaffirms that the descendants of Gaoyang 高陽 and the Youyu 有虞 who migrated west were distributed over the various states in the Western Regions, and stresses that the branch of the occupant of the tomb even had contact with Anxi 安息 and Yuezhi 月支, hence the statement "won honour for Anxi 安息, and another brought glitter to Yuezhi 月支".

“水行”即水德，相傳顓頊為水德之王；⁶“重瞳”指舜。⁷銘文於此重申誌文之意：西遷高陽氏、有虞氏之裔分佈於西域各地，且突出墓主一枝在昔與“安息”、“月支”之關係，即所謂“潤光安息，輝臨月支”。

"Anxi 安息", first mentioned in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123 (Memoir on Dayuan 大宛), must be identified with Persia under the Parthian Dynasty, which lasted in Western Asia from roughly 247 B.C. to A.D. 229.⁸ This period should be the time when the ancestors of Yu Hong 虞弘, the occupant of the tomb, "won honour for Anxi 安息".

1 “安息”，首見《史記·大宛列傳》，指帕提亞波斯。這一西亞王朝存在的大致年代是西元前247年至西元229年。⁸這應該就是墓主虞弘之先可能“潤光安息”的時間。

2 "Yuezhi 月支" must refer to Da Yuezhi 大月氏 as described in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123 (Memoir on Dayuan 大宛). Before the Xiongnu 匈奴 rose, the Yuezhi 月氏, the predecessor of the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 (the Great Yuezhi), had lived as nomads in the

area from the present Qilian 祁連 Mountains to the Altai Mountains. In around 177/176 B.C., the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 were expelled from the above-mentioned area and moved westwards to the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers. Then, in around 130 B.C., they were driven from there by the Wusun 烏孫 and reached the valley of the Amu Darya. After that, the Da Yuezhi 月氏 crossed the river, advanced southwards, and occupied the state of Daxia 大夏, whose main territory was located on the south bank of the river.

2 “月支”，應即《史記·大宛列傳》所見大月氏。已知匈奴興起之前，大月氏的前身——月氏人遊牧於今祁連山至阿爾泰山一帶。約前177/176年被匈奴逐出上述地區，西徙伊黎河、楚河流域，復於前130年左右被烏孫逐至今阿姆河流域。嗣後，大月氏人渡河南下，征服了領土主要在河南的大夏國。

We do not know the exact date when the ancestors of Yu Hong 虞弘 made contact with the Yuezhi 月氏. However, considering that his ancestors also made contact with Anxi 安息, it is very possible that the "Yuezhi 月支" mentioned in the epitaph must be identified with the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 who migrated westward to the Amu Darya. This is because, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123 (Memoir on Dayuan 大宛), the state of Anxi 安息 was "situated on the Gui 媯 River (the Amu Darya)", and the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 who were expelled from the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers; "established their principal city north of the Gui 媯 River (the Amu Darya) to form the king's court". If this is true, the earliest date that "[the ancestors of Yu Hong] brought glitter to Yuezhi 月支" would be B.C. 130.

墓主虞弘之先何時與大月氏接觸，不得而知。但從其先曾與安息發生關係這一點來看，銘文所謂“月支”指西遷阿姆河流域的大月氏的可能性較大。蓋據《史記·大宛列傳》安息國“臨媯水”；而被逐出伊黎河、楚河流域的大月氏人一度“都媯水北，為王庭”。果然，“輝臨月支”的時間上限是前130年。

It is noteworthy that, according to the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88 (Memoir on the Western Regions), the Kushan Empire that, following the Da Yuezhi 大月氏, rose in the original land of the Daxia 大夏 state at the end of the first century B.C. continued to be called the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 by the Chinese. Therefore, the possibility cannot be ruled out completely that the statement "brought glitter to Yuezhi 月支" indicates that ancestors of Yu Hong 虞弘 were related to the Kushan Empire.

3 應該說明的是，據《後漢書·西域傳》，繼大月氏之後（約西元前一世紀末）在原大夏國之地興起的貴霜帝國，也被中國人稱為“大月氏”，因此，“輝臨月支”乃指虞弘之先與貴霜帝國的關係的可能性不能完全排除。

It is also noteworthy that the stele was inscribed during the Sui 隋 Dynasty. Therefore, it is possible that the "Anxi 安息" mentioned in the epitaph does not refer to Parthian Persia, but to the state of An 安, one of the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武. This is because in the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. 83 (Memoir on the Western Regions), it is recorded:

4 還應該說明的是，虞弘墓誌銘撰于隋代，其中所謂“安息”所指存在另一種可能。質言之，並非帕提亞波斯，而是昭武九姓之一的安國，蓋據《隋書·西域傳》：

The state of An 安 was the state of Anxi 安息 in Han 漢 times. The king surnamed Zhaowu 昭武, who is from the same clan as that of the king of the Kang 康 state, styles himself Shelideng 設力登. His wife is a daughter of the king of the state of Kang 康. The capital is located to the south of the Nami 那密 River. The town wall has five layers and is surrounded by flowing water. The palaces all have flat roofs, and the king sits on a golden camel throne seven or eight *chi* 尺 high. Whenever the king hears cases of government, he sits opposite his wife. Three ministers judge and deal with the affairs of the state. The customs are the same as those of the state of Kang 康.

安國，漢時安息國也。王姓昭武氏，與康國王同族，字設力登。妻，康國王女也。都在那密水南，城有五重，環以流水。宮殿皆為平頭。王坐金駝座，高七八尺。每聽政，與妻相對，大臣三人評理國事。風俗同于康國。

Likewise, "Yuezhi 月支" may not refer to the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 mentioned in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 123 (Memoir on Dayuan) or to the Kushans in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, ch. 88 (Memoir on the Western Regions) but to the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武 mentioned in the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. 83 (Memoir on the Western Regions).

同理，“月支”所指也可能不是上述《史記·大宛列傳》所見大月氏和《後漢書·西域傳》所見貴霜，而是《隋書·西域傳》記載的昭武九姓：

The State of Kang 康: its king is a descendant [of the royal house] of the Kangju 康居. They often change their residence and do not regularly live in their former land. Their family had continued without interruption since Han 漢 times. Its king was originally surnamed Wen 溫 and he was a Yuezhi 月氏. Anciently, they had lived in the town of Zhaowu 昭武 to the north of the Qilian 祁連 Mountains. After they had been crushed by the Xiongnu 匈奴 and gone west across the Cong 蔥 (Pamir) Mountains, they came at last to possess this state. Each branch of this people respectively established its own king, therefore the states to the left and right of the state of Kang 康 have taken Zhaowu 昭武 as their surname to show that they have not forgotten their origin. 康國者，康居之後也。遷徙無常，不恒故地，自漢以來，相承不絕。其王本姓溫，月氏人也。舊居祁連山北昭武城，因被匈奴所破，西踰蔥嶺，遂有其國。枝庶各分王，故康國左右諸國，並以昭武為姓，示不忘本也。

Indeed, the fact that these ancient names of states, "Anxi 安息" and "Yuezhi 月支", occur in the epitaph may be understood as the result of rhetoric. However, considering that "Anxi 安息" and "Yuezhi 月支" are mentioned in the epitaph together, it seems difficult to take "Anxi 安息" as "the state of An 安" while taking "Yuezhi 月支" as one of the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武. That the "Yuezhi 月支" of the epitaph was one of the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武 is only possible if the "Anxi 安息" of the epitaph is taken as Parthian Persia, because the earliest date that the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武 occurred in history must be the year when the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 moved westward from the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers.⁹

果然，銘文採用“安息”、“月支”這些古稱可以理解為修辭的需要。但是，如果考慮到銘文將“安息”與“月支”並舉，似乎很難在指“月支”為昭武九姓的同時，指“安息”為安國。而祇有指銘文中的“安息”為帕提亞波斯，銘文所見“月支”纔有可能是指昭武九姓。蓋昭武九姓在歷史上出現的時間之上限應為大月氏自伊黎河、楚河西遷之年。⁹

To sum up, the state of Yu 魚, whose chief was one of Yu Hong's 虞弘 (the occupant of the tomb) ancestors, once had something closely to do with Parthian Persia and the Da Yuezhi 大月氏 who occupied the valleys of the Amu Darya (as well as with the Kushan Empire and the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武).

要之，墓主虞弘之先為酋帥的魚國一度與帕提亞波斯和佔領阿姆河流域的大月氏（貴霜帝國、昭武九姓）有密切關係。

D

Since "Anxi 安息" refers to the Parthian Persian Dynasty, and "Yuezhi 月支", the "Da Yuezhi 大月氏" occupied the valley of the Amu Darya (as well as the Kushan empire or the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武), the original territory of Yu Hong's 虞弘 ancestors could be traced back to Sogdiana, located on the northern bank of the Gui 媯 River (i.e., the Amu Darya).

既然“安息”指帕提亞波斯，“月支”指佔領阿姆河流域的大月氏（或貴霜帝國、昭武九姓），虞弘之先可以追溯的居地應該在媯水即阿姆河北岸的索格底亞那（Sogdiana）。

First, Parthian Persia, Da Yuezhi 大月氏, and Kushana were all "situated on the Gui 媯 River (the Amu Darya)", and Sogdiana was also the main territory of the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武.

一則，帕提亞波斯、大月氏或貴霜均臨媯水，緊鄰索格底亞那。索格底亞那又是昭武九姓的主要居地。

Second, the earliest record concerning Sogdiana occurs in the Behistun inscription of Darius I (521-486 B.C.), where Sogdiana is listed as one of the provinces subject to the Achaemenid Dynasty.¹⁰ There is no doubt that this place was deeply influenced by Persian culture. This is possibly the origin of the strong Persian style in Yu Hong's 虞弘 tomb.¹¹

二則，索格底亞那最早見諸阿喀美尼朝波斯大流士一世貝希斯登 (Behistun) 銘文，是當時王朝屬下行省之一。¹⁰該地深受波斯文化影響無庸置疑。這與虞弘墓葬濃重的波斯風格或者不無關係。¹¹

Third, Yu Hong 虞弘 was appointed the Acting S'rtp'w during the Northern Zhou 周 Dynasty. This was the main office in charge of the Hu 胡 community (mainly Sogdian people). Hence it is clear that the relationship between Yu Hong 虞弘 and the Sogdians was quite a close one.

三則，墓主虞弘本人在北周任“檢校薩保府”，這是負責管理胡人聚落的主要官員。這說明虞弘和索格底亞那胡人關係密切。

Fourth, the Zoroastrian themes of Yu Hong's 虞弘 tomb paintings display an evident Sogdian flavour. This suggests that the funerary ritual was performed by Sogdians.¹²

四則，虞墓石槨圖畫的祆教內容有明顯的索格底亞那色彩；這表明其葬儀可能是由索格底亞那人操辦的。¹²

Fifth, the inscription mentions that Yu Hong 虞弘 styled himself "Mopan 莫潘". "Mopan 莫潘" was normally a Chinese name used by Sogdians during Sui 隋 and Tang 唐 times, such as Cao Mopi 曹莫毗, Cao Mopan 曹莫盤, Cao Mo... 曹莫□,¹³ He Mopan 何莫潘¹⁴, etc.

五則，誌文載墓主虞弘“字莫潘”。“莫潘”多為隋唐時來華索格底亞那人所用漢名，如曹莫毗、曹莫盤、曹莫□、¹³曹莫盆、何莫潘¹⁴等。

E

Since the state of Yu 魚 was first established in the mid-third century B.C. in Sogdiana, it seems possible that the state was the Massagetae of Western sources.

既然虞弘之先為酋帥或部落大人的魚國最早可能在前三世紀中葉已經出現在索格底亞那，則該國似乎應該是西史所見Massagetae。

1 The word "Massagetae" first appears in Herodotus' *History*, where their first settlement was already known to be located on the northern bank of Syr Darya. The Achaemenid King Cyrus II (c. 558-529 B.C.) attempted to conquer the Massagetae, but his whole army was wiped out, and he himself was killed in the battle. Later, the Issedones tribe, who originally lived in the valleys of the Ili and Chu Rivers, migrated to

the west, driving the Massagetae to Sogdiana along the southern bank of the Syr Darya. The migration occurred between 529 and 521 B.C., after the death of Cyrus II and before the enthronement of Darius I (521-486 B.C.). This can be proved by the fact that, when Alexander the Great met the Massagetae, all of them lived on the southern bank of the Syr Darya.¹⁵ This shows that the Massagetae, as early as 521 B.C., when Darius I came to the throne, had already settled in Sogdiana. This recalls the situation of the tribe of Yu Hong's 虞弘 ancestors.

1 Massagetae首見希羅多德《歷史》，已知其最早的居地在錫爾河北岸。阿喀美尼朝波斯居魯士二世（Cyrus II，前558—529年）曾親征Massagetae，但並不成功，不僅波斯全軍覆沒，居魯士二世本人也於是役陣亡。嗣後，由於原居伊黎河、楚河流域的Issedones人西向擴張，將Massagetae人驅逐至錫爾河以南的索格底亞那。時間在居魯士二世去世和大流士一世（Darius I，前521—486年）即位之間。亞歷山大東征時所遭遇的Massagetae人均在錫爾河以南，可以佐證。¹⁵這表明Massagetae歷史悠久，且至遲在大流士一世即位之年已經出現在索格底亞那。這與以上推定的虞弘先人所在部落的情況並無不符。

2 According to Herodotus, the Massagetae "do not sow land at all but live off cattle and also fish, which they have in abundance from the River Araxes (Syr Darya)". (*History*, I, 216).¹⁶ The Massagetae lived along the bank of the Syr Darya and thrived on fishing, hence their name the "Fish State".

2 據希羅多德《歷史》記載，Massagetae人“不播種任何種子，而以家畜與魚類為活。因為在Araxes（按即錫爾河）裏，魚是非常多的”（I, 216）。¹⁶Massagetae人傍錫爾河而居，以捕魚為生，得名“魚國”，亦在情理之中。

3 It has been suggested that the original meaning of "Massagetae" is "fish" because in Avestan fish is *masjō* (in Sanskrit *matsja*).¹⁷ If so, "Massagetae" should be translated into Chinese as "Yu 魚 (Fish) State".¹⁸

3 “Massagetae”一說原意是“魚”，蓋Awesta語稱魚為*masjō*（Sanskrit語為*matsja*）。¹⁷果然，則Massagetae便不妨漢譯為“魚國”。¹⁸

To sum up, Yu Hong's 虞弘 ancestors were Massagetae who migrated from the northern bank of the Syr Darya to Sogdiana, had contact with the Parthian and Yuezhi 月氏 people, crossed the Amu Darya, migrated eastwards, and submitted to the Tuoba Xianbei 拓跋鮮卑, where they were appointed to the post of the Leading People Chief.

要之，虞弘之先乃Massagetae人，自錫爾河北南遷索格底亞那之後，曾越阿姆河與安息、月氏往來，後率其部人東遷，歸附拓跋鮮卑，為領民酋長。

F

Because the pronunciations of "Yu (Fish) 魚" [ngia] and "Yu 虞" [ngiua] are similar, Yu Hong 虞弘 regarded himself as the descendant of Yu Shun 虞舜. It must be considered that this was the result of his wishing to attach himself to authority.

因“魚”[ngia]、“虞”[ngiua]音近，虞弘自認虞舜之後。這不能不說是一種攀附行爲。

However, it must be pointed out that the similar pronunciations were not the only reason for Yu Hong 虞弘 to attach himself to Yu Shun 虞舜.

應該指出的是，“魚”、“虞”音近好象不是虞弘攀附虞舜的唯一原因。

First of all, the state of Yu 魚 (Fish) was originally a branch of the Massagetae, which had a long history, as long as that of the Youyu 有虞 family.

一則，魚國本Massagetae之一枝，Massagetae與有虞氏一樣，具有悠久的歷史。

Second, the Massagetae migrated southwards to Sogdiana from the northern bank of the Syr Darya, where they had lived peacefully with the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武 when they moved there later had cultural and marriage exchanges with each other. In the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. 83 (Memoir on the Western Regions), the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武 were identified with the descendants of the Yuezhi 月氏, which can be considered to be a common understanding of the people at that time. Furthermore, the pronunciations of Yue 月 [njiuk] and Yu 虞 were similar.¹⁹

二則，Massagetae早已自錫爾河北岸南遷索格底亞那，與後來遷入該地的昭武九姓共處，有文化和血緣的關係。昭武九姓爲西遷月氏人之後見載於《隋書·西域傳》，可謂時人共識，而“月”[njiuk]、“虞”音近。¹⁹

Third, according to the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1 (Basic Annals of the Five Emperors), "Shun 舜 farmed at Mount Li 歷; all the people at Mount Li 歷 did not fight over borders of fields. Shun 舜 fished at Lake Lei 雷; all the people at Lake Lei 雷 did not fight for dwelling places. Shun 舜 made pottery on the banks of the river; all the people on the banks of the river did not suffer from the inferiority of their ware. In the place he had lived for one year, a village formed; and for two years, a town; three, a city". Thus we know that the Youyu 有虞 were good at fishing too.

三則，《史記·五帝本紀》載：“舜耕歷山，歷山之人皆讓畔；漁雷澤，雷澤上人皆讓居；陶河濱，河濱器皆不苦窳。一年而所居成聚。二年成邑，三年成都”。知有虞氏亦擅畧。

Fourth, Shun 舜 had double-pupilled eyes, and coincidentally the Hu 胡 barbarians surnamed Yu 魚 had double eye pupils too. According to the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. 64 (Memoir on Yu Juluo 魚俱羅), "Yu Juluo 魚俱羅 was a native of Xiagui 下邳, Fengyi 馮翊. He had an extraordinary appearance [including] double-pupilled eyes". Considering that the epitaph especially stresses that "[Yu Shun 虞舜] had double-pupilled eyes", it is very possible that Yu Hong 虞弘 himself had double-pupilled eyes as well.

四則，舜重瞳，而魚姓胡人亦有重瞳者。《隋書·魚俱羅傳》（卷六四）載：“魚俱羅，馮翊下邳人也。……俱羅相表異人，目有重瞳”。如果考慮到墓銘特別強調虞舜“重瞳號奇”，墓主虞弘本人重瞳也未可知。

Fifth, the contemporaries of Yu Juluo 魚俱羅 are Yu Qingzhe 虞慶則, etc.²⁰ According to the *Suishu* 隋書, ch. 40 (Memoir on Yu Qingzhe 虞慶則), "Yu Qingzhe 虞慶則, was eight *chi* 尺 tall, brave and powerful, fluent in Xianbei 鮮卑 language, wore heavy armour with two leather cases [for bow and arrows], and could gallop and shoot with both hands. All the local strongmen and knights revered him". This description does not mention whether he had double-pupilled eyes, but his figure and facial features bear a strong resemblance to those in the account of Yu Juluo 魚俱羅: "[Yu] Juluo [魚]俱羅 was eight *chi* 尺 tall, had powerful muscles, and possessed a loud voice that could be heard a hundred yards away"; in a battle, "[Yu] Juluo [魚]俱羅, together with several cavalymen, stared [at the enemy] and shouted loudly. The enemy troops fled at their advance. He would come in from the right and go out from the left, hurrying back and forth as if on wings". Perhaps the resemblance is more than a coincidence. Furthermore, in "the Memoir on Yu Qingzhe 虞慶則", it is recorded that [Yu] Qingzhe's [虞]慶則 son, Xiaoren 孝仁, "preferred a life of luxury. He always took camels with him to carry water vases in order to raise fish". It is unlikely that he troubled himself so greatly to eat fish while travelling only because he "preferred a life of luxury". Rather, he must have been following a custom that was handed down from generation to generation.

五則，與魚俱羅約略同時者尚有虞慶則等。²⁰《隋書·虞慶則傳》（卷四〇）載，虞慶則，“身長八尺，有膽氣，善鮮卑語，身被重鎧，帶兩韃，左右馳射，本州豪俠皆敬憚之”。雖未見慶則“重瞳”的報導，但若參看《隋書·魚俱羅傳》關於魚俱羅“身長八尺，膂力絕人，聲氣雄壯，言聞數百步”；每逢戰事，“俱羅與數騎奔擊，瞋目大呼，所當皆披靡，出左入右，往返若飛”之類記載，不難發現兩人體貌特徵頗有相似之處，或非巧合。“虞慶則傳”又載慶則之子孝仁，“性奢華，以駱駝負函盛水養魚而自給”。為食魚而如此大費周折，也許是代代相傳的習俗使然，不僅僅是“性奢華”的緣故。

Sixth, the birthplace of the Youyu 有虞 is located in the south of Jin 晉 (the present Shanxi 山西 province),²¹ Yu Hong 虞弘, the occupant of the tomb, chose his burial ground in present-day Taiyuan 太原, Shanxi 山西. This shows that Yu Hong's 虞弘 intention to identify with his ancestors and return to his own clan was quite earnest.

六則，有虞氏的發祥地就在晉南，²¹墓主虞弘選擇今山西太原附近為下葬之地，表明墓主此番認祖歸宗的舉動是十分鄭重的。

To sum up, although there is no evidence to show that the Massagetae had a direct relationship with the Youyu 有虞, it is plain that Yu Hong 虞弘, the occupant of the tomb, had every intention of attaching himself to Yu Shun 虞舜.

要之, 儘管目前的證據完全不足以說明Massagetae與有虞氏之間有直接淵源, 但必須看到墓主虞弘攀附虞舜是深思熟慮的結果。

G

The intention of identifying with their ancestors and returning to their clan is also evident in the epitaphs of many ethnic groups in the north and west of China during Sui 隋 and Tang 唐 times, not only in that of Yu Hong 虞弘. Many of them may be determined simply be attaching themselves to important persons in history, but cannot to be lumped together, and are well worth pondering individually. Let us take the epitaph of Long Run 龍潤, unearthed from Taiyuan 太原, for example:

除虞弘外, 上述認祖歸宗現象屢見隋唐時期西北少數族之墓誌銘; 雖然多可定性為攀附, 但似亦不可一概而論, 頗有值得玩味者在。茲舉太原出土的龍潤墓誌為例:

The name of the tomb occupant was Run 潤. He styled himself Hengqie 恒伽, and he was a native of Jinyang 晉陽, Bingzhou 并州. ...His earliest ancestor was Emperor Shaohao 少昊, who laid the foundation. Following Shao Hao 少昊, yet seeking novelty, an annals records a general of the Western Chu 楚 [whose surname was Long 龍]. During the reign-period of Emperor Yuan 元 of Han 漢 a figure surnamed Long 龍 was honoured by Shi You 史遊. Later [Long 龍] Bogao 伯高 was praised by Ma Yuan 馬援, who admired his behaviour and had great respect for him. In the *Jin Zhongxingshu* 晉中興書, [Long 龍] Ziwei 子偉, a hermit, is especially noted, because he was an incomparably graceful man, being parallel with heroes in other times, luxuriant like pine, upright like jade.²²

君諱潤, 字恒伽, 并州晉陽人也。……鑿空鼻始, 爰自少昊之君; 實錄采奇, 繼以西楚之將。及漢元帝, 顯姓名于史遊。馬援之稱伯高, 慕其為人, 敬之重之。《晉中興書》特記隱士子偉, 以高邁絕倫, 並異代英賢, 鬱鬱如松、珞珞如玉者也。²²

Research shows that Long Run 龍潤 came from Yanqi 焉耆 in the Western Regions and later moved to the Central Plains. "Long 龍" was originally the surname of the Yanqi's 焉耆 royal family.²³ In my opinion, there are reasons why Long Run 龍潤, a man of Yanqi 焉耆, stated that he was a descendant of Shaohao 少昊.

據研究，龍潤當是西域焉耆人遷居中原者，“龍”本焉耆王姓。²³今案：焉耆人龍潤自稱少昊之後，不是無迹可循。

In the *Yuanhe Xingzuan* 元和姓纂, Vol. 1 ([the Surname of] Zhong 鍾 the third, Shang Pingsheng 上平聲 [rising level tone]), it is recorded that, "According to the *Shangshu* 尚書, Long 龍, an official of Shun 舜 was appointed the Adviser. His descendants took their ancestor's secondary name as their clan name. Furthermore, Dong Fu 董父 was surnamed Ji 己; but he was granted the clan name of Huanlong 豢龍, thus his clan name was Long 龍". Therefore, the surname "Long 龍" is of two origins: one came from the Adviser of Yu Shun 虞舜, the other came from Dong Fu 董父. Since Long Run 龍潤 "came from Emperor Shaohao 少昊", he must have been the descendant of Dong Fu 董父.

按之《元和姓纂·上平聲·三鍾》(卷一)，“《尚書》，舜臣龍爲納言，子孫以王父字爲氏。又，董父，己姓，賜氏豢龍，爲龍氏”。這是說龍姓來源有二，一爲虞舜之納言龍，一爲董父。龍潤既“爰自少昊之君”，當爲董父之裔。

First, Shaohao 少昊 was the Qingyang 青陽 surnamed Ji 己, and "Dong Fu 董父 was surnamed Ji 己".²⁴ According to the *Yuanhe Xingzuan* 元和姓纂, Vol. 6 ([the Surname of] Dong 董 the first, Shangsheng 上聲 [rising tone]), "Dong 董, a descendant of the Yellow Emperor, belonged to a state with the surname Ji 己. There was a Liu Shu'an 颺叔安 who begot Dong Fu 董父, and the latter's surname Dong 董 was bestowed by Shun 舜".

一則，少昊爲己姓青陽，²⁴而“董父，己姓”。《元和姓纂·上聲·一董》(卷六)：“董，黃帝之後，己姓國，有颺叔安，生董父，舜賜姓董氏”。

Second, the possibility that the Yanqi 焉耆 and the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 came from the same origin cannot be ruled out, and the latter were also the descendants of Shaohao 少昊. Another name of the Rong 戎 of the surname Yun 允 was the Rong 戎 of Luhun 陸渾. There is no harm in considering that "Luhun 陸渾" and "Long 龍" were different transcriptions of one and the same name.²⁵

二則，焉耆與允姓之戎同源的可能性不能排除，而後者亦少昊之後。允姓之戎又稱陸渾之戎，“陸渾”與“龍”無妨視爲同名異譯。²⁵

Third, the statement "[Dong Fu 董父] was granted the clan name of Huanlong 豢龍, thus his clan name was Long 龍" is a misunderstanding. This is because "Dong 董 [tong]" can be regarded as a [phonetic] loan character for "Long 龍 [liong]". The statement in the *Yuanhe Xingzuan* 元和姓纂, vol. 6 ([the surname of] Dong 董 the first, Shangsheng 上聲 [rising tone]): "Huanlong 豢龍 (means rearing dragon) was granted the surname of Dong 董 by Emperor Shun 舜" certainly presents the actual state of affairs. Of course, it is also possible that "Dong" was changed into "Long", which is similar to the former in pronunciation, because of the association with rearing dragons.

三則，所謂“賜氏豢龍，爲龍氏”，祇是一種誤解，蓋“董” [tong]、“龍” [liong] 一音之轉。稱董父因豢龍而“爲龍氏”，乃後人附會。《元和姓纂·上聲·一董》（卷六）稱：“豢龍，帝舜賜姓董氏”；得其真相。當然，“董”可能因豢龍而被改爲音近的“龍”。

Fourth, according to research, the *dām* which occurs in Khotanese texts must be a transcriptional reference to the surname Long 龍 or to the Long 龍 family. The Khotanese text (KT 2.117.9) says: "*kīthā sādamī dūm ya* (Dūm were in the city of Solmi)". But the city name is marked off and is changed into *dūm*. This shows that *dām* were *sādamīya* (Solmi people). Since Solmi was another name of Yanqi, *dām* must have been the Yanqi People.²⁶ In my opinion, it may be not accidental that the *dām* which occurs in Khotanese texts corresponds to "Dong".²⁷

四則，據研究，和闐文 *dām* 應即焉耆的龍姓或龍家。蓋和闐語文書 KT 2.117.9 稱：*kīthā sādamī dūmya*（在唆里迷城，有 Dūm 在），文書草寫者且將 *sādamī* 一詞劃去，換上 *dūm*。這說明 *dām* 就是 *sādamīya*（Solmi 人）。唆里迷城既爲焉耆之異稱，則 *dūm* 無疑指焉耆人。²⁶ 今案：文書所見 *dūm*，正可與“董”對應，或非偶然。²⁷

We may make the following additional observations:

以下是幾點補充：

1 In the *Gujin Xingshishu Bianzheng* 古今姓氏書辯證, Vol. 21, it is recorded that "Dong came from the surname of Si 巳 and were the descendants of the Yellow Emperor. Their fief was located in Liu 颺. Its monarch had a legitimate son, Dong Fu 董父, who learned dragon training to serve Emperor Shun 舜, and was granted the surname of Dong 董. This is the Huanlong 豢龍 family". "Si 巳" is a textual error for "Ji 己" caused by the similarity in form of the two characters.

一、《古今姓氏書辯證》卷二一：“董，出自己姓，黃帝之後，封國於颺。其君叔安者有嫡子曰董父，學擾龍以事帝舜，賜姓曰董，爲豢龍氏”。“己姓”當作“己姓”，形近致訛。

2 In the "Feng 風" section of the *Zihui Bu* 字彙補, it is stated that "Liu 颺 was the descendant of the Gaoyang 高陽, and surnamed Ji 己". In my opinion, this theory is incorrect.

二、《字彙補·風部》：“颺，高陽氏之後，己姓”。今案：其說非是。

In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (the twenty-ninth year of Duke Zhao 昭) it is recorded: "Formerly, Liu Shu'an 颺叔安 had a distant descendant named Dong Fu 董父, who was very fond of dragons, knew their habits and needs, and would feed them. As many dragons turned towards him, he raised and trained them in the service of Emperor Shun 舜. Therefore, the Emperor granted him the surname of Dong 董 and the clan name of Huanlong 豢龍. The Emperor also granted him the land of Zongchuan 譚川, and the Zongyi 譚夷 are his descendants". Du's 杜 commentary says that "Liu 颺 was an

ancient state. Shu'an 叔安 was the name of the monarch of this state". The records do not mention the origin of Liu 颺.

《左傳·昭公二十九年》，“昔有颺叔安，有裔子曰董父，實甚好龍，能求其耆欲而飲食之，龍多歸之，乃擾畜龍，以服事帝舜，帝賜之姓曰董，氏曰豢龍，封諸饒川，饒夷氏其後也”。杜注：“颺，古國也。叔安，其君名”；並未涉及颺之淵源。

Also, in the "Zhengyu 鄭語" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 it is recorded that "Kunwu 昆吾 was the count of Xia 夏, while Dapeng 大彭 and Shiwei 豕韋 were the counts of Shang 商. During Zhou 周 times, these marquises and counts no longer existed. Kunwu 昆吾, Su 蘇, Wen 溫, Gu 顧, and Dong 董 of the surname Ji 己, and Zongyi 饒夷 and Huanlong 豢龍 of the surname Dong 董 became extinct during Xia 夏 times". On Kunwu 昆吾, Su 蘇, Wen 溫, Gu 顧, and Dong 董, Wei's 韋 commentary says that "The five states were the descendants of the Kunwu 昆吾 who were separately enfeoffed"; it also says that "The surname of Dong 董 was a separate branch of the surname of Ji 己, who were granted a clan surname and established their own state". Since the surnames of Dong 董 and Ji 己 are juxtaposed in the *Guoyu* 國語, Zongyi 饒夷 and Huanlong 豢龍 were clearly not the descendants of Kunwu 昆吾. This shows that the surname of Ji 己 which derived from the surname Dong 董 was different from the surname Ji 己 which derived from Kunwu 昆吾.

又，《國語·鄭語》（卷一六）載：“昆吾爲夏伯矣，大彭、豕韋爲商伯矣。當周未有。己姓昆吾、蘇、溫、顧、董，董姓饒夷、豢龍，則夏滅之矣”。韋注：昆吾、蘇、溫、顧、董“五國皆昆吾之後別封者”，又注：“董姓，己姓之別，受氏爲國者也”。《國語》之文既並列董姓和己姓，饒夷和豢龍顯然非昆吾之後。知董姓所出己姓，有別於昆吾之己姓。

However, in "the Shuyi Ji 疏仡紀" section of "the Houji 後紀" (Ch. 8) of the *Lushi* 路史 (Vol. 17), it is recorded that "The surname Ji 己 was conferred upon Kunwu 昆吾. Kunwu 昆吾 was the count of Xia 夏. His descendants were self-contented and unanimous in opinion. They were destroyed at the same time Jie 桀 was destroyed. ... Afterwards there were the clan surnames of Kun 昆, Wu 吾 and Kunwu 昆吾. The surnames of Gu 顧, Wen 溫, Su 蘇, Hu 扈, Liao 廖, Dong 董, Zhu 諸, Zhen 斟, Zhu 祝, and Chan 產 all divided from the Kunwu 昆吾". Here Liao 廖 was arranged after Kunwu 昆吾. After relating the sequence of Hu 扈, Gu 顧, Wen 溫, and Su 蘇, it states that "There was Shu'an 叔安 who was surnamed Liao 廖 and who was separately granted a fief at Dong 董. Dong Fu 董甫 raised and trained dragons to serve Yu 虞 in Zongchuan 饒川. Another branch of his clan was Zongyi 饒夷, from which came in addition Guanlong 關龍 (note: the pronunciation is similar to that of Huanlong 豢龍). Liao 廖, Dong 董 and Guanlong 關龍 were destroyed by Xia 夏, and Zong 饒 was destroyed by Shang 商. Afterwards there were the clan surnames of Liao 廖, Liu

颺, Liu 颺, Liushu 颺叔, Dong 董, Dongfu 董甫" and so on. This shows clearly that the people of the state of Dong 董 who were the descendants of Kunwu 昆吾 have been confused with those bearing the surname Dong 董 who were the descendants of Shu'an 叔安.

但是,《路史·後紀八·疏仡紀》(卷一七)卻說:“己姓封昆吾,昆吾爲夏伯主,其後裔自臧而無譚,與桀同滅。……後有昆氏、吾氏、昆吾氏。顧、溫、蘇、扈、廖、董、諸、斟、祝、產皆已分也”。將“廖”列入昆吾之後,且在敘述扈、顧、溫、蘇的源流之後,接著說:“廖有叔安異封于董,董甫以豢龍事虞於澠川,別爲澠夷,更爲關龍(注:音豢龍)。廖、董、關龍則夏滅之;澠則商滅之;後有廖氏、颺氏、颺叔氏、董氏、董甫氏”等等。顯然是將作爲昆吾之後的董國與叔安之後的董姓混爲一談了。

Since the Liu 颺 "came from Shaohao 少昊", it is quite correct that they were called "the descendants of the Yellow Emperor" in both the *Yuanhe Xingzuan* 元和姓纂 and the *Gujin Xingshishu Bianzheng* 古今姓氏書辯證.

颺氏“爰自少昊”,《元和姓纂》和《古今姓氏書辯證》均稱之爲“黃帝之後”,極是。

3 Since there were two sources of the surname Long 龍, the general of the Western Chu 楚 (Long Qie 龍且), etc.²⁸ mentioned in the epitaph was not necessarily the descendant of Dong Fu 董父. Therefore, it is unavoidable that the occupant of the tomb may still be suspected of having wished to attach himself to Shaohao 少昊.

三、既然龍姓來歷有二,墓銘所涉及的“西楚之將”(龍且)²⁸等未必亦董父之裔;故墓主仍不免攀附之嫌。

¹ The Institute of Archaeology of Shanxi 山西 Province, The Institute of Archaeology of Taiyuan 太原 and others, "Taiyuan Suidai Yu Hong Mu Qingli Jianbao 太原隋代虞弘墓清理簡報" (Preliminary Excavation Report of the Tomb of Yu Hong of the Sui Dynasty in Taiyuan, Shanxi), *Wenwu* 文物 2001 I, pp. 27-52.

² In the "Wudide 五帝德" chapter of the *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記 it is recorded that "Zhuanxu 顓頊, who was the grandson of the Yellow Emperor and the son of Changyi 昌意, was known as Gaoyang 高陽". Its source may be the same as that of the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1 (Basic Annals of the Five Emperors).

³ Cf. Li Xueqin 李學勤, "Sanxingdui yu Shu Gushi Chuanshuo 三星堆與蜀古史傳說" (Sanxingdui and Legends on the Ancient History of Shu), in: *Zouchu Yigu Shidai* 走出疑古時代 (The End of the Period of Doubting Antiquity), Liaoning Daxue Chunbanshe 遼寧大學出版社, 1994, pp. 204-214.

⁴ "The zither and lute of Kongsang 空桑" is mentioned in the "Dasiyue 大司樂" section of the "Chunguan 春官" chapter of the *Zhouli* 周禮. Zheng's 鄭 commentary says that Kongsang 空桑 "is a mountain name". Also, in the "Beishanjing 北山經" chapter of the *Shanhaijing* 山海經.

it is recorded that "Two hundred *li* 里 farther north is Mount Kongsang 空桑. There is no vegetation there and it is snow capped all year. The Kongsang 空桑 River flows east from here to Hutuo 扈沓". The commentary on the "Beishanjing 北山經" chapter in the *Shanhaijing Guangzhu* 山海經廣注 (vol. 3) says, "There is also Kongsang 空桑 in the land of Yan 兗. The place is extremely vast, and it is where the people of the clan surname Gaoyang 高陽 had dwelt. It is the wilderness of Guangsang 廣桑 that Huangfu Mi 皇甫謐 has referred to. In ancient times Kongsang 空桑 was located here". Also, in the "Benjingxun 本經訓" chapter of the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 it is recorded that "In the reign period of Shun 舜, Gonggong 共工 made the flood run wild to approach Kongsang 空桑". Gao's 高 commentary says, "Kongsang 空桑 is the name of a place name which is in Lu 魯". [《周禮·春官·大司樂》: "空桑之琴瑟". 鄭注: 空桑, "山名". 又, 《山海經·北山經》"又北二百里, 曰空桑之山. 無草木, 冬夏有雪. 空桑之水出焉, 東流注於扈沓". 吳任臣《山海經廣注》(卷三)注"北山經"曰: "兗地亦有空桑, 其地廣絕, 高陽氏所嘗居, 皇甫謐所謂廣桑之野, 上古有空桑氏". 又, 《淮南子·本經訓》"舜之時, 共工振滔洪水, 以薄空桑". 高注: "空桑, 地名, 在魯也".]

⁵ Zhou Yiliang 周一良, "Lingmin Qiuzhang yu Liuzhou Dudu 領民酋長與六州都督" (The Leading People Chief and the Military-Governor of the Six Provinces), in *Wei Jin Nanbeichao Shilun Ji* 魏晉南北朝史論集 (Papers on the History of Wei, Jin, and the Northern and Southern Dynasties), Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, pp. 177-198.

⁶ According to the *Shijing* 世經, cited in the *Hanshu* 漢書, ch. 21B (Treatise on Scales and the Calendar), "The Emperor Zhuanyu 顓頊: In the *Chunqiu Waizhuan* 春秋外傳, it is recorded that when Shaohao 少皞 was in decline, the tribes of Jiuli 九黎 disturbed the [prevailing] virtue. Zhuanyu 顓頊 succeeded, and commissioned Zhong 重 and Li 黎, who were the sons of Canglin 蒼林, namely Changyi 昌意. Since metal gives rise to water, Zhuanyu 顓頊 was [the king of] the virtue of water and was styled Gaoyuan 高陽 by all under heaven". Also, in "the Zhouyu 周語 C" chapter of the *Guoyu* 國語 (vol. 3), it is recorded that "Emperor Ku 嚳 succeeded those who had been established by Zhuanyu 顓頊". The commentary of Wei Zhao 韋昭 states that "Zhuanyu 顓頊 was a king of the virtue of water, and acceded to the throne in the north". [《漢書·律曆志下》(卷二一下)引《世經》: "顓頊帝: 《春秋外傳》曰, 少昊之衰, 九黎亂德, 顓頊受之, 乃命重、黎. 蒼林昌意之子也. 金生水, 故為水德. 天下號曰高陽氏". 又, 《國語·周語下》(卷三): "顓頊之所建也, 帝嚳受之". 韋注: "顓頊, 水德之王, 立於北方".]

⁷ In the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 1 (Basic Annals of the Five Emperors), it is recorded that "Yu Shun's 虞舜 name was Zhonghua 重華". The *Shiji Zhengyi* 史記正義, ch. 1 (Basic Annals of Five Emperors), states that "[Yu Shun 虞舜] "had double-pupilled eyes, thus his given name was Zhonghua 重華". Also, in the *Shiji* 史記, ch. 7 (Basic Annals of Xiang Yu 項羽), Sima Qian 司馬遷 states that "From Zhou Sheng 周生 I have heard of that 'Shun's 舜 eyes had double-pupils'; I have also heard that Xiang Yu 項羽 similarly had double-pupilled eyes. Wasn't [Xiang] Yu [項]羽 the descendant of Shun 舜"? This is also an example of the fact that those who had double-pupilled eyes were taken to be Shun's 舜 descendants. [《史記·五帝本紀》: "虞舜者, 名曰重華". "正義"曰: "目重瞳子, 故曰重華". 又, 《史記·項羽本紀》太史公曰: "吾聞之周

生曰：‘舜目蓋重瞳子’，又聞項羽亦重瞳子。羽豈其苗裔邪”？亦重瞳者被視為舜後之一例。]

- ⁸ E. Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3-(1), (2), The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods, Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 98-99.
- ⁹ Cf. Yu Taishan 余太山, *Saizhongshi Yanjiu* 塞種史研究 (A Study of Sakā History); Beijing: Zhongguo Shehui Kexue Chubanshe 中國社會科學出版社, 1992, pp. 104-106.
- ¹⁰ R. G. Kent, *Old Persian, Grammar, Text, Lexicon*, New Haven, Connecticut, 1982, p. 119.
- ¹¹ Cf. the brief report cited in note 1.
- ¹² Cf. Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, "Sui ji Tang Chu Bingzhou de Sabaofu yu Sute Juluo 隋及唐初并州的薩保府與粟特聚落" (The office of Sabao and Sogdian settlements in Bingzhou during Sui and Early Tang Times), *Wenwu* 文物 2001, 4, pp. 84-89.
- ¹³ "Gaochang Zhaowu Jiuxing Huren Cao Momentuo deng Mingji 高昌昭武九姓胡人曹莫門陀等名籍" (A Register of Cao Momentuo and Others, the Hu 胡 of the Nine Surnames of Zhaowu, Who Came from Gaochang), in *Tulufan Chutu Wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書 III, 文物出版社, 1981, pp. 119-120.
- ¹⁴ "Tang Shenlong Sannian (A.D. 707) Gaochang Xian Chonghua Xiang Dianji Yang 唐神龍三年(公元七〇七年)高昌縣崇化鄉點籍樣" (A Canonical Form for Checking Census Registers from Chonghua Township, Gaochang County in the Third Year of the *Shenlong* Reign-Period in Tang Times), in *Tulufan Chutu Wenshu* 吐魯番出土文書 VII, 文物出版社, 1986, pp. 468-485, esp. 471, 475.
- ¹⁵ *Saizhongshi Yanjiu*, pp. 6-10.
- ¹⁶ Grene, D.(tr.), Herodotus, *The History*, Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- ¹⁷ J. Marquart, *Untersuchungen zur geschichte von Eran*, Zweites Heft, Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Theodor Weicher, 1905, p. 78. Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉, "Sai Minzoku Kō" 塞民族考 (A Study on Sakā People), *Shiratori Kurakichi Zenshū* 白鳥庫吉全集 (Collected Works of Shiratori Kurakichi), Vol. 6, Tokyo: Iwanami 岩波, 1970, pp. 361-480, esp. 377-378.
- ¹⁸ The name "Massagatae" is generally thought to be refer to "the great Saca horde"; see W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 80-81. Yu Taishan 余太山, *Saizhongshi Yanjiu* 塞種史研究, p. 7, also adopts this theory to prove that the Massagetae can be identified with Sakās. Identifying "Massagetae" with "the state of Yu (Fish)" does not conflict with the identification of the Massagetae with Sakās.
- ¹⁹ There is a possibility that the nine surnames of Zhaowu 昭武 were the descendants of the Yuezhi 月氏. See Yu Taishan's 余太山 work, cited in note 9, pp. 104-106.
- ²⁰ Cf. Zhang Qingjie 張慶捷, "Yu Hong Muzhi zhong de Jige Wenti 虞弘墓誌中的幾個問題" (Some Problems in the Inscription on the Memorial Inscription within the Tomb of Yu Hong), *Wenwu* 文物 2001, 1, pp. 102-108.
- ²¹ See Yu Taishan 余太山, *Guzu Xinkao* 古族新考 (A New Study on the Ancient Tribes), 中華書局, 2000, esp. 32-38.
- ²² *Quantangwen Buyi* 全唐文補遺 (Addendum to Complete Tang Prose), Vol. 5, Sanqin Chubanshe 三秦出版社, 1998, p. 111.

- ²³ Cf. Rong Xinjiang's 榮新江 paper cited in note 12.
- ²⁴ *Guzu Xinkao*, pp. 117-119.
- ²⁵ *Saizhongshi Yanjiu*, pp. 63-69, 117-121.
- ²⁶ H. W. Bailey, *Indo-Scythian Studies, being Khotanese Texts*, vol. VII, Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 16-17; "The Stael-Holstein Miscellany", *Asia Major* II, 1 (1951), pp. 1-45; Rong Xinjiang 榮新江 "Longjia Kao 龍家考" (On the Long Family [Tribe]), *Zhongya Xuekan* 中亞學刊 (Journal of Central Asian Studies) IV, Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe 北京大學出版社, 1995, pp. 144-160.
- ²⁷ Bailey's work, p. 17, cited in note 26, suggests that *dām* is the equivalent of *ldong* occurring in Tibetan texts. The tribe was located south of Ganzhou 甘州 and Suzhou 肅州. Its Chinese name was "Dong 董".
- ²⁸ The *Yuanhe Xingzuan* 元和姓纂, Vol. 1 ([the Surname of] Zhong 鍾 the third, Shang Pingsheng 上平聲 [rising level tone]) only says that "Long Qie 龍且 came from Chu 楚, was a general under Xiang Yu 項羽", but does not record clearly whether his ancestor was the Adviser or Dong Fu 董父. [《元和姓纂·上平聲·三鍾》(卷一)僅說:“龍且,楚人,為項羽將”;並未指明究竟是納言之後,抑為董父之後。]

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